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## ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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*Red Rosenblatt*

- Anderson, Charles S., ed. *Readings in Luther for Laymen*. Minneapolis, Fortress, 1967. 116 pages which includes "Chronological selections from various works under the categories 'reformer' and 'pastor' with useful introduction by the editor" (Bainton and Gritsch).
- Dillenberger, J., ed. *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*. Garden City, New Jersey: Doubleday & Co. (Anchor), 1961. "For something a little lighter than [Lull], there is this popular (and more readily available) collection. Everything of Luther's you absolutely must read is here, although it's difficult to read mere selections from the Reformer's commentary on Galatians. Beginner" (Michael Scott Horton, "Annotated Bibliography" [C.U.R.E.]).
- \*Lull, Timothy F., ed. *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings*. With foreword by Jaroslav Pelikan. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989. "At 750 pages, this is a pretty comprehensive collection of Luther's best. From informal correspondence to seasonal sermons, to a constitution for setting up a school system, this collection does not stop with the familiar essays on Christian liberty and justification. Even if you've read Luther collections before, this one is likely to sneak in a few surprises. Intermediate Level" (Michael Horton).
- Luther, Martin. *Luther's Works*. American Edition (esp. vol 37). Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1961. In addition to

vol. 37, other volumes from this exhaustive set worth picking up include: *The Career of the Reformer*, *Table Talk*, *Liturgy and Hymns*, and *Lectures on Galatians* (Rick Ritchie).

\*Plass, Ewald M., compiler. *What Luther Says: An Anthology*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1959. Previously in three volumes, now in one. "Thousands of Luther's best quotations are combined with historical introductions and placed into subject categories" (Gregory L. Jackson, *Liberalism: Its Cause and Cure*).

Tappert, Theodore G., ed. *Selected Writings of Martin Luther*. 4 vols. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1967. "Beyond these collections [viz., those of Rupp & Drewery, Siggins, Woolf & Dillenberger], the most practical shorter edition for students is [Tappert]" (A. Skevington Wood, "A Bibliographical Guide to the Study of the Reformation" [*Themelios*]).

Jacobs, Charles M., A.T.W. Steinhauser, and W.A. Lambert, eds. *Three Treatises*. 1970, Second rev. ed. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988. "Translation of essential source in development of Protestantism, three treatises written by Luther in 1520: 'To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation,' 'The Babylonian Captivity of the Church,' and 'The Freedom of the Christian'" (Perez Zagorin, *American History Association's Guide to Historical Literature*).

### Luther's Overall Theology

Althaus, Paul. *The Theology of Martin Luther*. Trans. Robert C. Schultz. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966. "The most detailed and systematic treatment . . ." (A. Skevington Wood, "A Bibliographical Guide to the Study of the Reformation" [*Themelios*]).

Bornkamm, H. *Luther's World of Thought*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1958. "There is no comprehensive exposition of Luther's theology, though the following works should be mentioned: Philip S. Watson, *Let God Be God* (Philadelphia, 1949), E. Gordon Rupp, *The Righteousness of God* (St. Louis, Missouri, 1953), and Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther's World of Thought* (St. Louis, Missouri, 1958)" (Hans J. Hillerbrand).

Elert, Werner. *The Structure of Lutheranism, Vol. I: The Theology and Philosophy of Life of Lutheranism, Especially in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Trans. Walter A. Hansen; Foreword by Jaroslav Pelikan. St. Louis: Concordia, 1962.

Forde, Gerhard O. *Where God Meets Man; Luther's Down-to-Earth Approach to the Gospel*. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1972.

Arnold, W. H. and C. George Fry. *The Way, The Truth, and the Life: An Introduction to Lutheran Christianity*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1982. A handy introduction to Lutheranism that contains materials not found in any other popular volume (e.g., church architecture, pastoral vestments, etc.). A bit too broad in its section on "Heros of the Faith" (What could it possibly mean to say that Hegel was a Lutheran?!). The chapter on the content of the faith is a readable summary. Authors, when this was written, were a professor and a student at what is now the Concordia Theological Seminary, Ft. Wayne, Indiana.

