

LUTHER'S RELATIONSHIP TO ARISTOTLE: FROM LOGICAL DUALISM TO THE BIBLICAL-SEMITIC APPROACH OF UNDERSTANDING

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen!

We want to look at this topic as a very important way of thinking that has fundamentally shaped our Western world. It is about the so-called »logical dualism,« which is a fundamental factor in our approach to the knowledge of God and the world. Therefore our topic is:

»*The Legacy of reformatory Bible Interpretation: Luther's Interaction between the Dualism of Aristotle and the biblical-semitic Approach of Understanding*«

We want to consider this question from the following points of view:

- 1. Introduction: Aspects of the Lutheran Reformation**
- 2. Luther's interaction with Socrates, Plato and Aristotle**
- 3. Luther's interpretation of biblical texts in contrast to scholasticism**
- 4. Results: Luther's Legacy of reformatory Bible Interpretation**

First:

1. Introduction: Aspects of the Lutheran Reformation

In order to investigate the question of Martin Luther's reformatory interpretation of the Bible, it is necessary to arrange the wealth

of literature on Luther and the Reformation¹. Therefore, it seems to be a sensible way to distinguish at least the following five aspects of the Reformation:

1. Literary: Luther's translation of the Bible from the original languages²
2. Theological: Luther's Christ-centered Doctrine of Justification³
3. Apologetic: Luther's position in relation to other denominations and religions⁴
4. Historically: Luther's function in the context of society and politics⁵
5. Philosophical-hermeneutic: Luther's method of Bible interpretation and translation⁶

In the context of today's theme, we will only focus on the fifth aspect of the reformation, the aspect of philosophical hermeneutics, that is, the art and scientific method of interpretation.⁷ When reviewing the literature on the subject of »Luther and the Reformation« it is striking that there are no discussions in the current publications on the 500th anniversary of the Reformation that deal specifically with the *philosophical-hermeneutical* significance of Luther, including his relationship to Aristotle.⁸ In other words, the philosophical foundations of Luther's Bible interpretation are completely neglected.⁹ This applies to the entire period of the Luther Decade from 2007 to 2017. The only exception to this research deficit is the thorough study by T. Dieter in 2001. It bears the title »The Young

Luther and Aristotle: A Historical-systematic Investigation on the relationship between Theology and Philosophy«.¹⁰ This book is his dissertation and habilitation thesis, with a total of 687 pages. As Dieter aptly notes, the topic of »Luther and Aristotle« has not been extensively studied for more than a hundred years.¹¹ His work already appeared 6 years before the beginning of the Luther Decade, so that Dieter's research was not yet under the influence of the Reformation Jubilee.

But not only in the current publications there is a lack of reference of Luther to Aristotle. Also in the relevant theological reference work for the German-speaking world, the *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, there is in the article on the theology of Luther in 1991, no discussion of the influence of Aristotle on Luther.¹² Likewise, the important lexicon *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* in its current 4th edition in the article on Luther's theology of 2002, contains no evaluation of the relationship between Luther and Aristotle.¹³ On the basis of this finding, the urgent need becomes evident to further develop the question of the relationship between Luther and Aristotle, in order to continue the legacy of the Reformation in this foundational and decisive dimension.¹⁴ Here, on the one hand, the question of Luther's relationship to the ancient philosophy of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle is in the foreground. On the other hand, the question arises as to how far he demonstrates a difference between these philosophers and his own biblical-Semitic approach to understanding, which he initiated with his Bible translation.¹⁵ By »Biblical-Semitic« I mean in relation to Luther that he emphasizes the physical efficacy of God in space and time through the power of the Word of God. In doing so he overcomes the division of reality that originated in Greek philosophy. Therefore, let us now turn to the question of how Luther dealt with the foundational philosophers of the Occident.

2. Luther's Interaction with Socrates, Plato and Aristotle

In the following, the possible approaches of a Biblical-Semitic interpretation of the Bible in Luther are to be worked out. To do so, it is necessary first of all to identify the causes of the logical dualism¹⁶ that became apparent in the biblical interpretation in the scholastic¹⁷ period of the thirteenth century.¹⁸ The emergence of the universities in the 12th Century and the rediscovery of Aristotle laid the ground for the revival of science and culture as a hoped-for overcoming of the rational hardening of the Middle Ages.¹⁹ Importantly, Aristotle's terminology - including the theses and arguments - found its way into European languages.²⁰ This has made Aristotelian thought »an integral part of the common heritage of Western culture«²¹ since the Middle Ages.

However, Luther already had access to the biblical-Semitic reality in his early days. This is evident in the theme of the absolute power of God, in which he does not ask what God *can* do beyond His creation orders. Rather, he emphasizes what God *is* doing in his orderly power in the face of human weakness and sinfulness.²² Against this background, a look at Aristotle and his predecessors is important because they have created the philosophical and cognitive foundations for the Western world view²³ of dualism. To assess the philosophy of Aristotle and his predecessors, Luther had acquired a great deal of competence. For he had completed a four-year basic philosophical study at the faculty of arts as well as at the theological faculty of the University of Erfurt. In it he obtained a thorough knowledge of the philosophies of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. R. Schäfer points out that Luther had to swear in the acquisition of his first degree in the Erfurt Baccalaureate Oath in 1502 that he had listened to the interpretation of some of the basic books of Aristotle.²⁴

In the field of biblical scholarship, the age of the Renaissance (»rebirth of antiquity«)²⁵ led to an increased study of the Greek texts of the Bible, and not only to an interest in the Vulgate, the hitherto prevalent Latin translation of the Bible.²⁶ This concern of the translation of the Bible from the primary languages Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek was later taken up by Luther²⁷ with his exploration of the Hebrew *Urtext*, which promoted not least his biblical-Semitic approach to understanding.

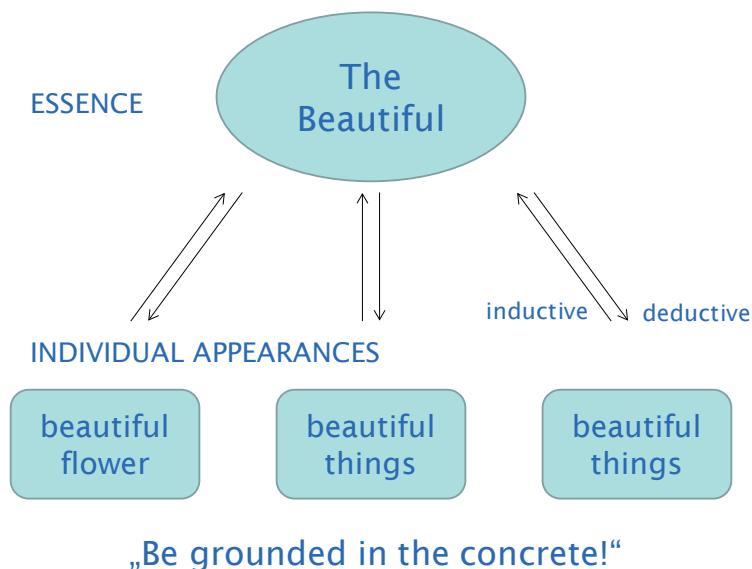
2.1 Socrates (ca. 469-399 BC)

Luther argues at the beginning of his »Lecture on Romans 1515/1516« that there are people who represent their justice for good reasons. It is about people with »love for virtue and wisdom«, which included Socrates.²⁸ In fact, the search for the moral excellence²⁹ of man was the central concern of Socrates, as F. Hager aptly noted.³⁰ This shows a fundamental recognition of Socrates by Luther,

even if later Luther's criticism of him should follow. In his 1525 writing »On the Bondage of the Will« to Erasmus of Rotterdam, Luther emphasizes that the truth of Scripture and the Christian faith is higher than the philosophers.³¹ Luther clearly refers to the Bible as the foundation of the Christian faith and life. Nevertheless, Luther knows that the roots of the argumentation of occidental theology are based in Greek philosophy.

Socrates already demands the search for theoretical and practical knowledge.³² This search happens through persistent questions, thinking and testing, as H. Poller explains.³³ In the case of Socrates, man is at the center of consideration, especially his moral concepts, such as »justice«, »wisdom« or »the good«.³⁴ Since the moral concepts are alive in all humans, and since man is good and strives for virtue³⁵ by nature, the highest commandment for him is to follow his conscience.³⁶ Thus man sets out on the path of self-knowledge

Dialectical Method of Socrates



through the means of reason (Logos).³⁷ In his search for the reason of all that is, Socrates used his *dialectical method*. Here we already see the distinction between the essence (transcendental dimension) and the individual phenomena (immanent dimension).³⁸

This shows how Socrates seeks the opposite of physical reality and spiritual reality. This distinction thus forms the background for the division of reality in Plato and Aristotle.

2.2. Plato (427-347 BC)

In his table talk on »The New Faith«, Luther talks about the question of how God can be known. The revelation of God through his word and work is the decisive source of knowledge. It is important to note that man must understand the word of God in its »outer clarity«, in order to then come to understand the »inner clarity«.³⁹ This happens through the free work of God through the Holy Spirit, who opens up and makes certain the word of God to man.⁴⁰ In the context of the Word of God and the knowledge of God, Luther remarks on the question: »What that is, God is nothing and yet everything«:

»The Gentile Plato disputes of God that God is nothing and yet everything. But so one should understand and speak of it: God is incomprehensible and invisible, but what one can understand and see is not God. [...] He is visible in his word and work; but where his word and work are not, there one should not want to have him, for he can not be found elsewhere, except as he has revealed himself.«⁴¹

This shows that Luther sees the foundational difference between Plato's view of reality and the reality of the biblical revelation of God.⁴² While the biblical-Semitic revelation, as experienced by the Semitic people of Israel and communicated to us in writing according to

the will of God, describes the physical reality of God's action as a unity with his word, Plato emphasizes the *difference between idea and appearance* as the center of his Philosophy.⁴³ The idea is what is real, it defines the conceptual or sensory appearance, it is the general concept, the eternal truth behind things.⁴⁴ The idea is a general content that is purified of all temporal and material peculiarities.⁴⁵ Poller rightly notes:

»The ideas are the immutable archetypes, the perceptible things only their fleeting, inadequate images.«⁴⁶

The idea is thus the reference point of the concrete phenomenon, but is itself not limited by it, but stands above all reality.⁴⁷ This shows that the division of reality into the realm of rational ideas and physical reality, as already created by Socrates, continues. As G. Römpf points out, Plato distinguishes the upper, invisible realm of the »thinkable« and the lower realm of the »sensually perceivable«.⁴⁸ The upper part, the sphere of ideas, is independent of anything else.⁴⁹ Consequently, ideas have a primacy in the order of being by which the lower realm of sensible objects is devalued. Römpf aptly states:

»The world of ideas can exist, even if the world of sensible objects is not there, but conversely, the world of objects can not exist without the world of ideas. [...] They (the ideas, author's remark) allow us a higher content of knowledge, because they represent nothing, but represent the immutable reality of what can be understood in the world of sensory perception only in the status of the image.«⁵⁰

For Plato's view of man, this means that the immortal soul⁵¹ should reach the idea of the good by the elevation into the supersensible world.⁵² His teaching on the soul is based on the three principles of desire, courage, and

reason.⁵³ Man, therefore, has the task of governing, through reason, the lower abilities of the soul, which cause both virtue and vice, both well-being and the ruin of life.⁵⁴ Therefore, the body and the sensuality are like chains that prevent people from reaching the idea of the good. Therefore, only through the four virtues of wisdom, bravery, prudence, and justice can man approach the goal of elevation.⁵⁵ This foundation of the division of reality is now continued by Plato's student Aristotle.

