

Martin Luther and Education

by MATTHIEU ARNOLD

“Christians are to be taught . . .” Scholars of Martin Luther have not failed to notice the repetition of this phrase in the central part of the *Disputation on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences (The Ninety-Five Theses)*.¹ On the contrary, they observed how many of these theses (42–51) begin with *docendi sunt christiani*, which illustrated a trend during the Reformation of discussing education.² In effect, the *Ninety-Five Theses*, whether publicly debated or not,³ nicely reveals the university teaching of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. “Out of love and zeal for truth and the desire to bring it to light,”⁴ clarifies the prologue of the *Ninety-Five Theses*, or *Disputation on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences*. This sentiment indicates that Luther situated the controversy not within the setting of a promotion, but within these specific theses under debate in order to clarify controversial doctrinal questions. That was certainly the case with indulgences.⁵ In his theses, Luther proposed to his listeners a teaching designed to replace the fallacious preaching of the sellers of indulgences begun by John Tetzel, “the great ranter” who, to quote the Reformer in 1541, “preached abominable and horrible articles.”⁶

The Educational Program of the “Ninety-Five Theses”

“Christians are to be taught . . .” But what should be taught to them? First, according to thesis 42 to 45, they should be taught that the intention of the Pope was not to place indulgences in the same category as works of mercy—in particular, charity. By writing theses 43 to 45, Luther demanded that Christians should be taught to prefer demonstrations of camaraderie towards one’s neighbor rather than selfishness and permissiveness, which is expressed by the buying of indulgences.

43. Christians are to be taught that he who gives to the poor or lends to the needy does a better deed than he who buys indulgences.

44. Because love grows by works of love, man thereby becomes better. Man does not, however, become better by means of indulgences but is merely freed from penalties.

45. Christians are to be taught that he who sees a needy man and passes him by, yet gives his money for indulgences, does not buy papal indulgences but God's wrath.⁷

While inviting believers to be generous, Luther did not intend that they strip themselves. Rather, they were to get rid of the indulgences they had acquired, as he articulated in thesis 46.⁸

Whereas theses 42 to 46 belong to ethical instruction, theses 47 to 51 pertain to the doctrine related to indulgences. "Christians are to be taught that the buying of indulgences is a matter of free choice, not commanded,"⁹ articulates thesis 47. No divine precept requires the acquisition of indulgences. With this clarification made, theses 48 to 51 explain the doctrine which Luther preached ardently to the sovereign pontiff. The pope needed the prayers of the faithful more than the money gained from distributing indulgences (Thesis 48).¹⁰ "Christians are to be taught," continued Luther, "that if the pope knew the exactions of the indulgence preachers, he would rather that the basilica of St. Peter were burned to ashes than built up with the skin, flesh, and bones of his sheep" (Thesis 50).¹¹ Moreover, the sovereign pontiff should want "to give of his own money, even though he had to sell the basilica of St. Peter, to many of those from whom certain hawkers of indulgences cajole money" (Thesis 51).¹² Therefore, while thesis 43 calls Christians to "give" to the poor, thesis 51 concludes a series of repetitions affirming that the pope should be eager to give his money to those who were depleted by the preachers of indulgences.

In thesis 49, Luther calls for Christians to be instructed that it is not necessary to place their confidence in the indulgences of the pope at all, since indulgences were very harmful to believers.¹³ Thesis 52, which follows the series of repetitions "Christians are to be taught . . .," "hammers home" the same message: "It is vain to trust in salvation by indulgence letters, even though the indulgence commissary, or even the pope, were to offer his soul as security."¹⁴ Thus, Luther added another theme to his contestation of indulgences.

In this way, at the heart of the famous *Ninety-Five Theses*, which just celebrated its 500th anniversary and which was situated within the tradition of university education, one finds a program of instruction. Luther's program contains both ethical questions—how to act generously towards one's neighbor—and doctrinal problems—how to understand the power of indulgences and the assurance of salvation.

School Education and Parental Education (1517–1522)

Several months after the *Ninety-Five Theses* were published, Luther wrote to Johannes Lang at Erfurt to rejoice—not without exaggeration—about the decline of Aristotelian studies and of traditional education at the University of Wittenberg.

Our theology and St. Augustine are progressing well, and with God's help rule at our University. Aristotle is gradually falling from his throne, and his final doom is only a matter of time. It is amazing how the lectures on the *Sentences* are disdained. Indeed no one can expect to have any students if he does not want to teach this theology, that is, lecture on the Bible or on St. Augustine or another teacher of ecclesiastical eminence.¹⁵

In his writings after his theses, which ultimately resulted in his excommunication, Luther developed a certain number of considerations about teaching and education. Indeed, his ideas expanded beyond the instruction of Christians about the church.