Gerrish, Brian A. *Grace and Reason: A Study in the Theology of Luther*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962. 188 pages. "Shows the complexity of Luther's reasoning and rejects the charge of 'irrationalism'" (Bainton & Gritsch).

Gritsch, Eric W. Martin. *God's Court Jester: Luther in Retro-*

spect. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983. "The professor-priest, Martin Luther, whose attack on indulgence traffic made him popular, was equally an academic and an ecclesiastical Reformer who also linked 'a revival of Biblical theology to parish reform.' Part 1 of this three-part book concerns the Luther biography whereas Part 2 uncovers the 'neuralgic heritage.' Authority for Luther was Scripture over tradition, understood as Law and Gospel which demanded proclamation. Accounts of Luther's 'Two-Kingdom ethic' 'must take into account the radical difference between the sixteenth century and later periods.' While not the Father of anti-Semitism but a 'son of medieval Christendom,' his theological anti-Judaism removes him from the position of helper in today's Christian-Jewish relations. In Part 3, 'The Ecumenical Legacy,' Luther's doctrine of justification is finding a hearing in the Roman Catholic Church. As the Schwärmer problem developed, Luther spoke more forcefully on the need of ordained pastors and bishops, although he left a legacy without clear direction. The history of Luther scholarship caused Hanns Lilje to report at the First International Congress for Luther Research in 1956 that 'Luther still had not been fully rediscovered.' When in 1971 the Pope refused to lift the ban on Luther, both Catholic and Lutheran Luther scholars tended to agree that lifting the ban 'would not serve to strengthen the already existing rapprochement,' and with the statement of Cardinal Willebrands, that 'it would be better to improve the relationship between Catholics and Lutherans through continual study, prayer and other ecumenical means.' 'Luther, who appeared in the "guise of a fool, a court jester" is being heard before the court of history and has been "acquitted—at least by ecumenical Luther research"' (Hagen,

Possett and Thomas, *Annotated Bibliography of Luther Studies, 1984-1989*).

McGrath, Alister E. *Luther's Theology of the Cross: Martin Luther's Theological Breakthrough*. Oxford and New York: Basic Blackwell, Ltd., 1985. "Luther is a man of the Middle Ages. Developing in an Erfurt world opposed to the *via antiqua* and gaining the latest in scholarly tools from the Humanists (but not ascribing to their philosophy), Luther continued to display 'considerable affinity at points with the theology of the *via moderna*.' 'In 1514 (the period of the *Dictata*), Luther held a doctrine of justification which was firmly set within a well-established medieval theological tradition' (the traditional western view of justification—that of *pactum*). The West seemed unaware of the Second Council of Orange. Luther's breakthrough to his evangelical view of justification was his gradual coming to a theology of the cross in 1518. If there is a datable breakthrough experience, it is the beginning of the unfolding of a new theology, not the end. The righteousness of God is answered for Luther in the theology of the cross. Here God is revealed for faith alone, both cognitively and existentially. Luther's theology of the cross is the heart and center of the Reformation, of justification, and the righteousness of God" (Hagen, Possett and Thomas, *Annotated Bibliography of Luther Studies, 1984-1989*).

Mayer, Frederick E. "The Soteriological Approach to Christian Doctrine" in *The Religious Bodies of America*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1954. A marvelous short introduction to the basics of confessional Lutheranism, locus-by-locus. See along with this "A Study Guide for 'The Soteriological Approach to Christian Doctrine'" in *Concordia Theological Monthly* 44 (1973): 368-74 as

help in understanding this chapter on Lutheran theology. Excellent for non-Lutherans as short doctrinal introduction to confessional Lutheran theology.