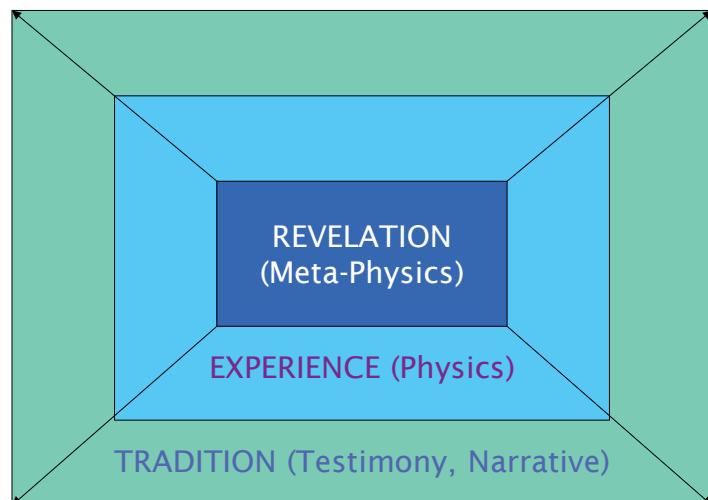
2.3. Aristotle (384-322 BC)

From autumn 1508 to autumn 1509 Luther taught at the theological faculty of the newly founded University of Wittenberg in substitution of the Augustinian lecturer Ostermair.⁵⁶ Luther received the lectureship for Moral Philosophy, became *Baccalaureus* in March 1509 and *Baccalaureus formatus* in the autumn of 1510, whereby he fulfilled the conditions for the Magister.⁵⁷ He gave lectures on the

Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle, while he continued his study of theology at the same time.⁵⁸ In his early lectures, he not only criticized the Aristotelian thought propositions, but he questioned the theology of his time as a whole.⁵⁹ Thus, in September 1517 (that is, before the 95 Theses⁶⁰ on the Reformation) he published his *Disputation Theses against Scholastic Theology*.⁶¹ As O. Bayer points out, Luther sees the nature and task of theology as a science foundationally different from Aristotle.⁶² For Luther, theology is concerned with an »experiential wisdom«⁶³. This kind of wisdom is grounded in the experience that is unfinished, it is like a way.⁶⁴ Therefore, theology is an open story in which experiences - with or against God - are becoming visible in time.⁶⁵

This experience is the basis for the biblical-Semitic dimensions of the revelation of God in the OT, which must be broken down into the structure of »revelation (word /deed), experience, and tradition«.⁶⁶

The Biblical-Semitic World View



The knowledge of revelation is embedded in the experience and ultimately leads to wisdom.⁶⁷ In contrast, Aristotle represents a purely rational⁶⁸ understanding of science based on principles and categories.⁶⁹ An important principle is e.g. the principle of consistency⁷⁰ in the sense of »either - or«.⁷¹ However, this logic⁷² of »either - or« in Aristotle does not operate in the experiential world of the Bible. Because there is the logic of the »both - and« or the »nonetheless« in the relationship between God and man. On this fact, three examples from the OT and NT are mentioned.

(1) *Pharaoh*⁷³: Paul discusses the power of God's will over man (Romans 9:14-26)⁷⁴

The decision of will of Pharaoh to resist the command of God was a result of the active hardening of Pharaoh by God (Rom 9:17⁷⁵ with reference to Ex 9:16⁷⁶). Here, therefore, the will of God and the will of man enter into a logical conflict⁷⁷ which Paul takes up by rejecting the accusatory question of man toward God as inadmissible (Rom 9:19-20⁷⁸).⁷⁹ As O. Pesch aptly remarks, God's action in man's decision for the »way of life« creates a problem over which the deciding human has no power.⁸⁰ The logic of »either - or« proves to be unsuitable for determining the relationship between divine and human action.

(2) *Job*: The righteous person holds fast to the »nonetheless« of the faith, despite unjust suffering. (Job 1:12; 2:3)

Wisdom thinking in the OT assumes that God has made the world as a good and just order. In this order man lives in well-ordered conditions for his own advantage and for the benefit of the community. This so-called »doing-experiencing-connection« is broken by the fact that Job, though living without blemish, is put into a double trial by God - in consequence of two conversations with Satan - in which he loses everything but his life.⁸¹ Job's

experience of the injustice suffered is based on the Old Testament view that »man shapes his destiny with his actions«⁸². As J. Ebach points out, the most important thing in the doing-experiencing-connection is the hope that God's righteousness and the love of God will be realized at the same time in the interplay between man's activity and the work of God.⁸³ It should be noted that the action of man has to be done according to the will of God and not according to one's own opinion, because in the biblical-Semitic understanding, action according to the will of God is decisive for well-being. Here we see how the Aristotelian logic of proportionality can fail in the reality of the work of God in space and time, since it does not consider the sovereign action of God as a valid operative factor.⁸⁴

(3) *Paul*: God causes the will and the accomplishment of man according to his pleasure (Phil 2:13)⁸⁵

Here Paul emphasizes the sovereign activity of God in co-operation with the will of man.⁸⁶ This results in the tension of the union of indicative (what God does for the Christian) and imperative (what the Christian is supposed to do), which occurs in many ways in Paul's theology⁸⁷ and which he puts here into a theological perspective.⁸⁸ The work of God and the work of man are equal in extension, and not assigned to each other according to the division of labor, as J. Hellerman aptly remarks.⁸⁹ In this sense, also E. Lohmeyer emphasizes that Paul does not mean here a coexistence of God's work and the work of man, but that God is the only reason that makes »the work of the individual possible and real«⁹⁰. N. Walter emphasizes that God is described as the »agent« with a *creation attribute*.⁹¹ Paul says that God is the beginning, the middle and the end of the world, as well as the faith of the Christians.⁹²

Here we see how God mysteriously walks a path with man,⁹³ quite unlike Aristotle.⁹⁴ The

Aristotelian God does not come out of himself to turn to the misery of the world. He does not share himself with man, he does not love and therefore does not suffer.⁹⁵ He is immutable, timeless, and therefore does not intervene in history.⁹⁶ Here we see no communication⁹⁷ and no gracious condescension of God to man, as Luther has repeatedly advocated.⁹⁸ Thus, F. Hartenstein examines Luther's understanding of God's saving action in Jesus Christ.⁹⁹ He states that for Luther the Trinitarian God steps out of his inner communion¹⁰⁰ in order to live in relationship with man.¹⁰¹ Against this background, let us now turn to some of Luther's key texts, in which he refers to Aristotle.

The Indulgence Theses and the Resolutions 1517-1518

In his essay »The Indulgence Theses and the Resolutions«¹⁰² of 1517-1518, Luther discusses the relationship between the good works of man and the works of Christ. In his view, the indulgence, that is, the »facilitation and cessation of penance by church ministers«,¹⁰³ would amount to blasphemy, for that would make the good works of man preferable to the works of Christ.¹⁰⁴ Subsequently, Luther refers to »St. Thomas«¹⁰⁵ [of Aquinas (ca. 1225-1274); author's remark]¹⁰⁶ and to Bonaventura (ca. 1217-1274)¹⁰⁷. Both would say that the indulgence is not commanded and worse than good works.¹⁰⁸ From a hermeneutical point of view, we see Luther criticizing Aristotelian thought in that it undermines the exclusiveness and sufficiency of Christ's works through the salutary contribution of human works.¹⁰⁹

However, Luther's criticism of Aristotle does not rule out that a few pages later he criticizes the scholastics¹¹⁰ for not having understood Aristotle for more than 300 years and therefore misinterpreting him in the church.¹¹¹ Here Luther emphasizes that he would not try to reconcile Aristotle with Plato; rather, he would like to »paint« Aristotle »with his own

colours«¹¹², that is, to understand them on his own. An example of a cognitive structure in Aristotle is provided by Luther in his discussion of the image of God as a theologian who wants to know the crucified and hidden God. The cross¹¹³ of Jesus Christ documents the power of sin over man, which also interferes with his will for good.¹¹⁴

But opposite to the cross of Christ is a »proud theologian«¹¹⁵ who wants to know a glorious God. On this kind of theologian Luther notes:

»[...] he learns from Aristotle that the will is directed only to one good, and indeed to a desirable good, while it hates the evil: so God be the highest good and the goal of all endeavor.«¹¹⁶

However, this philosophical presupposition must be theologically questioned, for man, who is separate from God, does not necessarily direct his will to a desirable good. Again, it should be remembered that in the biblical-Semitic understanding, action according to God's will is crucial to well-being. Therefore, the use of this presupposition of Aristotle leads to a false theological conclusion. Luther did not shy away from calling the thoughts of Aristotle »daydreams«¹¹⁷ in his letter to Pope Leo X of May 1518.¹¹⁸

It becomes obvious that the Aristotelian righteousness of the works as a way to the knowledge of God stands in contrast to the biblical revelation of the cross, through which God communicates himself to sinful man.