In this first period, his propositions concentrated on university instruction. For instance, *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Concerning the Reform of the Christian Estate*, 1520 requested that the civil authorities implement a certain number of reforms concerning university instruction.¹⁶

The universities, too, need a good, thorough reformation. I must say that, no matter whom it annoys . . . I believe that there is no work more worthy of pope or emperor than a thorough reform of the universities. And on the other hand, nothing could be more devilish or disastrous than unreformed universities.¹⁷

They would need to remove the works of Aristotle—notably *On the Soul* and *Ethics* (as for *Logic*, *Rhetoric*, and *Poetics*, they would be

preserved)—in order to extract the correct canon for the study of theology and in order to prioritize the study of the Bible over that of the *Sentences*.¹⁸ As for the other theological works, they should prioritize quality rather than quantity, retaining especially the writing of “all the holy fathers.”¹⁹ Concerning students, their capabilities should take precedence over the total number of graduates.

Moreover, even if the universities were diligent in Holy Scripture, we need not send everybody there as we do now, where their only concern is numbers and where everybody wants a doctor’s degree. We should send only the most highly qualified students who have been well trained in the lower schools.²⁰

Luther established several paths for these lower schools: the instruction should focus the most on the Holy Scriptures. “And would to God that every town had a girls’ school as well, where the girls would be taught the gospel for an hour every day either in German or in Latin.”²¹ Briefly, it must be noted that the mention of these lower schools in a letter intended for wide circulation was important, because in 1519, in his *A Sermon on the Estate of Marriage*, Luther still wanted to reserve the task of education and instruction to parents—“bring up children to serve God, to praise and honor him.”²² He compared this task to traditional works of piety.

. . . if you really want to atone for all your sins, if you want to obtain the fullest remission of them on earth as well as in heaven, . . . bring up your children properly . . . ; for your children are the churches, the altar, the testament, the vigils and masses for the dead for which you make provision in your will.²³

Parents alone were capable of giving that education to their children through soliciting the aid of other people, sparing neither effort nor money, concluded the Reformer in 1519.²⁴

One would expect that Luther left his refuge at the Wartburg and published *The Estate of Marriage* in August of 1522 in order to ensure this subject was addressed adequately by his pen. While it is true that the Reformer briefly sketched it, at the end of his letter he states:

But the greatest good in married life, that which makes all suffering and labor worthwhile, is that God grants offspring and commands that they be brought up to worship and serve him. In all the world this is the noblest and most

precious work, because to God there can be nothing dearer than the salvation of souls. . . . Most certainly father and mother are apostles, bishops, and priests to their children, for it is they who make them acquainted with the gospel.²⁵

Just as in 1519 and throughout his letters, Luther insists in this 1522 letter that both parents must be involved in their children's education.²⁶ In practice, he would be shown to be loyal himself to this recommendation.

In two large letters written several years later, the Reformer discussed the union of school instruction and of parental education. The first letter, written in 1524, appealed to civil authorities and to the work of schools, while the second, written in 1530, urged parents to send their children there.

The Appeal "To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany . . .," 1524

It was in the spring of 1524, perhaps with the counsel of Philipp Melanchthon, that Luther wrote his appeal *To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany that They Establish and Maintain Christian Schools*.²⁷ The work came out of the presses of Lucas Cranach and of Christian Döring, who themselves were previously associates for the production of the translation of the New Testament. Several months after this printing, the humanist of Erfurt Eobanus Hessus, whom Luther knew well, published several letters under the title *Of not disdain[ing] studies which are necessary for future theologians to become more humane (De non contemntendis studiis humanioribus futuro Theologo maxime necessariis . . .)*.²⁸ On the other hand, Luther wrote in German, which gave his pamphlet a much larger distribution than Hessus's publication.²⁹

In what context did these two men take up their pens? Before that time, schools—including the ones supported by the cities—principally taught Latin, for which the objective was the training in the arts, and particularly the training of future clerics. In his *Instruction for Guests* of 1528, Melanchthon writes:

It is because of one's stomach that one ran to school; there, one learned from the great majority [of students] that the remuneration was brought for the others by which they provided their maintenance and the nourishment in unholy masses.³⁰

The historian must make sense of the polemic in this quotation. What is clear is that the loss of the monasteries from 1521–1522 created a disorganization of the traditional education system which dealt a tremendous blow to schools. Fearing the lack of prospects for their children, the parents removed them from these schools in order to orient them towards working in trades.