Oberman, Heiko A. *Luther, Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel*. Berlin: Severin und Siedler, 1981. Trans. by Eileen Walliser-Schwarzbart as *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1986. "Oberman reminds his readers that, for Luther, Christ and the Devil were equally real, and that the presence of the Devil was a sign of Christ's work. He therefore distinguishes between what he calls an 'expected Reformation,' a medieval German event that may be explained in the light of young Luther's home and school experiences, and an 'unexpected Reformation' in which Luther through his struggle with the Devil discovered the central insight of the Reformation. An 'endangered Reformation' as he calls it arose from Luther's experience of life as being lived between God and the Devil (he compared man to a horse being ridden by one or the other)" (Hagen, Kenneth and Franz Possett, *Annotated Bibliography of Luther Studies, 1977-1983*. Center for Reformation Research).

Preus, Herman A. *A Theology to Live By: The Practical Luther for the practicing Christian*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1977. For years, Dr. Herman Preus was the lone representative of Lutheran orthodoxy in the Babylon of Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Rupp, E. Gordon. *The Righteousness of God*. Series: Luther Studies. London: Hodder and Stoughton; New York: Philosophical Library, 1953. "Essential insights are reflected in E.G. Rupp, *The Righteousness of God*" (A. Skevington Wood, "A Bibliographical Guide to the Study of the Reformation" [*Themelios*]). ". . . though published subsequent to [Luther's *Progress to the Diet of*

*Worms*], is based on lectures which antedate it. In addition to a section on Luther studies in England and a variety of other topics not always related, he gives the foremost attention to an exposition and interpretation of Luther's problems, lectures and writings to 1521. This is the solid undertaking out of which the shorter book is written" (John Dillenberger).

Sasse, Hermann. *Here We Stand: The Nature and Character of the Lutheran Faith*, Trans. and ed. Theodore G. Tappert. New York and London: Harpers, 1938. "A stout defense of Lutheranism against Reformed and modernistic theology. There are many quotable passages in this timely, thought-provoking book of 180 pp." (Ewald M. Plass, *What Luther Says*).

Sasse, Hermann. *We Confess*. 3 Vols. St. Louis: Concordia, 1984-1986. A twentieth-century confessional Lutheran professor at Erlangen (later Australia) who had warm and collegial relations with the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod (a more conservative branch of Lutheranism in this country).

Watson, Phillip S. *Let God Be God! An Interpretation of the Theology of Luther*. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1948. "Best introduction to Luther's theology in English" (Franz Lau, *Luther*). "A good introduction by a British Methodist scholar influenced by Swedish Luther research. He regards Luther's shift from the anthropocentric to the theocentric stance as a 'Copernican revolution'" (Bainton & Gritsch). "Author a Methodist, 'tutor in systematic theology and philosophy of religion, Handsworth College, Birmingham.' Worked with the sources. Makes theocentricity of Luther's theology stand out, as title indicates. But we cannot accept some of the author's interpretations of Luther [perhaps Plass refers to Watson's remaking of Luther's view of Scrip-

ture into nonsensical twentieth-century neo-orthodoxy and existentialism? Watson certainly does this; the chapter is the weakest in an otherwise excellent volume (Ed.)). A book that should be studied by pastors and theologians" (Ewald M. Plass, *What Luther Says*).

### Luther Biographies

*Christian History*, XI, 2 (Issue #34): "Martin Luther: The Early Years."

*Christian History*, XII, 3 (Issue #39): "Martin Luther: The Later Years."

Bainton, Roland H. *Here I Stand*. Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon, 1950. "The best biography of Luther in English comes from the pen of Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (New York, 1950)" (Hans J. Hillerbrand). "Scholarly and very readable" (Franz Lau, *Luther*).

Brecht, Martin. *Martin Luther: sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521*. Stuttgart, 1981. Trans., *Martin Luther: His Road to Reformation, 1483-1521*. Trans. James L. Schaff. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985.

Brecht, Martin. *Martin Luther: Ordnung and Abgrenzung der Reformation, 1521-1532*. Stuttgart, 1986. Trans., *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation 1521-1522*. Trans. James L. Schaff. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1990.