On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church 1520

In the treatise »Of the Babylonian Captivity of the Church«¹¹⁹ of 1520, Luther takes a critical look at the seven sacraments¹²⁰ of the Church of the Middle Ages.¹²¹ Thus, in the section »On the Sacrament of Bread«, Luther discusses the

nature of bread and wine in the Lord's Supper.¹²² Luther understands the Lord's Supper as a means of grace, and the reception of grace is through the Word spoken by God, thus being revealed through Jesus Christ, which is thus given to man and received by faith.¹²³ Luther emphasizes that the church is Thomistic, coming from Aristotle. Nevertheless, the opinion of Thomas Aquinas and his followers, the Thomists, is not relevant, because it is - as just described - »without a basis in Scripture or said without a proven revelation«¹²⁴. For Thomas wrote many false beliefs by being seduced by Aristotle and metaphysics.¹²⁵ As the opinion of Thomas also has no rational reason, Luther doubts that Thomas understood the philosophy and dialectics¹²⁶ of Aristotle¹²⁷ at all.¹²⁸ Luther regrets this misinterpretation of Thomas:

»[...] that he (Thomas; author's remark) did not hand down his views on matters of faith solely from Aristotle, but tried to build something on that which he did not understand. An unfortunate construction on an unfortunate foundation!«¹²⁹

It becomes clear that Luther attaches great importance to the correct interpretation of Aristotle. He wants to avoid that the lines of thought of Aristotle are improperly misinterpreted in order to legitimize the church's faith and doctrinal system.¹³⁰ Luther even applies this criticism of Aristotle to Thomas Aquinas, the greatest and most respected theologian and teacher of the Catholic Church in the scholastic period. As O. Pesch has examined, however, Luther's critique does not aim only at Thomas as a person but at Scholasticism's foundational way of thinking. After his own study of the works of Aristotle Thomas was of the opinion that Aristotle can be reconciled with Christianity.¹³¹ Therefore a return from philosophical-metaphysical to apostolic-theological speech is necessary.¹³² Because of this connection, Pesch concludes

that Luther has no interest in Thomas due to the Aristotelian background and also had no reason to develop sympathy for the theology of Thomas.¹³³

Especially in the question of the nature of bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, Luther turns against the philosophical influence of Aristotle in the Church during the last 300 years.¹³⁴ At this point, Aristotle is consistently considered negative because human doctrine seeks to override the words of Christ.¹³⁵ The words of Christ are legitimized by the Holy Spirit, which are accepted by faith in the Word of God.¹³⁶ Through this, the authority of the Word of God can be experienced, which transcends the reason of man. Luther notes aptly:

»And if philosophy does not understand that, then faith understands it. God's Word has greater authority than our minds can grasp! So in the sacrament is the true body and the true blood.«¹³⁷

On the one hand Luther defends Aristotle against a false interpretation by Thomas Aquinas, on the other hand he rejects the Aristotelian philosophy as a way of understanding to explain the Lord's Supper.

On the Bondage of the Will 1525

Although Luther clearly places the priority of knowledge on word and faith, he does not totally reject the basis of philosophy, referring to Aristotle.¹³⁸ In discussing God's electing action, he explains that without election, God must be an ignorant, powerless and passive God.¹³⁹ In turn, he sets this image of God in a critical manner in relation to Aristotle:

»Aristotle also draws us such a god who sleeps, letting his goodness and punishment be used and abused by whoever wants.«¹⁴⁰

This shows that for Luther the Aristotelian concept of God is static and passive. This God does not actively intervene from the otherworldly, transcendent into this worldly, immanent world.¹⁴¹ In this sense, also S. Menn emphasizes that Aristotle does not know any »god« as such, but believes in many gods and divine things. Therefore, for Aristotle, theology¹⁴² is the study of the gods and divine things in general. A personal »unmoved mover«¹⁴³ does not exist for Aristotle, because there are many of them.¹⁴⁴ According to Aristotle, a »god« is »the best eternal living thing«¹⁴⁵.

Luther affirms the belief in the one dynamic-historical God of the Bible who stands in contrast to the Aristotelian understanding of the many gods who have no active relation to creation.

Table Talks: The Word

At the beginning of his table talks, Luther emphasizes the glory of the Word of God in contrast to the words of human reason.¹⁴⁶ So he aptly notes:

»God, the Creator of heaven and earth, talks to you through his preachers. He baptizes, teaches, and acquits you of your sins through his sacraments. These words of God are not like those of Plato or Aristotle, but God Himself speaks.«¹⁴⁷

This emphasis on God's speaking in the Word underlines the word-centeredness of faith in Luther.¹⁴⁸ At the same time, the Holy Spirit is linguistically present in the Word and speaks to the human person.¹⁴⁹ This inner unity of the Holy Spirit and the Word of God in the physical relation to reality is aptly emphasized by R. Prenter:

»Only when the Holy Spirit makes Christ present in the Word does it become God's own living Word. [...] The incarnate

Logos is the person who appeared in history, Jesus of Nazareth, who is testified as the Christ by the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. Precisely because of this, the Spirit can make Jesus Christ a present reality only through this word bound to Scripture.«¹⁵⁰

However, this foundational difference in the revelatory quality of the Word of God toward all words of man does not preclude Luther from positively using certain statements of Aristotle as a supporting argument for his table talks - but not as a recognition of truth. Thus Luther notes: »For, as Aristotle says, the society of men is not an end in itself, but only a means.«¹⁵¹ Likewise, he says: »For if nothing were good, there could be no evil, as Aristotle says.«¹⁵²

Luther positively uses Aristotle as the source of earthly wisdom, while as the source of God's revelation he only allows the Bible to be valid.

Letters: To Spalatin, October 19, 1516

In the context of his discussion of the relationship between faith in Christ and the righteousness of works, Luther expressly opposes Aristotle. So he notes:

»For, as Aristotle thinks, we do not become righteous by acting righteously, not even by hypocrisy, but (to put it this way) by becoming just and being just we do just works.«¹⁵³

Two years later Luther takes up this train of thought in his »Heidelberg Disputation 1518« when he comments on his thesis XXV¹⁵⁴:

»For righteousness before God is not obtained by constant repetition of individual acts, as Aristotle teaches, but it is infused by faith.«¹⁵⁵

For Aristotle, the action motivation visible here is based on man and not on God. In contrast, in his criticism of scholastic Aristotelianism in Luther's 25th thesis of the Heidelberg Disputation, Luther emphasizes that the righteousness of Christ is the basis for the faith of man.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, the good works of man, which he performs out of the power of reason, do not suffice for his own righteousness. Accordingly, Luther rates the power of faith higher than the power of reason regarding the redemption of man, as O. Bayer stresses.¹⁵⁷ Thus, the philosophy stands in a foundational contrast to a biblical-Semitic approach to theology in Luther, for theology proclaims God as the author of good action out of love¹⁵⁸, as Luther explains in thesis XXVIII¹⁵⁹. While in the view of Luther man can only love what already exists and what seems to him to be good, beautiful and therefore lovable, the love of God creates his loveable counterpart out of nothing.¹⁶⁰ This love of God as creation out of nothing stands in clear opposition to Aristotle, who always sees love as directed to something existing.¹⁶¹

As E. Jüngel points out, Luther has repeatedly contradicted the thesis that man becomes righteous by doing the right thing.¹⁶² This is done on the basis of Luther's understanding of the justification of the sinner by faith in the Word of God, which gives or obtains justification.¹⁶³ At the same time, however, Luther challenges Aristotle's entire understanding of reality.¹⁶⁴ Aristotle had stated in his *Nicomachean Ethics*¹⁶⁵ that righteous deeds¹⁶⁶ do justify¹⁶⁷ man as an expression of ethical virtue¹⁶⁸. Thus says Aristotle in the Second Book, first chapter:

»Likewise we also become righteous through righteous deeds [...]«.¹⁶⁹

*Here Luther emphasizes the faith righteousness of man as God's gift, from which the deeds of righteousness follow - thus he opposes Aristotle, who represents a righteousness of man's works before God.*¹⁷⁰

Lecture on Romans 1515/1516

Luther also discusses the issue of works righteousness in his »Letter to the Romans-lecture« in relation to the »Righteousness of God« in Romans 1:17. Righteousness is a work of God and not a work of man. This is in contrast to Aristotle, for whom righteousness comes from deeds.¹⁷¹ In his interpretation of Romans 7:17 (»So do not I do it, but the sin that dwells in me«)¹⁷², Luther laments the influence of Aristotelian thought on the theologians:

»Did not the deceptive metaphysics of Aristotle and the philosophy of human tradition cause our theologians to be misled?«¹⁷³

Accordingly, Luther points out in Rom 8:7 (»For to be carnal is enmity to God, because the flesh is not subject to the law of God, for neither is it possible«)¹⁷⁴ the priority of the virtues over the actions, as the tree has priority over its fruits.¹⁷⁵ Also in Romans 10:10 (»For if one believes in the heart, one becomes righteous, and if one confesses with the mouth, one will be saved«)¹⁷⁶, Luther argues against the works righteousness of those people who still want to distinguish further the understanding of righteousness of Aristotle.¹⁷⁷ In the context of the interpretation of Rom 12:2 (»But let yourself be changed«)¹⁷⁸ Luther refers to five levels in the realm of the natural, which he sets in parallel with the conceptuality of Aristotle.¹⁷⁹ Again, Luther criticizes that Aristotle is not always understood correctly, and he expressly confirms the philosopher's conception:

»In this way, Aristotle philosophizes about the realm of the natural, and that's right, unfortunately, one does not understand him accordingly.«¹⁸⁰

At this point it is helpful to observe how Luther sees the relationship between faith in the word of promise and having the »good things«.¹⁸¹ The *promise* is the original word of the Re-

formation theology of Luther,¹⁸² as O. Bayer aptly states. It communicates itself in the Word of God in the form of the name of God: »I am the Lord your God« (Ex 20:2).¹⁸³ For Luther there is a correlation between the *soul* of man and the *words* of God. This correlation is logical, so that the person who believes the word of God also has the content of the faith. Thus, the virtues of the Word become the virtues of the soul.¹⁸⁴ However, this is in strong contrast to Aristotle and his teachings. For him, the soul of man has no life of its own, no personal substance, because it consists only in the ability to perceive something.¹⁸⁵ For Aristotle, the soul is the cause of life, movement and knowledge. Because it is the cause, it must itself be unmoved, without perceptible properties.¹⁸⁶

Here is the fundamental difference in the perception of the soul in Aristotle and Luther. For Aristotle, the perception of the soul happens above all through seeing, for Luther above all through hearing.¹⁸⁷ Therefore, so to speak, the soul is a big ear, not a big eye, with which man perceives.¹⁸⁸

Luther emphasizes the soul as a conscious recipient of the Word of God, which grants man the care of God - this promise transcends the philosophical categories of Aristotle, which can apply only to the realm of natural earthly life.