Importantly, Luther's letter of 1524 was opposed to these broader tendencies which were emerging within the heart of the Reformation. By insisting on the universal priesthood in 1520, Luther had hoped that everyone could have access to the Holy Scriptures—and thus to God—without the mediation of a priest.³¹ It was at the end of 1522, when he had translated the New Testament into German, that it “sounded forth into all the world by the apostles” and that it “[told] of [Jesus Christ] a true David who strove with sin, death, and the devil, and overcame them, and thereby rescued all those who were captive in sin, afflicted with death, and overpowered by the devil.”³² He had invited his reader to “approach the books of the New Testament,” which taught them that the true faith is that which springs from works of love.³³ But for some of his colleagues in Wittenberg—notably Andreas Karlstadt,³⁴ doctor of theology and of canon law who was going to retire in a village, wearing the clothing of a farmer and calling himself “brother André”—the hatred of the traditional clergy went hand in hand with a hostility of studies. Notably, this anti-intellectualism judged that the apprehension of ancient languages was not necessary for the understanding of the Bible.³⁵ Why should people learn these languages and examine these biblical texts, when self-proclaimed prophets affirmed that God had spoken to them directly by songs and by visions?³⁶ During the forced retirement of Luther at the Wartburg from May 1521 to the beginning of March 1522, the first school of Wittenberg had been transformed into a bakery!³⁷

Luther also spoke publicly to the Magistrates—the counselors of the cities of Germany—to urge them to create or maintain the schools. Without questioning his proposal about the universal priesthood, Luther drew his argument from all the repercussions of Karlstadt and his supporters: he emphasized education of all—boys and girls—so that, notably, they could have direct access to the Bible.

Thus, as in his *Disputation on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences*, Luther did not submit to the ecclesiastical or societal trends of his time, but, as a true theologian, he criticized them based on the Bible. It was from a biblical verse, Matthew 19:14, which was showcased on the cover page of the majority of the editions of his appeal *To the Councilmen . . .*: “*Lasst die kynder tzuo mir komen und weret yhnen nicht*” (Let the little children come to me, and do not hinder them). On the title page was an imprint by Cranach and Döring, showing two cherubs holding up the Luther Rose, which can be found amidst the decorative boarder that supported the title of the text and framed the biblical verse.³⁸ Other imprints showcased less of the author than the contents of his writing. Such was the case in the edition published in 1524 in Erfurt at the house of Wolfgang Stürmer. On the imprint was a representation of a class of boys, under the direction of the primary school teacher, and a class of girls led by a female primary school teacher.³⁹ This engraving emphasized an essential aspect of the writing of Luther: the access of girls and boys to a primary education.⁴⁰

It is important to cite this passage in its entirety, as Luther defended education ardently. He lamented that in Germany, “schools are everywhere being left to go to wrack and ruin,”⁴¹ and in the later instance, he saw the devil as the author of this laziness. “For if he is to be dealt a blow that really hurts, it must be done through young people who have come to maturity in the knowledge of God, and who spread His word and teach it to others.”⁴² He lamented the fact that the towns spent more for the war against the Turks, for buying arms and for insuring their security, than for maintaining “one or two competent men to teach school.”⁴³ However, the people who finished university were better instructors than before and the opportunity to employ them was therefore favorable.⁴⁴ More fundamentally, God commanded that parents instruct and educate their children, like in Psalm 78:5 or Deuteronomy 32:7, “Indeed, for what purpose do we older folks exist, other than to care for, instruct, and bring up the young?”⁴⁵

However, to the extent that the parents were, if otherwise not unaware of this duty, at least insufficiently prepared and too occupied to do the labor themselves, this task was the responsibility

of the collective. The latter would lose nothing in the exchange, insisted Luther.