Brecht, Martin. *Die Erhaltung der Kirche, 1532-1546* [*The Preservation of the Church*]. Stuttgart, 1987. Brecht's three-volume work will be the definitive Luther biography of the twentieth century. Advanced (Ed.).

Green, Lowell C. *How Melancthon Helped Luther Discover the Gospel: The Doctrine of Justification in the Reformation*. Fallbrook, California: Verdict Publications, 1980; now available through Greenwood, South Carolina: The

Attic Press. xxvii + 274 pp. "Writing from the perspective that the Lutheran *Confessions* and *Book of Concord* embody Luther's mature thought, the espousal of an evangelical doctrine of forensic justification, and the explicit rejection of his early Catholic view of justification, Green opposes what he describes as an almost blind hatred of Melancthon by many Luther scholars which has obscured Melancthon's influence on Luther. After showing why supporters of a 'Young Luther' theology and its understanding of justification hold an untenable position in light of the original sources, Green discusses the contribution of biblical humanists. He then traces Melancthon's own movement from a pre-reformational 'analytic' understanding of justification to a reformational 'synthetic' one, and compares this with Luther's own theological development. According to Green, Melancthon stressed *sola gratia*, or justification by grace, which emphasized the exclusive operation of God, while Luther stressed *sola fides*, or justification by faith, which emphasized the responsibility of the individual. Ultimately, Melancthon acted as a catalyst in bringing Luther to a formation of the doctrine of forensic justification 'true to the insights of Paul,' as well as an evangelical doctrine of the nature of faith, the meaning of grace, and the gift of imputed righteousness" (Hagen, Kenneth and Franz Possett, *Annotated Bibliography of Luther Studies, 1977-1983*. Center for Reformation Research).

Gritsch, Eric W. Martin. *God's Court Jester: Luther in Retrospect*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983, 289 pp. "Eric Gritsch (1983) has produced a very solid, although slightly disjointed, survey of Luther's life and major teachings. He is more forthright than many in dealing with the darker side of Luther's personality and behavior, especially Luther's attacks on opponents, most

notably the Jews. His surveys of Luther's theology are quite sound" (Mark U. Edwards, "Luther's Biography" in Maltby (ed.), 1992).

Haile, H.G. *Luther: An Experiment in Biography*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1980; reprint: Princeton, 1983. ". . . offers a portrait of the older Luther that is particularly strong in conveying Luther's literary gifts and style, his sense of humor, and the difficulties he faced in his last years" (Mark U. Edwards, Jr., in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. Steven Ozment). "Edwards and Haile each organizes his treatment of Luther's later life (after 1530 for Edwards, after 1533 for Haile) thematically, with the themes selected so as to follow each other chronologically, Edwards states that he has no particular agenda for his book aside from providing a better understanding of Luther in his time. While Luther's life, his careful treatments of Luther's response to such developments as illness, political resistance, and secular authority still illustrate the transcendent aspect in Luther. The nature of Luther the man is Edwards' main topic, however, and his depiction of a Luther whose actions (even those at which the modern reader may blanch) were logical given the situation is a strong challenge to the viewpoint of Erikson and Osborne. Edwards posits that the violent language of Luther's later years, while not new and not exclusive to Luther, was partly due to two things: Luther's disappointment with the course of the Reformation and his belief that he had been misunderstood. On those later points Haile's equally able treatment of the topic differs. Referring to Luther as a 'grand personality,' Haile shares Edwards' view of a productive, vibrant, and intellectually capable older Luther, but fails to find the disappointment and feelings of Luther who cherishes life, a man who jokes and drinks with his friends, loves his wife and children,

and takes joy in simple pleasures. Haile's book discusses in a matter-of-fact way Luther's belief that the devil was an active participant in the world (the normative belief of Luther's time) without giving this issue the stress that Edwards' book does. Thus the two differ on some details, but not on the key issue, in the view of both scholars, Luther was a well-adjusted, whole man" (Terry D. Thompson, "Biographies of Luther: Converging on a Whole Man," *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, Vol. 58, No. 1, Jan. 1994. Pp. 28-29).