Letters: To Johannes Lang, 8. February 1517

Luther's analysis of Aristotle's philosophy occasionally takes on striking expressions. Luther complains to his friar J. Lang in Erfurt that he

»[...] must always listen and never even attack Aristotle or the *Sentenzen* with a small predisposition and be allowed to oppose them. For what should those who believe Aristotle not believe, that it is true, what this chief of all defamers attaches and binds so

absurdly to others, that a donkey and a stone could not keep silent about it?«¹⁸⁹

In his intense language, Luther continues in the same letter to affirm his concern for the refutation of Aristotle:

»I wish nothing more than to make this juggling, who has so much tapped the church with the Greek mask, manifest to many and show all his shame, if only I had time.«¹⁹⁰

After all, in May 1517 Luther again writes to J. Lang that Aristotle's influence at his university was on the decline.¹⁹¹

Luther emphatically repelled the seductive power of Aristotle's words, which led to a darkening of the knowledge of the church.

Overall, at least four factors can be noted in relation to Luther's relationship to Aristotle.

First, Luther sees himself consistently as a true and reliable interpreter of Aristotle.

Second, Luther consistently sees his opponents as false and erring interpreters of Aristotle.

Third, Luther confirms and defends Aristotle's statements in places if they do not concern the revelation of God.

Fourth, Luther denies and condemns in places the statements of Aristotle¹⁹² when they concern the revelation of God.

Consequently, Luther is concerned with the right order of cognition between God and man. God's self-proclamation in Holy Scripture is not due to his perfections (e.g. unity, power, wisdom). Rather, his self-proclamation is that God becomes man, is crucified, and raised again. However, this approach to God's revelation is in foundational opposition to any philosophical knowledge of God.¹⁹³

The differentiated positioning of Luther in relation to Aristotle as a literary source is examined in detail by E. Andreatta.¹⁹⁴ Andreatta explains that Luther understands Aristotle's statements on the one hand as being of a *specific historical-philosophical* nature, and on the other hand as *universal timeless-wisdom*.¹⁹⁵ Luther testifies again and again to his appreciation of the great wisdom of Aristotle.¹⁹⁶ At times Luther even mixes Aristotle's statements with popular wisdom. This underlines Luther's appreciation of Aristotle as a source of anecdotes and maxims¹⁹⁷ (principles that can be accepted without proof).¹⁹⁸ As Andreatta notes, this is talking about

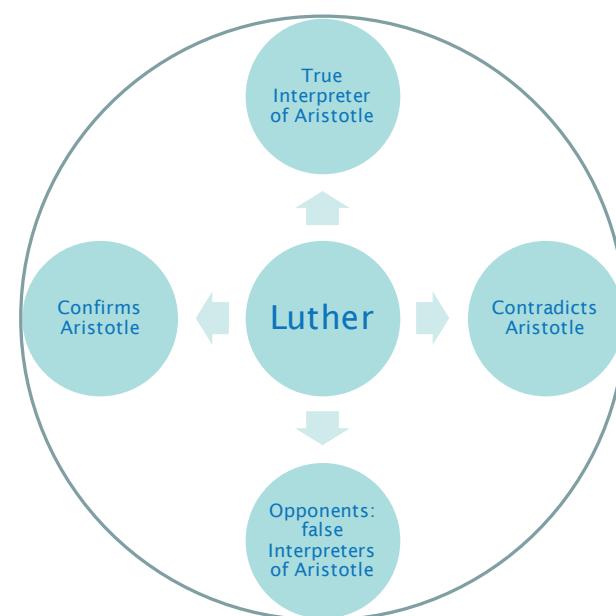
»[...] a ›moral‹ Aristotle, who delivers principles that are taken out of their original context and serve to substantiate the principles of the Christian faith from the outside, possibly being challenged again if they contradict it.«¹⁹⁹

This is an important aspect of Luther's hermeneutic approach to Aristotle. Luther, on the

one hand, uses Aristotle *affirmatively* as the author of universal principles of moral character. On the other hand, he uses him *criticizing* as a philosopher, to show the content contrast to his reformatory approach of the biblical-Semitic interpretation of Scripture - salvation by faith alone, not by reason²⁰⁰.²⁰¹ Both approaches complement each other in Luther and are not mutually exclusive²⁰² as long as the quality of revelation of the Word of God and His deeds is evident. Because of his thorough philosophical-theological education Luther aimed to ward off the theological use of Aristotle. For the educational focuses of Luther were logic, physics, moral philosophy and metaphysics, which were conveyed in the sense of an interpretation of Aristotle.²⁰³ So A. Beutel aptly notes:

»To an Aristotelian overgrown, philosophical theology Luther opposes a biblically conceived theology: Only from Scripture, he thought, but not from philosophy the mode of thought and speech appropriate to theology had to be taken from.«²⁰⁴

Luther's Relationship to Aristotle



The study by F. Nitzsch on Luther and Aristotle on the occasion of Luther's 400th birthday in 1883 comes to a similar conclusion.²⁰⁵ After Nitzsch presents some unfavorable judgments by Luther concerning Aristotle, he contrasts these with Luther's somewhat milder judgments of Aristotle.²⁰⁶ As Nitzsch aptly points out, Luther opposes above all the »false position of authority«²⁰⁷ assigned to Aristotle by the scholastics. Similarly, P. Aubenque notes that Luther felt that Aristotle had taken an »inappropriate place«²⁰⁸ in church teaching (catechesis)^{209, 210} Since the ethics of Aristotle in scholasticism was placed above the teachings of Christ, Luther presented a one-sided negative evaluation of Aristotle. Only then did he believe he could defend the *cause of the reformatory perspective*. Nitzsch aptly notes:

»[...] by presuming the alternative ›Aristotle or Christ‹, Luther lost in a certain sense the uninhibitedness of perspective. [...] Therefore, Luther felt that he had to criticize from a protestant religious point of view as clearly as possible, and in doing so Aristotle had to be smaller than he was otherwise [...].«²¹¹

We have seen how Aristotle was received and understood by Luther. Against this background, the following chapter examines some biblical texts in response to the question of how Luther interpreted them in contrast to the scholastic approach to understanding.²¹²

3. Luther's Interpretation of Biblical Texts in Contrast to Scholasticism

In the following we see Luther's biblical-Semitic approach to the interpretation of Scripture, with some examples from the Psalms of the OT, the Gospels of the NT and the Epistle to the Romans and Galatians. Thus, aspects of Luther's anthropology, Christology and soteriology are considered.

3.1. The Psalms as a Source of Luther's Spiritual Understanding

The following two verses from the Psalms concern Luther's view of man (anthropology).

Psalm 51:5: »For I know my iniquity, and my sin is always before me.«²¹³

In his first lecture on the Psalms, Luther emphasizes that Ps 51:5 is difficult to understand. Therefore, he explains this verse with reference to Romans 3:4, where Paul states that every man is a liar and a sinner, while God alone is true and just. Therefore sinners are those people who are not yet justified by God and connected to God.²¹⁴ However, whoever, like David, expressly confess: »For I know my iniquity«, he accuses himself and thus acknowledges God's righteousness.²¹⁵ The righteousness of the sinner for Luther, referring to Romans 3:4, comes about because he professes to be a sinner before God, even if he appears righteous to men.²¹⁶ This realization of one's own sinfulness makes the righteousness of God desirable²¹⁷, for man always has in mind that he is a sinner.²¹⁸ Thus, in his interpretation of the seven penitential Psalms on Psalm 51:5, Luther notes that the true saints see their infirmities, that they are not what they should and want to be.²¹⁹

Luther's contribution to a Biblical-Semitic interpretation of the Psalms is that he takes seriously the deed-character of sin. Man is a sinner in his earthly life, he is not what he is supposed to be and wants to be. He has his own awareness of his sin, and that realization wants him to confess toward God that he is a sinner.²²⁰ »The request for forgiveness requires the admission of misconduct«, as C. Westermann aptly notes.²²¹ The physical character of sin, which manifests itself not only in the actions of man, but also in his thoughts, is a foundational dimension of the image of man that Luther draws.²²² It is against this background that the need for salvation in

Christ also has to have a physical character in order to overcome the power of sin.

Psalm 33:9: »*For when he speaks, it happens; if he commands, it is there.*«²²³

Luther explains this verse in the context of his sermon on the healing of a deaf and dumb man (Mark 7:31-37). In terms of the healing power of the Word, Luther emphasizes that Christ must speak only one word for what he wants to happen.²²⁴ This power of action of the Word of God describes Luther aptly:

»Just as God makes all things out of nothing and makes the light out of darkness, so does his Word that in death there must be nothing but life. Therefore, whoever cleaves to the Word of God and follows it, at last, learns what David says in Psalm 33:9: >*If God speaks, it is done, and if he calls it, then it is there.*< «²²⁵

The appropriate response to this realization of the power of the Word of God in creation is the praise and gratefulness of man.²²⁶ Here Luther emphasizes the aspect of the unity of word and deed, which is foundationally important from a Biblical-Semitic point of view.²²⁷ This unity is summarized in the hb. Term *dabar*, which is effective both in the creation of the cosmos and in the salvation of man through Christ.²²⁸ In Luther's view, creation is determined by the almighty, effective word which God speaks.²²⁹ This means that creation is not eternal, but has a beginning - against Aristotle, who proceeds from the eternality of the world. Likewise, it means that creation happens out of nothing - against Plato, who presupposes an eternal matter according to the eternal idea.²³⁰ The word-deed of God creates the world out of nothing, and from nothing it creates healing for man. Concerning the central meaning of the word of God for creation, H. Kraus aptly notes:

»The word [...] is addressed as the only continuity between Yahweh and the world, but also as the only cognitive medium of creation.«²³¹

In summary, it should be noted that the Psalms are an important source of spiritual knowledge for Luther. On the one hand, they show man that through his actions he confirms that he is a sinner. On the other hand, the Psalms show the way of salvation for man. It is faith in the Word of God that becomes action and creates new life.

The anthropology of Luther in the Psalms is characterized by the fact that man is addressed by the word of God. This is done on the one hand by God's word of creation, which becomes action, on the other hand by God's redemptive word that becomes action. For through faith in God, man receives the righteousness that frees him from the power of sin.