A city's best and greatest welfare, safety, and strength consist rather in its having many able, learned, wise, honorable, and well-educated citizens. They can then readily gather, protect, and properly use treasure and all manner of property.⁴⁶

In reading Luther's proposal, one cannot help but think of the quotation attributed to Jules Simon (1814–1896), and which one finds on the blackboards of schools in the French Republic: “The people who have the best schools are the best people: if they are not today, they will be tomorrow (*Le peuple qui a les meilleurs écoles est le premier peuple: s'il ne l'est aujourd'hui, il le sera demain*).” A town must, therefore, have capable people, but “we dare not wait until they grow up of themselves; neither can we carve them out of stone nor hew them out of wood.”⁴⁷

Admittedly, there must be schools. But why learn Latin, Greek, and Hebrew when one could learn the Bible in German, asked Luther. It was through those languages, he retorted, that the gospel originated and was transmitted, and thus it was Greek and Hebrew that one should know in order to preserve the Bible.⁴⁸

In proportion then as we value the gospel, let us zealously hold to the languages.⁴⁹ The languages are the sheath in which this sword of the Spirit [Eph. 6:17] is contained; they are the casket in which this jewel is enshrined; they are the vessel in which this wine is held; they are the larder in which this food is stored;⁵⁰

For Luther, it is inevitable that “that unless the languages remain,” those which the Holy Spirit appointed to be tied to the gospel, the gospel “must finally perish.”⁵¹ In order to be able to understand all doctrines, like Paul's call in 1 Corinthians 14: 27–29, it is essential to understand languages. And even if some preachers who ignore them are able to preach the gospel, “such preaching is flat and tame; people finally become weary and bored with it, and it falls to the ground.”⁵²

Certainly, the school did not only focus on the spiritual life. However, even if the spiritual estate did not exist, continued Luther, one should still create schools.

Even if . . . there were no need at all of schools and languages for the sake of the Scriptures and of God, this one consideration alone would be sufficient to justify the establishment everywhere of the very best schools for both boys and girls, namely, that in order to maintain its temporal estate outwardly the world must have good and capable men and women, men able to rule well over land and people, women able to manage the household and train children and servants aright. Now such men must come from our boys, and such women from our girls. Therefore, it is a matter of properly educating and training (*recht lere und auff zithe*) our boys and girls to that end.⁵³

All children do not have the same appetite for studies, and Luther proposed that boys and girls should be sent to school for one to two hours every day. The rest of the time, they should work at home and learn skills—manual trades—which they needed in the future. “Some of them stand out from the crowd.”⁵⁴ In saying this, Luther thought that girls as well as boys

who give promise of becoming skilled teachers, preachers, or holders of other ecclesiastical positions, should be allowed to continue in school longer, or even be dedicated to a life of study.⁵⁵

The Reformer emphasized in his lectures that his audience must not let this favorable moment pass, and he hoped that his “well-meant advice may not be offered in vain,” but that it should enlist his readership.⁵⁶ His treatise should have been enough, yet Luther devoted several more pages to this necessity. For the towns which could afford it, “no effort or expense should be spared to provide good libraries or book repositories.”⁵⁷ In effect, education did not stop the moment that one left the school.⁵⁸ In these libraries there would be the Holy Scriptures in Latin, in Greek and in Hebrew, as well as in German; books by the best exegetes; works by Greek and Latin poets and orators, whether they were pagans or Christians; books on the liberal arts and the sciences; and books on law, medicine and especially on history, “for they are a wonderful help in understanding and guiding the course of events.”⁵⁹

The text *To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany that They Establish and Maintain Christian Schools* was reprinted ten times in 1524, and the same year, the towns of Nordhausen, Magdebourg,

Halberstadt, and Gotha opened schools. The following year, Melancthon and Luther personally inaugurated a Latin school in Eisleben, Luther's hometown.⁶⁰

"A Sermon on Keeping Children in School," 1530

In 1529, in his *Large Catechism*, Luther did not only interpret the fourth commandment, "Thou shalt honor your father and mother," in the sense of the duty of children to their parents. One should also, he wrote, preach to parents about their duties as well, so that they are seriously concerned about their children.

For if we want capable and qualified people for both the civil and the spiritual realms, we really must spare no effort, time, and expense in teaching and educating (*lernen und erziehen*) our children to serve God and the world.⁶¹

Luther developed this proposition in his *A Sermon on Keeping Children in School*,⁶² which he wrote during the sojourn he spent in 1530 in Coburg, the point in the southernmost part of the Saxon Electorate, when the other Saxon theologians and Prince Johann the Steadfast founded the Diet of Augsburg.