Kittelson, James M. *Luther the Reformer: The Story of the Man and His Career*. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1986, 334 pp. "This is the best complete biography of Martin Luther, the man and the reformer, available to the English reading world. It is historically solid, factually authentic, psychologically sensitive, personally perceptive, socially aware, and, above all, theologically knowledgeable and persuasive. The more than 30 years that have passed since Roland Bainton published his classic *Here I Stand*, which remains a sparkling gem, have seen the publication of a tremendous amount of Luther and Reformation research. The account of this volume has taken this scholarly work into account and has courageously written the life of Luther for our times" (Lewis W. Spitz, Stanford University).

Lau, Franz. *Luther*. Trans. Robert H. Fischer. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1963. "A good introduction to Luther by an eminent German Luther scholar" (Bainton & Gritsch). "[A] short, popular biography" (Harold J. Grimm).

Oberman, Heiko A. *Luther: Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel*. Berlin: Severin & Siedler, 1981; Trans. *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil*. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1986. "Two shorter biographies

stand out in this crowd. . . . The other standout is Heiko Oberman's *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil* (1989). The English title, *Man between God and the Devil*, does not quite capture the deliberate ambiguity of Oberman's original German title *Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel* (1982). Oberman lays before his readers both a man, Luther, for whom the Devil was as real and as much on his thoughts as God, and a theology, Luther's, which sees all of humanity as the battlefield between God and the Devil. To match, perhaps, the alien righteousness of Luther's theology, Oberman presents an alien Luther, not the modern, progressive Luther of much post-enlightenment scholarship of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but a Luther caught not only between God and Devil but also between the medieval and the modern, a Luther who lived the conviction that his world existed 'in the shadow of the last days.' While some scholars feel Oberman may have overstated his case, he has undoubtedly produced a [sic.] important corrective to the studies that make Luther too modern and too heroic . . . . While Oberman is not the biography to introduce Luther to the non-specialist since much of the exposition requires prior familiarity not only with Luther's biography but also with contemporary scholarship on Luther, it deserves to be widely read as a salutary corrective to the more standard approaches" (Mark U. Edwards, "Luther's Biography" in Maltby [ed.], 1992). ". . . many of the most recent and useful works appeared in the series, *Studies in Late Medieval and Reformation Thought*, edited by H.A. Oberman . . . who has dedicated much of his own scholarly labor to fixing Luther in the tradition of late medieval Augustinianism and has thus at least implicitly denied the idea that Luther departed substantially from his teachers. But those whose books have

appeared in this series have shown that on theme after theme, Luther's thinking changed substantially between 1513 and 1519, that is, during the course of his lectures as a beginning professor of theology. The conclusion and weight of the evidence is now obvious: on topics as apparently as diverse as the *homo spiritualis*, the nature of the church, the place of conscience, the idea of conversion, hermeneutics, and his picture of the covenant, Luther departed from what he was taught and embarked upon his own career as a practicing theologian. In addition, as he himself declared, it required time and effort for him to do so" (James M. Kittelson, "Luther the Theologian" in Maltby).

Schwiebert, Ernst G. *Luther and His Times*. St. Louis, Missouri: Concordia, 1950. "Exhaustive, and not a little exhausting by reason of its massive erudition. This is an indispensable store of information" (A. Skevington Wood, "A Bibliographical Guide to the Study of the Reformation" [*Themelios*]). "Many consider this the best single volume on Luther on the market today [Note that Plass' work was published back in 1959 (Ed.)]. Chapters on the University of Wittenberg offer much new material. All in all, a credit to American Luther scholarship" (E. Plass).

#### Luther, Lutheran Bibliographies

Arnold, W.H. and C. George Fry. *The Way, The Truth, and the Life: An Introduction to Lutheran Christianity*. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1982. See comments above.