3.2. The Gospels - How Did Luther Process the Historical Jesus?

The following three verses from the Gospels concern Luther's view of the person and the work of Jesus Christ (Christology).

Matthew 17:5: »*This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased; you should hear him!*«²³²

Listening to the Son of God is for Luther a sacrifice that pleases God, for this sacrifice is faith in Christ.²³³ He emphasizes that man should not listen to the saints of the church, but to Christ, the dear Son of God, what he says.²³⁴ The authority of the Word, which the Son speaks, lies in the motive of the heavenly enthronement as Lord of the world, as the reference back to Ps 2:7 makes clear.²³⁵ Luther sees this verse as God's command, which is parallel to John 14:24: »*The word that you*

hear is not my word, but that of the Father who sent me.« He aptly remarks:

»You should not listen to another sermon, read, teach, learn anything, but everything should go out of this man's mouth. [...] Therefore, it is impossible to hear God or to come to his love, whoever does not love and hear Christ alone.«²³⁶

Luther emphasizes the basic incarnational structure of the revelation of God through the Son. The only begotten Son of God became man, in all things equal to man, but without sin. So the Son dwelt among us to reveal the Father's heart and will.²³⁷ Foundational to Luther is the hearing of man, out of which faith grows. Therefore, listening should be directed to the word which God spoke through his Son. For only in his Son Jesus Christ is the word of the Father available, who sent him to men. This word reveals the heart of the Father, which is characterized by love²³⁸ and which can only be known through faith.

Matthew 26:28: »*This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins.*«²³⁹

Luther emphasizes the forgiveness of sins through the purity of the blood of Christ, referring to Heb. 9:14: »How much more shall the blood of Christ cleanse our conscience«. The blood of Christ, however, only becomes effective when the heart of man believes that the blood is shed for the forgiveness of sins.²⁴⁰ In Reformation theology, the blood of Christ is closely related to terms such as suffering, cross, and death. It denotes the totality of Christ's redemptive work and is therefore reflected in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper in a special way.²⁴¹ It is important for Luther that the blood is given not only to the priests, but also to the laity,²⁴² that is to all those for whose sin it is shed.²⁴³ Salvation through the

death of Jesus for the forgiveness of sins is prepared and accessible to all people.²⁴⁴ Luther believes the Word of God, even though he can not understand how the bread can be the body of Christ.²⁴⁵ However, with reference to Paul, in 1 Corinthians 10:16 (»The bread that we break, is it not the fellowship of the body of Christ?«), he aptly notes:

»He does not say that there is in the bread, but that the bread itself is the communion of the body of Christ. What does it matter, if philosophy does not understand that? The Holy Spirit is more than Aristotle.«²⁴⁶

From the biblical-Semitic point of view, the forgiveness of man's sins through the physical blood of Jesus Christ is central. For in the blood of Christ is the New Covenant of God with the Christian who believes in the sacrifice of Christ. This faith receives its physical expression in the Lord's Supper, which Luther sees as a mystery of the communion of the body of Christ in the bread. Here is revealed the mysterious character of the Word of God, which is far superior to the knowledge of the philosophy of Aristotle.

John 14:6: »*I am the way and the truth and the life; no one comes to the Father except through me.*«²⁴⁷

Luther uses this verse to emphasize the foundational importance of faith, that is, the recognition of the invisible things that are to be believed. Faith is a »hidden understanding, because it refers to the things that man can not know by himself«²⁴⁸. The way to the knowledge of God, Luther emphasizes, is achieved by the knowledge of the humanity of Jesus Christ. In order to experience the knowledge and love of God, man must recognize the human nature of Christ²⁴⁹, because God has humbled himself to become discernible.²⁵⁰ This humanity of Christ reveals itself in a central way in his passion, because for

Luther, in Christ the Crucified the true theology and knowledge of God is available.²⁵¹ On this, U. Wilckens aptly notes:

»This radical exclusivity, in which all faith in God is integrated into the faith in Jesus, is rooted in the radical devotion of God to the people in his Son who has become human.«²⁵²

From the Biblical-Semitic point of view, the anchoring of faith in Luther is very important. On the one hand, faith refers to the realization of the invisible reality as an understanding in secret. But this knowledge is only obtained through the knowledge of the visible humanity of Jesus Christ. Therefore, the love of God for man can be experienced only through the knowledge of the human nature of Christ. For Christ's humanity is revealed, according to Luther, in the crucified Christ, who embodies the true knowledge of God.²⁵³

Luther's Christology in the Gospels is characterized by the fact that God reveals himself in his Son Jesus Christ. Therefore, listening to the Word of Christ is crucial to obtaining forgiveness of sins through the obedience of faith. Forgiveness takes place in the sacrifice of Christ, accomplished in the unity of divinity and humanity. Therefore, Christians participate in the Holy Communion, which physically expresses the New Covenant in the blood of Christ.

3.3. Luther's Understanding of Justification in the Letters to Romans and Galatians

The following two verses concern Luther's view of salvation in Paul (soteriology).

Romans 3:28: »So we now consider²⁵⁴ that man becomes righteous without works of the law²⁵⁵, by faith alone²⁵⁶.«²⁵⁷

In his lecture on the Epistle to the Romans, Luther emphasizes that the consideration

of man at this point does not just describe a human opinion. Rather, it is about a secure knowledge, which receives the person who has been justified by faith.²⁵⁸ Luther emphasizes that man can not find God on a path of his own choosing, but only as God wants to be sought and found. He presents the Incarnate Word as the bearer of the revelation of God. If the word, Christ, had not revealed himself - unsought - no one would have sought him.²⁵⁹ Here Luther aptly emphasizes the incarnational structure of God's revelation. Through faith in Christ, man receives the righteousness of God, which has no end and consumes all sins.²⁶⁰ Accordingly, man knows that his works contribute nothing to his justification. In contrast, his works, which he does by faith, are not his own, but God's works.²⁶¹ In this sense, Luther emphasizes that grace²⁶² is not grace if one can acquire it through works.²⁶³

From the Biblical-Semitic point of view, it is important that Luther emphasizes the incarnation of Jesus Christ as the central factor of salvation. Thus salvation is concretely located in space and time and in the bodily existence of man. This incarnation of Christ is an act of the revelation of God, and only in this way God wants to be sought and found. The redemptive work of Christ must be recognized and accepted solely²⁶⁴ and exclusively by faith²⁶⁵ in order to impute to man the righteousness before God.²⁶⁶ P. Stuhlmacher rightly emphasizes the importance of God's grace for the faith of man:

»Reason and realization of justification are in the grace of God alone, as manifested in Jesus Christ, and only the faith awakened by God through the Gospel allows a man to partake in it.«²⁶⁷

Therefore man's own works do not lead to his justification, but only through the grace of God in Christ does man receive justice.²⁶⁸

Galatians 2:20: »For what I live in the flesh now, I live by faith in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself up for me«²⁶⁹

Luther emphasizes here that faith is the death of the old and the life of the new man.²⁷⁰ Therefore, the life of a Christian belongs not to himself, but to Christ, who lives in him,²⁷¹ so that »not we but Christ live, work and speak in us«²⁷². For the biblical-Semitic aspect Luther's emphasis on the indwelling of Christ in the real human life of the Christian is important. This means that Christ works and speaks through man in this life, for Christ lives in him through the faith of man.

The soteriology of Luther in Paul is characterized by the fact that man does not receive justice from God by his own works, but by faith in Christ, as revealed by God. This faith is possible through the grace of God for man. Therefore man receives a new life, which God has created in him and which enables him to live a life in which Christ works through him.

4. Results: Luther's Legacy of Reformationary Bible Interpretation

The course of our line of argumentation is to be summed up in the form of a several theses. We ask about the significance of Luther for today's Christianity, which lives 500 years after him and which refers to him.

(1) Aristotle has profoundly shaped and permeated the European-Western culture for 2,400 years - more than any other philosopher of intellectual history. Therefore, overcoming his perception of reality - away from a logical dualism to a biblical-Semitic understanding of reality - will be a task that will occupy several generations of Christianity.

(2) Luther's goal was »to make this juggler, who has monkeyed so much the Church

with the Greek mask, transparent to many« - meaning that Western Christianity has been cheated on by the philosophical categories of thought for 2,000 years - cheated on that full measure of the authority of Jesus Christ, which can only be given to one who experiences the power of the reign of God by faith in the word of God and not by confidence of his knowledge of reason.

(3) Western theological culture - including its institutions such as churches, parishes, educational institutions, and missionary ministries - has no adequately reflected relationship to Aristotle and his logical dualism. Therefore, it needs a critical review of the dualistic understanding of reality and the conscious turning to the biblical-Semitic approach of understanding.

(4) The church of Jesus Christ today lives in the captivity of Aristotelian thought, for it submits to a cognitive reason-logic instead of trusting in the authority-logic of the revealed Word of God. Therefore, the church of Jesus Christ must turn from a predominantly rational consent to the Christian proclamation to a personal trust in the living and redemptive Word of God.

(5) Theological education today requires overcoming the Aristotelian concept of science in its patterns of thought, concepts and logical methods to bring back both research and teaching on the basis of the biblical-Semitic languages as the primary salvation-historical revelatory documents.

(6) The Christian proclamation and mission today must focus more than ever on the Gospels of the New Testament to emphasize the biblical-Semitic reference to reality of salvation and thereby counteract a purely cognitive shortening of the proclamation from the Pauline Epistles.

(7) The question arises as to what extent the Christian communities, theological training centers, and missionary ministries today stand in the *legitimate legal succession of Jesus Christ*, as revealed in the New Testament Gospels.

(8) The deep structural impact of Aristotelian thought on Christianity requires a *reversal of the burden of proof*: all aspects of contemporary Christian culture need to be examined to determine whether they have been overcome by the biblical-Semitic approach to understanding.

(9) Luther's biblical-Semitic approach to understanding shows in his interpretation of crucial biblical texts on his understanding of man, his understanding of Jesus Christ and his understanding of salvation: God reveals to man his word, which becomes action in the redemptive work of Christ. Salvation from sins is through the faith of man in the sacrifice of Christ. This faith is given to man through the grace of God and enables him to live in the will of God.

(10) The threefold structure of God's self-communication in revelation, experience, and tradition must be re-emphasized to overcome the Aristotelian worldview and perception of reality in which God's self-communication does not exist. Only in this way can the logical dualism of Aristotle be overcome so that the authority of the Word of God can again become a deed. This is the enduring legacy of the reformatory interpretation of the Bible.