This voluminous work includes two prefaces. The first is the address to Lazare Spengler (1479–1534), an influential mayor of the city of Nuremberg and an enthusiastic partisan of Luther's ideas.⁶³ The second was dedicated to the pastors and the preachers, because they were the ones who ought to pass on Luther's words. The Reformer explained to Spengler and the other pastors that it was the devil who, keen to destroy the gospel, dissuaded people from sending their children to school. He wrote to the pastors, "For if we are silent about this and shut our eyes to it, and the young people are neglected and our offspring become Tartars or wild beasts . . . we shall have to render full account for it."⁶⁴ In the body of his writing, he made a superb justification of the ministry of preaching, particularly to encourage all the pastors who were uncertain about the importance of their vocation and about their task. "He can comfort and advise those who are troubled, compose difficulties, relieve troubled consciences, help maintain peace⁶⁵ and settle and remove

differences, and countless other works of this kind.”⁶⁶ The pastor aids souls in fighting against sin, death, and the devil. This was why Luther invited people to raise their children in light of this “spiritual estate.” “The old men now in the office will not live forever. They are dying off every day and there are no others to take their place.”⁶⁷ In order to convince parents, Luther did not refrain from promising them that their offspring were guaranteed to find a job.

Think, too, how many parishes, pulpits, schools, and sacristanships there are . . . vacancies are occurring every day. What does this mean except that God has provided kitchen and cellar for your son in advance? His living is ready for him before he needs it; he does not have to scrape it together for himself.⁶⁸

However, the Reformer did not want to insist that “every man must train his child for this office”⁶⁹—nor even to be a schoolmaster, the job which he had also highlighted.

Luther also wrote that those who chose a career in trades must learn Latin, which was a rejection of an overly utilitarian purpose for education.⁷⁰ While this type of education aided the spiritual government, there was also the temporal estate,⁷¹ which was also instituted by God and which needed educated people, starting with jurists: “. . . in this worldly kingdom are the persons who preserve this law, . . . so a pious jurist and true scholar can be called, in the worldly kingdom of the emperor, a prophet, priest, angel, and savior.”⁷² Luther praised the scribes against their despisers, who traditionally upheld the “hard work” of men at arms.

True, it would be hard for me to ride in armor; but on the other hand, I would like to see the horseman who could sit still with me all day and look into a book even if he had nothing else to care for . . . Ask a chancery clerk, preacher, or speaker whether writing and speaking is work! Ask a schoolmaster whether teaching and training boys is work! . . . They say of writing that ‘it only takes three fingers to do it’; but the whole body and soul work at it too.⁷³

In 1524 as in 1530, Luther wrote in a context where there was a general agreement about the importance of manual trades. He took care to specify that he did not despise artisans at all, but he worried

about the short-term vision of parents who despised instruction or who kept their children in the home in order to benefit from free manual labor. It mattered especially to him that others aided, through scholarships, those children who were capable of scholarly study but who were poor.⁷⁴ Just as he did for the parental education in his *A Sermon on the Estate of Marriage*, he compared the foundation of scholarship to the good works that the church traditionally highlighted.

For this way you do not release departed souls from purgatory but, by maintaining God's offices, you do help the living and those to come who are yet unborn, so that they do not get into purgatory, indeed, so that they are redeemed from hell and go to heaven; and you help the living to enjoy peace and happiness.⁷⁵

Conclusion

Luther did not leave us any further writing on education.⁷⁶ By way of conclusion, we would like to mention three documents which bear witness to the importance that he placed on this topic even with his family. The first is a letter contemporary with *A Sermon on Keeping Children in School*. On June 19, 1530, Luther wrote a letter to his son John, then four years old, in which he adapted the sermon to the interests of a young boy. The letter described learning as a garden, thus stimulating his son's zeal for prayer and study.

I know of a pretty, beautiful, [and] cheerful garden where there are many children wearing little golden coats. [They] pick up fine apples, pears, cherries, [and] yellow and blue plums under the trees; they sing, jump, and are merry. They also have nice ponies with golden reins and silver saddles. I asked the owner of the garden whose children they were. He replied: "These are the children who like to pray, study, and be good."⁷⁷

The second document is the will which Luther wrote in favor of Katharina on January 6, 1542. He wrote that his wife was to be a universal beneficiary, contravening the provisions of the then-existing law of Saxony which imposed a guardian for Katharina and her children. Luther believed that she would be the best guardian for her children, and he wanted "not for the children to look for a

handout, but rather the children should be obligated to her.”⁷⁸ In particular, he put forward the fact that Katharina always presented herself as a “pious, faithful, and loving” wife, “educating (*erzogen*)” their five children who were still alive.⁷⁹ Thanks to the support of the Prince Elector of Saxony, this will, which praised Katharine’s abilities as a teacher, was declared valid.