Bainton, Roland H. and Eric W. Gritsch, eds. *Bibliography of the Continental Reformation: Materials Available in English*. 2nd ed. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1972; Shoe String, 1973.



- Bigane, Jack and Kenneth Hagen. *Annotated Bibliography of Luther Studies, 1967-1976. Sixteenth Century Bibliography*, 9. St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1977.
- Center for Reformation Research, *Sixteenth Century Bibliography*. 19 vols. (St. Louis, Missouri, 1975—). Address: 6477 San Bonita Ave., St. Louis, Missouri, 63105.
- Daniel, David P. and Charles P. Arand. *A Bibliography of the Lutheran Confessions. Sixteenth-Century Bibliography*; 28. St. Louis, Missouri: Center for Reformation Research, 1988.
- Edwards, Mark U., Jr. "Luther's Biography" in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research II*, vol. 3 of "Reformation Guides to Research," William S. Maltby, ed. St. Louis, Missouri: Center for Reformation Research, 1992, 5-20.
- Edwards, Mark U., Jr. "Martin Luther" in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*, Steven Ozment, ed. St. Louis, Missouri: Center for Reformation Research, 1982, 59-83. "Edwards provides an introduction to research on Luther for the beginner. It lists the biographies of Luther, and indicates the need for a new comprehensive biography, especially for the years 1530-46. Edwards discusses the various editions of Luther's works, and maintains that the American Edition (1955-77), though suitable for general readers, cannot replace the Weimarer Ausgabe. He introduces K. Aland's tool for research (*Hilfsbuch zum Lutherstudium*), and indicates what can be expected in the coming years with regard to indices of Luther's Works. His observations on various linguistic aids indicate the complexity of the history of the German language since the time of Luther. In his assessment of current research on Luther, Edwards provides a bibliography of aids to Luther research and reviews of literature (Catholic and Protes-

- tant works are listed separately) and an indication of various issues in Luther research (up to 1981)" (Hagen, Kenneth and Franz Possett, *Annotated Bibliography of Luther Studies, 1977-1983*. Center for Reformation Research).
- Green, Lowell C. *The Formula of Concord: An Historiographical and Bibliographical Guide*. St. Louis, Missouri: Center for Reformation Research, 1977. Series title: *Sixteenth Century Bibliography*; 11.
- Green, Lowell C. "Luther Research in English-Speaking Countries Since 1971," *Lutherjahrbuch*, 44 (1977): 105-26.
- Hagen, Kenneth and Franz Posset. *Annotated Bibliography of Luther Studies, 1977-1983. Sixteenth Century Bibliography*; 24. St. Louis, Missouri: Center for Reformation Research, 1985.
- Hagen, Kenneth, Franz Possett and Terry Thomas. *Annotated Bibliography of Luther Studies, 1984-1989. Sixteenth Century Bibliography*; 29. St. Louis, Missouri: Center for Reformation Research, 1991.
- Kittelson, James M. "Luther the Theologian" in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research II*. (Reformation Guide to Research II.) William S. Maltby, ed. St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1992, 21-46.
- Maltby, William S., ed. *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research II*. St. Louis, Missouri: 1992. "A sequel to the earlier volume edited by Ozment, summarizing research over the 1980s in various subdisciplines of Reformation history and suggesting future projects" (John Tonkin, "Reformation Studies" in *Encyclopedia of Reference*).
- Ozment, Steven E., ed. *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*. St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research,

1982. "A collection of essays by fifteen scholars covering major areas and aspects of Reformation research, each with a bibliography for further research" (John Tonkin, "Reformation Studies" in *Encyclopedia of Reference*).

Robbert, George S., ed. "A Checklist of Luther's Writings in English," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 36 (December 1965): 772-791; *Concordia Theological Monthly* 41 (April 1970): 214-220; *Concordia Journal* 4 (March 1978): 73-77.

Tjernagel, Neelak S. *The Lutheran Confessions: A Harmony and Resource Book*. Mankato, Minnesota: Evangelical Lutheran Synod, 1979.