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ENDNOTES

- While the conceptual history of »Reformation« or »Reformer« was very complex, the adjective »reformatory« describes the events of the 16th century. Cf. Seebass, Gottfried. »Reformation«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 28. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997/2006, pp. 386-387.

- 2 See Beutel, Albrecht. »Bibelübersetzungen. II. Christliche Übersetzungen in europäische Volkssprachen seit dem Mittelalter«. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4. Aufl., Bd. 1. Tübingen: Mohr, 1998: 1498-1505; Piennisch, Markus. »Hermeneutische Überlegungen zur Übersetzung der Bibel«, *Stuttgarter Theologische Themen* 10 (2015): 65-79; Köpf, Ulrich. »Reformation«. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4. Aufl., Bd. 7. Tübingen: Mohr, 2004, p. 152.
- 3 E.g. Körtner, Ulrich H.J. »Exklusiver Glaube – Das vierfache <<Allein>> reformatorischer Theologie«, in: Bosse-Huber, Petra, et al. (Hg.). *500 Jahre Reformation: Bedeutung und Herausforderungen*. Internationaler Kongress zum Reformationsjubiläum 2017. Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2014: 68-87.
- 4 E.g. Thönissen, Wolfgang. »Luthers Streit mit seinen katholischen Gegnern in den Jahren 1517/1518 am Beispiel der Frage nach dem Fegefeuer«, in: Bosse-Huber, Petra, et al. (Hg.). *500 Jahre Reformation: Bedeutung und Herausforderungen*. Internationaler Kongress zum Reformationsjubiläum 2017. Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2014: 278-294.
- 5 E.g. Fleischmann-Bisten, Walter. »Reformation, radikale Reformation, Täufer und die Bauernkriege. Die Reformation zwischen Intoleranz und Revolution«, in: Bosse-Huber, Petra, et al. (Hg.). *500 Jahre Reformation: Bedeutung und Herausforderungen*. Internationaler Kongress zum Reformationsjubiläum 2017. Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2014: 177-190.
- 6 Cf. Breytenbach, Cilliers (Hg.). »Ratlos vor dem Reformationsjubiläum 2017?«, *Berliner Theologische Zeitschrift* 28/1 (2011): 1-192; Vinke, Rainer (Hg.). *Lutherforschung im 20. Jahrhundert: Rückblick – Bilanz – Ausblick*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009; Müller, Gerhard. »Schriftauslegung. III. Kirchengeschichtlich«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 30. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999/2006, p. 482.
- 7 For a definition of *hermeneutics*: Regenbogen, Armin; Meyer, Uwe (Hg.). *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe*. Hamburg: Meiner, 2013, p. 286.
- 8 For example: Nüssel, Friederike. »Reformatorische Grundlagen der Theologie«, in: Frank, Günter; Leppin, Volker; Selderhuis, Herman J. (Hg.). *Wem gehört die Reformation? Nationale und konfessionelle Dispositionen der Reformationsdeutung*. Freiburg: Herder, 2013, pp. 228-229.
- 9 Even the 17 authors of the comprehensive essay collection *Auslegung und Hermeneutik der Bibel in der Reformationszeit* do not offer in 425 pages in any of their contributions a discussion of the relationship between Luther and Aristotle. – Christ-von Wedel, Christine; Grosse, Sven (Hg.). *Auslegung und Hermeneutik der Bibel in der Reformationszeit*. Historia Hermeneutica. Series Studia. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016. Only an article on Melanchthon contains 12 references to Aristotle: Danneberg, Lutz. »Melanchthons Deutung von 2 Tim 2,15 und ihre Auswirkung auf die reformatorische *Hermeneutica sacra*« (pp. 147-212). An article on Reformed theologians contains a reference to Aristotle: Strohm, Christoph. »Juristische Schulung und Bibelauslegung bei reformierten Theologen des 16. Jahrhunderts« (pp. 333-356).
- 10 Dieter, Theodor. *Der junge Luther und Aristoteles. Eine historisch-systematische Untersuchung zum Verhältnis von Theologie und Philosophie*. Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann, Bd. 105,

- hg. O. Bayer, W. Härle, H.-P. Müller. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001.
- 11 Dieter, *Luther*; p. 1: The first short monograph on this was presented in 1883 by F. Nitzsch, the second extensive monograph by E. Andreatta was published in 1996. - Nitzsch, Friedrich. *Luther und Aristoteles. Festschrift zum vierhundertjährigen Geburtstage Luther's*. Kiel: Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1883; Andreatta, Eugenio. *Lutero e Aristotele*. Padua: CUSL Nuovavita, 1996.
- 12 Mühlen, Karl-Heinz zur. »Luther II. Theologie«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 21. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991/2000: 530-567. This observation is also true for the missing interaction with Socrates and Plato as precursors of Aristotle in Luther, as the *Registerband* of *TRE* proves: Thornton, Claus-Jürgen, et al. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie. Register zu Bd. 1-27*, Bd. 21. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998/2000: 172-173 (Aristoteles/Aristotelismus), 383 (Plato/Platonismus), 421 (Sokrates/Sokratik).
- 13 Schwarz, Reinhard. »Luther II. Theologie«. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4. Aufl., Bd. 5. Tübingen: Mohr, 2002: 573-588.
- 14 In order to limit the extent of this lecture, only the contribution of Luther to the Reformation, but not the contributions of Calvin or Zwingli are researched. For an introduction to the literature on Calvin and Zwingli: Selderhuis, Herman J. (Hg.). *Calvin Handbuch*. Tübingen: Mohr, 2009; McKim, Donald K. (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004; Gäbler, Ulrich. *Huldrych Zwingli: Leben und Werk*. Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 2004; Leppin, Volker. »Zwingli«, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 36. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006: 793-809; Campi, Emidio. »Zwingli«, *Religion in Ge-*
- schichte und Gegenwart*. 4. Aufl. Bd. 8. Tübingen: Mohr, 2005: 1945-1955.
- 15 Cf. Barth, Hans-Martin. *Martin Luthers Theologie. Eine kritische Würdigung*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2009, p. 105; Horster, Detlef. »Aristoteles«, in: Lutz, Bernd (Hg.). *Metzler Philosophen-Lexikon. Von den Vorsokratikern bis zu den Neuen Philosophen*. 3., aktual. u. erw. Aufl. Stuttgart: Metzler, 2015, pp. 36-37.
- 16 On *dualism*, cf. Regenbogen, Arним; Meyer, Uwe (Hg.). *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe*. Hamburg: Meiner, 2013, p. 161.
- 17 On *scholasticism*, cf. Leinsle, Ulrich G. »Scholastik. I. Scholastik/Neuscholastik«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 30. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999/2006, p. 361.
- 18 Köpf, Ulrich. »Scholastik«. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4. Aufl., Bd. 7. Tübingen: Mohr, 2004, pp. 951-952.
- 19 See Bartholomew, Craig G. *Introducing Biblical Hermeneutics. A Comprehensive Framework for Hearing God in Scripture*. Grand Rapids: Baker, 2015, p. 194.
- 20 Wesche, Tilo. »Prinzip, philosophisch«. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4. Aufl., Bd. 6. Tübingen: Mohr, 2003, p. 1667; cf. Leinsle, »Scholastik«, p. 362.
- 21 Tuninetti, Luca F. »Scholastik«, in: Rapp, Christof; Corcilius, Klaus (Hg.). *Aristoteles Handbuch: Leben – Werk – Wirkung*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 2011, p. 435.
- 22 Dieter, Theodor. »Luther as Late Medieval Theologian: His Positive and Negative Use of Nominalism and Realism«, in: Kolb, Robert, et al. (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Martin Luther's Theology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 38.

- 23 On world view, cf. Regenbogen, Arним; Meyer, Uwe (Hg.). *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe*. Hamburg: Meiner, 2013, p. 725.
- 24 These were: 1. and 2. Analytics, Sophistical Refutations, Physics, Of the Soul, Logical Writings. – Schäfer, Rolf. »Aristoteles/Aristotelismus. V/2. Reformation und nachreformatorische Theologie«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 3. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978/1993, pp. 789-790.
- 25 In the Renaissance, i.a. the literary and linguistic sciences were promoted to overcome the historical distance to antiquity. In the 15th century, Greek authors were read in the original text, while in the early 16th century Johannes Reuchlin made the Hebrew language scientifically accessible.
– Köpf, Ulrich. »Renaissance. II. Geschichtlich. 2. Das Zeitalter der Renaissance«. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4. Aufl., Bd. 7. Tübingen: Mohr, 2004, pp. 435, 437.
Reuchlin was taught in the Hebrew language by Jechiel Loans in Linz (1492) and by Obadja Sforno in Rome (1498) and wrote the Hebrew textbook *De rudimentis Hebraicis* (1506). – Raeder, Siegfried. »Reuchlin«. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4. Aufl., Bd. 7. Tübingen: Mohr, 2004, pp. 466-467.
- 26 Bartholomew, *Hermeneutics*, p. 195. In addition, not only the biblical commentators of the Middle Ages, but also the church fathers of the early church were studied, such as, for example, by Erasmus of Rotterdam (ca. 1466-1536). He published not only his Greek New Testament, but also text editions of Jerome, Augustine, Tertullian, Basil, Cyprian, Arnobius, Hilary, Ambrose, Origen, John Chrysostom.
- They also influenced Luther's interpretation of the Bible (pp. 195-196).
- 27 On Luther's emphasis on the person of Christ and the literal sense of scripture for Bible interpretation, cf. Bartholomew, *Hermeneutics*, pp. 197-200.
- 28 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Vorlesung über den Römerbrief 1515/1516«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 107.
- 29 Gr. ἀρετή
- 30 Hager, Fritz-Peter. »Sokrates«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 31. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000/2006, p. 438.
- 31 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Vom unfreien Willen 1525«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 165.
- 32 Gr. *epistéme*
- 33 Poller, Horst. *Die Philosophen und ihre Kerngedanken. Ein geschichtlicher Überblick*. OLZOG Edition. Reinbek/München: Lau-Verlag, 2014, pp. 72-73.
- 34 Poller, *Philosophen*, p. 73.
- 35 For Socrates, virtue is the best condition of the soul, which is sought by the orientation towards the truly good.
– Figal, Günter. »Sokrates«. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4. Aufl., Bd. 7. Tübingen: Mohr, 2004, p. 1424.
- 36 Poller, *Philosophen*, pp. 73-75.
- 37 Poller, *Philosophen*, p. 73.
- 38 As D. Horster points out, Socrates implements the dialectical movement between the individual thing and the essence. So he comes from the perception of the individual to finding the essence at all. - Horster, Detlef. »Sokrates«, in: Lutz, Bernd (Hg.). *Metzler Philosophen-Lexikon. Von den Vorsokratikern bis zu den Neuen Philosophen*. 3., aktual. u. erw. Aufl. Stuttgart: Metzler, 2015, p. 683.