The last document was the second to last letter he wrote to his wife on February 10, 1546, eight days before his death. Luther wrote from Eisleben to comfort Katharina, who worried rightly about the health of her husband.⁸⁰ The letter is full of humor, such as when he commented that he was concerned that Katharina’s worries were the cause of all the troubles that had happened to him during his trip. At the end of the letter, however, he adopted the position of a teacher, telling his wife that she was supposed to have learned not to worry: “Is this the way you learned the Catechism and the faith?”⁸¹ By the expression “the Catechism and the faith,” he meant the Creed as his *Catechisms* (1529) explain it, especially with regard to the article regarding God, Father and Creator.

Moreover, we also confess that God the Father . . . daily guards and defends us against every evil and misfortune, warding off all sorts of danger and disaster. All this God does out of pure love and goodness, without our merit, as a kind father who cares for us so that no evil may befall us.⁸²

[God] defends me against all danger and guards me and preserves me from all evil. All this He does only out of fatherly, divine goodness and mercy, without any merit or worthiness in me.⁸³

“Pray that God may watch over us,” concluded Luther.

Thus, for Luther, studying was work not only agreeable to God, but also advantageous for the human being, because the Bible, like history, reflects the actions of the Creator in the world and for us.⁸⁴

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NOTES

1. *Luther's Works*, American Edition, 55 vols. Eds. Pelikan and Lehmann (St. Louis and Philadelphia: Concordia and Fortress, 1955ff.), 31:25–33 (hereafter cited as LW); *Luthers Werke*, Kritische Gesamtausgabe, 57 vols. Eds. J.F.K. Knaake et al. (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883ff.) 1:233–238 (hereafter cited as WA).

2. The monographs concerning Luther and education are few in number. One essential source on this subject is Ivar Asheim, *Glaub und Erziehung bei Luther, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Verhältnisses von Theologie und Pädagogik* (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1961). Among the recent interpreters who have devoted time to this theme, it is important to mention Markus Wriedt, who not only writes on Luther, but more broadly on the University of Wittenberg in the 16th century. For more, see Markus Wriedt, “Die theologische Begründung der Bildungsreform bei Luther und Melanchthon,” in Michael Beyer, Gunther Wartenberg, et al., Hans-Peter Sasse (ed), *Humanismus und Wittenberger Reformation. Festgabe anlässlich des 500. Geburtstages des Praeceptor Germaniae Philipp Melanchthon am 16. Februar 1997* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1996), 155–84.

3. See Volker Leppin, *Martin Luther* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 2006), 126.; Matthieu Arnold, *Martin Luther* (Paris: Fayard, 2017), 108–115 (hereafter, Arnold 2017).

4. LW 31:25; WA 1:233.1: *Amore et studio elucidande veritatis*.

5. See the contributions assembled in Matthieu Arnold, Karsten Lehmkuhler, Marc Vial, eds, “*La vie tout entière est pénitence . . .*” *Les 95 thèses de Martin Luther*, Ecriture et Société 7 (Strasbourg: University Press of Strasbourg, 2018).

6. LW 41:231–33; WA 51:538.25; 539.12f.

7. LW 31:29; WA 1:235.22–27.

8. LW 31:29; WA 1:235.28f.

9. LW 31:29.; WA 1:235.30f.

10. See LW 31:29; WA 1:235.32f.

11. LW 31:30; WA 1:235.36–8.

12. LW 31:30; WA 1:235.39–41.

13. See LW 31:29–30; WA 1:235.34f.

14. LW 31:30; WA 1:236.1f.

15. LW 48:14 to John Lang (18 May 1517), 42; WA Br 1(n. 41), 99.8–13.

16. Concerning these reforms, see the detailed commentary of Thomas Kaufmann, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung*, Kommentare zu den Schriften Luthers 3 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 426–462. Kaufmann's book lists the number of measures recommended by Luther, which concerned the university rather than the Latin schools. Kaufmann outlines (461f.) that Luther's insistence of putting the Bible at the center of university education influenced the study and interpretation of Scripture at the University of Wittenberg for many years afterwards.

17. LW 44:200.202; WA 6:457.28f.; 458.37–40.

18. See LW 44:200–05; WA 6:457.28–462.11.

19. See LW 44:205; WA 6:461.1–10.

20. LW 44:206; WA 6:461.36–9.

21. LW 44:206; WA 6:461.13–15.

22. LW 44:12; The article by Markus Wriedt attracted our attention to this point; Markus Wriedt, “‘Dass man Kinder sur Schule halten soll.’ Reformatorische Impulse zum

kirchlichen und staatlichen Bildungswesen” *Ebernbürg-Hefte* 48 (2014), 21 note 22. (Hereafter Wriedt 2014.)

23. LW 44:14; WA 2:171.4–7 and 8–10.

24. LW 44:14; WA 2:171.7f.

25. LW 45:46; WA 10/II:301.16–19 and 23–25.

26. It seems much more important, as a Lutheran theologian, to underscore this point, since there is currently a movement in France (supported by the National Ethics Advisory Committee (CCNE)) which is against the role of the father as the head of the family. See Laetitia Strauch-Bonart, *Les hommes sont-ils obsolètes? Enquête sur la nouvelle inégalité des sexes* (Paris: Fayard, 2018).

27. LW 45:348–79; WA 15:27–53. A detailed analysis can be found in Wriedt 2014, 19–28.

28. See Henning P. Jürgens and Irene Dingel. “Luthers Schrift *An die Ratsherren aller Städte deutsches Lands* (1524)–Entstehungskontext und Druckgeschichte,” in Irene Dingel and Henning P. Jürgens, ed. *Meilensteine der Reformation. Schlüsseldokumente der frühen Wirksamkeit Martin Luthers* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2014), 192 (hereafter, Jürgens 2014); By “*studii humanioribus*,” Hessus intended, like other humanists, to indicate philology.

29. For Jürgens 2014, 193, the fact that 82 examples of this manuscript have been preserved (there are half as many for *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, of which we know that the first printing was of 4,000 copies) suggests that it was drawn from many thousands of examples.

30. *Corpus Reformatorum*, 28 vols. Eds. C.G. Bretschneider et al. (Brunsvigae and Halis Saxorum: C.A. Schwetschke et Filium, 1834–60), 26: 90. See Irene Dingel, “Luthers Schrift *An die Ratscherren aller Städte deutsches Lands* (1524)–Historische und theologische Aspekte,” in Irene Dingel and Henning P. Jürgens, ed. *Meilensteine der Reformation. Schlüsseldokumente der frühen Wirksamkeit Martin Luthers* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2014), 181, who made us aware of this citation (hereafter Dingel 2014).

31. See LW 44:115–217; WA 6:411.8–412.38.

32. LW 35:358; WA DB 6:4.4–6.

33. LW 35:361; WA DB 6:8–10.

34. See Amy Nelson Burnett, “Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (1486–1541),” in Irene Dingel, Volker Leppin (ed.), *Reformatorenlexikon* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2014), 45–51.; Arnold 2017, 276–279.

35. See Dingel 2014, 184.

36. For instance, consider Thomas Müntzer. See Siegfried Bräuer and Gunter Vogler, *Thomas Müntzer. Neu Ordnung machen in der Welt. Eine Biographie* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), especially 217–219.

37. See Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther*, Band 2: *Ordnung und Abgrenzung der Reformation 1521–1532* (Stuttgart: Calwer Verlag, 1986), 140.

38. See Irene Dingel and Henning P. Jürgens, ed. *Meilensteine der Reformation. Schlüsseldokumente der frühen Wirksamkeit Martin Luthers* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2014), illustration no. 28 (hereafter Dingel-Jürgens 2014).

39. See Dingel-Jürgens 2014, illustration no. 29.

40. For the role of the Reformation in the education of girls, see especially Anne-Marie Heitz-Muller, *Femmes et Réformation à Strasbourg (1521–1549)*, *Études d’Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 84 (Paris: University Presses of France, 2009), 29–50.