- 39 Cf. Herms, Eilert. »Offenbarung. V. Theologiegeschichte und Dogmatik«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 25. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995/2000, p. 163.
- 40 Herms, »Offenbarung«, p. 163.
- 41 In German: »Der Heide Plato dispiutiert von Gott, dass Gott nichts sei und doch alles. Aber also sollte mans [sic!] verstehen und davon reden: Gott ist unbegreiflich und unsichtbar, was man aber begreifen und sehen kann, das ist nicht Gott. [...] Sichtbar ist er in seinem Wort und Werk; wo aber sein Wort und Werk nicht ist, da soll man ihn nicht haben wollen, denn er lässt sich anderswo nicht finden, als wie er sich selbst offenbart hat.« - Aland, Kurt (ed.). »Tischreden: Der neue Glaube«, *Luther Deutsch*. Vol. 9. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, pp. 37-38.
- 42 Cf. Kaiser, Bernhard. »Das trinitarische und christologische Dogma der Kirche: Griechische Philosophie oder biblische Wahrheit?«, *Stuttgarter Theologische Themen* 7 (2012), p. 61.
- 43 As Poller, *Philosophen*, p. 80, points out, Plato refers to the doctrine of Parmenides of an immutable and perfect world that stands behind the world of appearances, but without being in connection with the perceptible things.
- 44 Cf. Wyller, Egil A. »Plato/Platonismus. I. Plato«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 26. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1996/2000: 687, 691-693 (Lit.!).
- 45 Cf. Hirsch, Walter. »Idee«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 16. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987/1993, p. 20.
- 46 In German: »Die Ideen sind die unwandelbaren Urbilder, die wahrnehmbaren Dinge nur ihre flüchtigen, unzulänglichen Abbilder.« - Poller, *Philosophen*, p. 81.
- 47 Cf. Martens, Ekkehard. »Platon«, in: Lutz, Bernd (Hg.). *Metzler Philosophen-Lexikon. Von den Vorsokratikern bis zu den Neuen Philosophen*. 3., aktual. u. erw. Aufl. Stuttgart: Metzler, 2015, p. 556.
- 48 Römpf, Georg. *Platon*. UTB Profile. Köln/Weimar/Wien: , Böhlau, 2008, p. 53.
- 49 The idea of the good is for Plato the highest idea; cf. – Hirsch, »Idee«, p. 21.
- 50 In German: »Die Welt der Ideen kann existieren, auch wenn die Welt der sinnlich wahrnehmbaren Gegenstände nicht vorhanden ist, aber umgekehrt kann die Gegenstandswelt nicht ohne die Ideenwelt existieren. ... Sie (die Ideen; Vf.) erlauben uns einen höheren Gehalt an Erkenntnis, weil sie nichts abbilden, sondern die unwandelbare Wirklichkeit dessen darstellen, was in der Welt der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung nur im Status des Abbilds aufgefasst werden kann.« - Römpf, *Platon*, pp. 54-55.
- 51 On the concept of the *soul* in ancient philosophy before Plato, cf. Seidl, Horst. »Seele. V. Kirchen- und philosophiegeschichtlich«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 30. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999/2006, pp. 748-749.
- 52 Poller, *Philosophen*, p. 81.
- 53 Seidl, »Seele«, p. 749.
- 54 Seidl, »Seele«, p. 750.
- 55 Cf. Poller, *Philosophen*, p. 82, 86.
- 56 Then Luther was appointed *bacalaureus biblicus* on March 9, 1509, followed by a disputation in the fall of 1509, after which he became *bacalaureus sententiarius*. – cf. Burger, Christoph. *Tradition und Neubeginn. Martin Luther in seinen frühen Jahren*. Tübingen, Mohr, 2014, pp. 19-20.
- 57 Cf. Jedin, Hubert (Hg.). *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*. Bd. IV: *Refor-*

- mation, Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2017, p. 18.
- 58 Beutel, Albrecht. »Luther's life«, in: McKim, Donald K. (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 6; Köpf, Ulrich. »B. Person. I. Traditionen. 4. Mönchthum«, in: Beutel, Albrecht (Hg.). *Luther Handbuch*. 2. Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 2010, p. 50.
- 59 Beutel, »Luther's life«, p. 7.
- 60 Luther, Martin. »95 Thesen«. Luther-Gesellschaft e.V. - www.luther-gesellschaft.de/texte-zu-luther/luther-95-thesen.html
- 61 Lat. *Disputatio contra scholasticam theologiam*, in: Luther, Martin. *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimarer Ausgabe: WA)*. Weimar: Böhlau, 1883-1993: WA 1,224-228.
- 62 Bayer, Oswald. *Martin Luthers Theologie. Eine Vergegenwärtigung*. 3. Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 2007.
- 63 Lat. *sapientia experimentalis* - WA 9,98,21.
- 64 Cf. WA 40 III,63,18-64,7.
- 65 Bayer, Oswald. *Theologie*. Handbuch Systematischer Theologie, Bd. 1. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1994, p. 52.
- 66 See on this the »structural levels of salvation history« of revelation, experience and transmission. – Piennisch, Markus. »Der biblisch-semitische Aspekt der Hermeneutik: Eine Einführung in das Studiengebiet«, *Stuttgarter Theologische Themen* 5 (2010), pp. 103-104, cf. p. 113.
- 67 WA 40 III,63,17f.
- 68 From lat. *ratio*, reason. - Regenbogen, Arnim; Meyer, Uwe (Hg.). *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe*. Hamburg: Meiner, 2013, p. 545.
- 69 Cf. Jansen, L. »katêgoria / Kategorie«, in: Höffe, Otfried (Hg.). *Aristoteles-Lexikon*. Stuttgart: Kröner, 2005, p. 303; Aristotle distinguished ten categories as types of statements that can be made of an object: 1. Essence of an object or its substance, 2. Size or quantity, 3. Nature or quality, 4. Relationship to other objects or the relation, 5. Place where it occurs, 6. Time at which the thing was there, 7. Activity, 8. Suffering, 9. Situation, 10. Loss or presence. - Regenbogen, Arnim; Meyer, Uwe (Hg.). *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe*. Hamburg: Meiner, 2013, p. 338; on Aristotle's categories, cf. Römpf, Georg. *Aristoteles*. UTB Profile. Köln/Weimar/Wien: Böhlau, 2009, pp. 21-34.
- 70 Also called: »sentence of contradiction«, which is expressed in the »sentence of the excluded third«. - cf. Wey, Lis. ΛΟΓΟΣ und ΟΥΣΙΑ: Sein und Sprache bei Aristoteles. Berlin: Logos, 2014, pp. 223-229.
- 71 Cf. Wey, Lis. ΛΟΓΟΣ, pp. 228-229; cf. pp. 355-373 (Lit.!). cf. the definition of M. Malink on the *principle of non-contradiction and principle of excluded third*. – Malink, Marko. »Logik«, in: Rapp, Christof; Corcilius, Klaus (Hg.). *Aristoteles Handbuch: Leben – Werk – Wirkung*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 2011, p. 482.
- 72 Cf. Regenbogen, Arnim; Meyer, Uwe (Hg.). *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe*. Hamburg: Meiner, 2013, p. 383.
- 73 On the discussion of the possible names of the Pharaoh from the time of Exodus and the reasons for the absence of names in the biblical text, cf. Strawn, B.A. »Pharaoh«, in: Alexander, T. Desmond; Baker, David W. (ed.). *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Pentateuch*. Leicester: IVP, 2003, p. 634.

- 74 Longenecker, Richard. *The Epistle to the Romans*. NIGTC. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016, pp. 816-822.
- 75 Λέγει γάρ ἡ γραφὴ τῷ Φαραὼ ὅτι Εἰς αὐτὸν τοῦτο ἐξῆγειρά σε, ὅπως ἐνδείξωμαι ἐν σοὶ τὴν δύναμιν μου, καὶ ὅπως διαγγελῇ τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ.
- 76 Ex 9:16 אַוְתִּים בְּעָבֹר וְאַתָּה הַעֲמֵד תְּתִיק בְּעַזְבֶּן:
- 77 On the logical conflict of God's »unquestionable election of grace« in relation to the faith of man, cf. Pesch, Otto Hermann. »Wille/Willensfreiheit. III. Dogmen- und theologiegeschichtlich«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 36. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004/2006, pp. 78-79.
- 78 Ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι, Τί εἴτι μέμφεται; Τῷ γάρ βουλήματι αὐτοῦ τίς ἀνθέστηκεν; Μενοῦνγε, ὃ ἀνθρώπε, σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ ἀνταποκρινόμενος τῷ θεῷ; Μὴ ἐρεῖ τὸ πλάσμα τῷ πλάσαντι, Τί με ἐποίησας οὕτως;
- 79 This *elementary theodicy* Longenecker aptly summarizes: »[...] a question as to why God does what he does in his selection of some people and his rejection of other people is far too inappropriate a question to ever be asked.« – Longenecker, *Romans*, p. 819.
- 80 Pesch, »Wille/Willensfreiheit«, p. 78.
- 81 Cf. Spieckermann, Hermann. »Hiob/Hiobbuch«. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4. Aufl., Bd. 3. Tübingen: Mohr, 2000, pp. 1777-1778.
- 82 Cf. Ebach, Jürgen. »Hiob/Hiobbuch«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 15. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986/1993, p. 366.
- 83 Ebach, »Hiob«, p. 367.
- 84 Cf. on this the relational definition of the three claims: (1) God is just, (2) Job is righteous, (3) the principle of retribution is true. In the course of the history of Job it becomes obvious that it is logically impossible to sustain all three claims at the same time. – Walton, John. »Job 1: Book of«, in: Alexander, T. Desmond; Baker, David W. (ed.). *Dictionary of the Old Testament: Wisdom, Poetry & Writings*. Leicester: IVP, 2008, p. 340.
- 85 ὁ θεὸς γάρ ἔστιν ὁ ἐνεργῶν ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ ἐνεργεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐδοκίας.
- 86 Cf. Hellerman, Joseph H. *Philippians. Exegetical Guide to the Greek New Testament*. Nashville: Broadman & Holman, 2015, p. 134.
- 87 Hellerman, *Philippians*, p. 132, compares Col 3:3 with Col 3:5, and Gal 3:27 with Rom 13:14.
- 88 Cf. Fee, Gordon D. *Philippians*. Downers Grove: IVP, 1999, p. 106.
- 89 Hellerman, *Philippians*, p. 132: »God's work and the believer's efforts are coextensive, thereby excluding, as non-Pauline, any kind of synergism whereby some« division of labor »might come into play between God and the Philippians [...]«.
- 90 Lohmeyer, Ernst. *Der Brief an die Philipper, Kolosser und an Philemon*. KEKNT, 10. Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954, p. 103.
- 91 Walter, Nikolaus; Reimnuth, Eckart; Lampe, Peter. *Die Briefe an die Philipper, Thessalonicher und an Philemon*. NTD, Bd. 8/2, 18. Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998, p. 65.
- 92 Walter, *Philipper*; p. 66.
- 93 Cf. Müller, Ulrich B. *Der Brief des Paulus an die Philipper*. ThHKNT, Bd. 11/1. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1993, p. 117; Eckey, Wilfried. *Die Briefe des Paulus an die Philipper und an Philemon*. Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 2006, p. 90.
- 94 Poller, *Philosophen*, S. 89.
- 95 From this rationalistic conception of God follows an adoptianistic Christology (against the incarnation of God),