41. LW 45:348; WA 15:28.5f.
42. LW 45:350; WA 15:29.31–33.
43. See LW 45:350; WA 15:29.34–30.21.
44. See LW 45:351; WA 15:31.8–20.
45. LW 45:353; WA 15:32.20–22.
46. LW 45:356; WA 15:34.32–34.
47. LW 45:356; WA 15:35.16–18.
48. See LW 45:358–9; WA 15:37.3–6.
49. LW 45:359; WA 15:37.17f.
50. LW 45:360; WA 15:38.8–11.
51. LW 45:360; WA 15:38.30f.
52. LW 45:365; WA 15:42.6–9.
53. LW 45:368; WA 15:44.26–33. With regard to the distinction between the spiritual and the temporal estate, see especially LW 45:75–129; WA 11:247.21–252.23; Marc Lienhard, *Luther: Ses sources, sa pensée, sa place dans l'histoire* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 2016), 400–410 (hereafter, Lienhard 2016).
54. The LW starts this sentence with “the exceptional pupils.” LW 45:371; WA 15:47.13.
55. LW 45:371; WA 15:47.13–16.
56. LW 45:372–3; WA 15:49.7f.
57. LW 45:373; WA 15:49.12–14.
58. See Wriedt 2014, 27.
59. LW 45:376; WA 15:52.12f.
60. See Jürgens 2014, 195.
61. Kirsi I. Stjerna, “The Large Catechism of Dr. Martin Luther, 1529,” in *The Annotated Luther: Word and Faith*. Edited by Kirsi I. Stjerna (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 2015), 326. (Hereafter Stjerna 2015.); WA 30/I:156.25–8.; slightly modified by original author.
62. LW 46:207–58; WA 30/II:517–88. A detailed analysis in Markus Wriedt, “‘Dass man Kinder sur Schule halten soll.’ Reformatorische Impulse zum kirchlichen und staatlichen Bildungswesen,” *Eberburg-Hefte* 48 (2014), 14–18.
63. See Arnold 2017, 320f.
64. LW 46:218; WA 30/II:523.8–11.
65. For Luther, peace was the greatest and most precious earthly good. See especially Lienhard, 2016, 334 and 475; Matthieu Arnold, “Luther, Le droit, la guerre et la paix,” in Nicole Lemaître, Marc Lienhard (dir), *La théologie: Une Anthologie*, tome III: Renaissance et Réformes (Paris: Cerf, 2010), 445–60.
66. LW 46:226; WA 30/II:537.7–9.
67. LW 46:222; WA 30/II:530.13–15.
68. LW 46:234; WA 30/II:549.6–10.
69. LW 46:231; WA 30/II:545.5f.
70. See LW 46:231; WA 30/II:545.8–10.
71. See *supra*, note 53.
72. LW 46:239–40; WA 30/II:558.15–559.1.
73. LW 46:249; WA 30/II:573.10–574.6.
74. This idea is repeated notably by Jean Sturm, *De literarum ludis recte aperiendis liber. De la bonne manière d'ouvrir des écoles de Lettres*, Facsimile and translation by Georges Lagarrigue (Strasbourg: University Press of Strasbourg, 2007), 36–40. Luther addressed many petitions

to the civil authorities soliciting scholarships for students. See Karl Trüdinger, *Luthers Briefe und Gutachten an weltliche Obrigkeiten zur Durchführung der Reformation* (Münster i. W.: Aschendorff, 1975), 38–41.; Matthieu Arnold, *La Correspondance de Luther. Etude historique, littéraire et théologique*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz 168 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1996), 283–92.

75. LW 46:257; WA 30/II:587.12–16.

76. In 1529, in his preface to *Oeconomia Christiana* of Justus Menius, the Reformer evoked the principle ideas of his school reform and announced his work of 1530, in which he “God willing, . . . shall really go after the shameful, despicable, damnable parents who are no parents at all but despicable hogs and venomous beasts, devouring their own young.”; LW 46:211; WA 30/II:63.17–20.

77. LW 49:214.323; WA Br 5 (no. 1595) 377.5–378.11. Translation somewhat modified by the original author.

78. WA Br 9 (no. 3699, “Luthers Testament, [Wittenberg] 6. January 1542.”) 572.20–21.

79. WA Br 9, 572.14–16.

80. See the remarks made about this letter in Matthieu Arnold, “‘Moi, ton Dieu, j’ai souci de toi.’ Deux lettres de Martin Luther (1531 et 1546),” *Revue d’Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 90 (2010), especially 9–10 and 12–13.

81. LW 50:306; WA Br 11 (no. 4203) 291.15f.

82. Stjerna 2015, 354; WA 30/I:184.24–32 (*Large Catechism*). See Andre Birmelé and Marc Lienhard, eds. *La Foi des Eglises luthériennes. Confessions et catéchismes* (Paris: Cerf and Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1991), 373, §730 (hereafter, Birmelé–Lienhard 1991).

83. Martin Luther, *Luther’s Small Catechism with Explanation* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2017), 133; WA 30/I:292.19–294.2 (*Small Catechism*). See Birmelé–Lienhard 1991, 306, §501.

84. See Wriedt 2014, 29. The author underscores that, unlike Melancthon, Luther emphasized the theological utility of education more than its ethical–moral function. The Reformer also differed from the humanists in that he did not claim that education makes humans better. See also Mark Wriedt, “Erneuerung der Frömmigkeit durch Ausbildung: zur theologischen Begründung der evangelischen Bildungsreform bei Luther und Melancthon.” In Matthieu Arnold, Rolf Decot (ed.), *Frömmigkeit und Spiritualität. Auswirkungen der Reformation im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert / Piété et Spiritualité. L’impact de la Réformation aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz 54 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2002), 59–71.