- which manifested itself in the so-called dynamic monarchianism within the Early Church; cf. Jedin, Hubert (Hg.). *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte. Bd. I: Von der Urgemeinde zur frühchristlichen Großkirche*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2017, p. 293.
- 96 Bayer, Martin Luthers Theologie, p. 29.
- 97 Luther uses the term *communication* as a christological definition of character in connection with the dispute on the Lord's Supper (1525-1528). Luther teaches that the attributes of the divine and human nature in Christ communicate to each other (lat. *communicatio idiomatum*). From this Luther concludes that the human nature of Christ, including his body and blood, is actually present in the Lord's Supper; cf. Hägglund, Bengt. *Geschichte der Theologie. Ein Abriß*. München: Kaiser, 1983, pp. 218, 240-241.
- 98 Cf. Schwöbel, Christoph. »Trinität. III. Reformationszeit«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 34. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002/2006, pp. 106-107.
- 99 Harteinstein, Friedhelm. »Weshalb braucht die christliche Theologie eine Theologie des Alten Testaments?«, *Marburger Jahrbuch Theologie XXV: Das Alte Testament in der Theologie*, hg. Gräß-Schmidt, Elisabeth; Preul, Reiner. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2013: 19-47.
- 100 This already took place in a pre-incarnational form at the pillar of fire in Exodus 3:1-6.
- 101 Cf. Hartenstein, »Theologie des Alten Testaments«, p. 37.
- 102 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Die Ablassthesen und die Resolutionen 1517-1518«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, pp. 32-82.
- 103 Benrath, G.A. »Ablaß«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 1. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977/1993, p. 347.
- 104 Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 2, p. 65.
- 105 Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 2, p. 65.
- 106 Cf. Pesch, Otto Hermann. »Thomas von Aquino/Thomismus/Neuthomismus«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 33. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2002/2006, p. 439.
- 107 Cf. Dettloff, Werner. »Bonaventura«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 7. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1981/1993, p. 53; cf. pp. 49-52.
- 108 Cf. Benrath, »Ablaß«, p. 349.
- 109 Cf. Leppin, Volker. »B. Person. I. Traditionen. 3. Kirchenväter«, in: Beutel, Albrecht (Hg.). *Luther Handbuch*. 2. Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 2010, p. 46.
- 110 Cf. Jedin, Hubert (Hg.). *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte. Bd. III/2: Die Mittelalterliche Kirche*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2017, p. 118.
- 111 Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 2, p. 69.
- 112 Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 2, p. 70.
- 113 Cf. Jedin, *Handbuch*, Bd. III/2, p. 613.
- 114 Cf. Hoffmann, Martin. *Studienbuch Martin Luther. Grundtexte und Deutungen*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2014, p. 40.
- 115 Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 2, p. 74.
- 116 In German: »[...] der lernt aus Aristoteles, dass der Wille sich nur auf ein Gut, und zwar auf ein erstrebenswertes Gut richtet, während er das Übel haßt: also sei Gott das höchste Gut und das Ziel allen Strebens.« - Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Vol. 2, p. 74.
- 117 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Brief an Papst Leo X. Mai 1518«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 90.
- 118 Cf. Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Die Thesen zur Leipziger Disputation 1519«, *Luther*

- Deutsch.* Bd. 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 92.
- 119 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft der Kirche 1520«, *Luther Deutsch.* Bd. 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, pp. 171-238.
- 120 Cf. Regenbogen, Armin; Meyer, Uwe (Hg.). *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe.* Hamburg: Meiner, 2013, p. 576.
- 121 Cf. Wenz, Gunther. »Sakamente. I. Kirchengeschichtlich«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 29. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998/2006, p. 670.
- 122 On the early Christian development of the Holy Communion in the Eastern and Western church, cf. Marksches, Christoph. »Current Research on the Eucharist in Ancient Christianity: How the Eucharist Developed from the End of the Fourth Century in East and West«. *Early Christianity* 7/4 (2016): 417-446.
- 123 Cf. Staedtke, Joachim. »Abendmahl. III/3. Reformationszeit«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 1. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977/1993, pp. 110-111, 113.
- 124 Aland, *Luther Deutsch.* Bd. 2, p. 180.
- 125 WA 8, 127, 19.
- 126 Cf. Wieland, Wolfgang. »Dialektik. I. Philosophisch«. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4. Aufl., Bd. 2. Tübingen: Mohr, 1999, pp. 806-807.
- 127 Cf. Kubota, N. »dialektikē / Dialektik«, in: Höffe, Otfried (Hg.). *Aristoteles-Lexikon*. Stuttgart: Kröner, 2005, pp. 116-117.
- 128 Luther calls Aristotle »the great light of nature«; cf. WA 12, 414, 21-27; WA 6, 458, 18-21.
- 129 In German: »[...] dass er (Thomas; Vf.) seine Ansichten in Glaubenssachen nicht allein aus Aristoteles überliefert, sondern versucht hat, auf dem, den er nicht verstanden hat, etwas aufzubauen. Ein unglückseliger Bau auf einem unglückseligen Fundament!« - Aland, *Luther Deutsch.* Vol. 2, p. 180.
- 130 Cf. Oberman, Heiko A. *Luther: Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel*. München: Pantheon, 2016, pp. 198-199.
- 131 Poller, *Philosophen*, pp. 177-178.
- 132 Cf. Pesch, Otto Hermann. *Martin Luther, Thomas von Aquin und die reformatorische Kritik an der Scholastik*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994, p. 35.
- 133 Pesch, »Luther«, pp. 36, 43.
- 134 Aland, *Luther Deutsch.* Bd. 2, pp. 181-182.
- 135 Aland, *Luther Deutsch.* Bd. 2, pp. 181-182.
- 136 Aland, *Luther Deutsch.* Bd. 2, pp. 183.
- 137 In German: »Und wenn die Philosophie das schon nicht versteht, so versteht es doch der Glaube. Gottes Wort hat eine größere Vollmacht, als unser Verstand es fassen kann! In dem Sakrament ist also der wahre Leib und das wahre Blut.« - Aland, *Luther Deutsch.* Vol. 2, p. 183.
- 138 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Vom unfreien Willen 1525«, *Luther Deutsch.* Bd. 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, pp. 151-334.
- 139 Aland, *Luther Deutsch.* Bd. 3, p. 272.
- 140 In German: »Einen solchen Gott zeichnet uns auch Aristoteles, der da schläft und seine Güte und Strafe gebrauchen und mißbrauchen lässt, wer da will.« - Aland, *Luther Deutsch.* Vol. 3, p. 272.
- 141 Here, therefore, there is no gracious affection of God (condescension) toward man. However, this is an essential feature of Luther's theology. Cf. Pienisch, Markus. *Kommunikation und Gottesdienst. Grundlinien göttlicher Zuwendung in Bibel und Verkündigung*. Studium Integrale Theologie, 2. Aufl. Holzgerlingen: SCM, 2015, p. 11.
- 142 Gr. *theologiké*

- 143 Cf. Bordt, Michael. »Unbewegter Beweger«, in: Rapp, Christof; Corcilius, Klaus (Hg.). *Aristoteles Handbuch: Leben – Werk – Wirkung*. Stuttgart: Metzler, 2011, pp. 367, 370.
- 144 Cf. Menn, Stephen. »Aristotle's Theology«, in: Shields, Christopher (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of Aristotle*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 422-423.
- 145 Aristoteles, *Metaphysik*, XII 7 1072b28-9.
- 146 Cf. Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Erste Vorlesung über die Psalmen 1513/1515«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, pp. 69-70.
- 147 In German: »Gott, der Schöpfer Himmels und der Erde, redet mit dir durch seine Prediger. Er tauft, unterweist und spricht dich frei von deinen Sünden durch seine Sakramente. Diese Worte Gottes sind nicht denen des Plato oder Aristoteles gleich, sondern Gott selbst redet.« - Aland, Kurt (ed.). »Tischreden: Das Wort«, *Luther Deutsch*. Vol. 9. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 13.
- 148 Ringleben, Joachim. »Wort Gottes. IV. Systematisch-theologisch«. *Theologische Realencyklopädie*, Bd. 36. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004/2006, p. 321.
- 149 Cf. Ringleben, »Wort Gottes«, p. 322.
- 150 In German: »Nur wenn der Heilige Geist Christus im Wort gegenwärtig macht, wird es Gottes eigenes, lebendiges Wort. [...] Der fleischgewordene Logos ist die in der Geschichte erschienene Person, Jesus von Nazareth, der von den Schriften des Alten wie des Neuen Testaments als der Christus bezeugt wird. Eben deswegen kann der Geist Jesus Christus nur durch dieses an die Schrift gebundene Wort zu einer gegenwärtigen Wirklichkeit machen.« - Prenter, Regin. *Spiritus Creator. Studien* zu Luthers Theologie. München: Kaiser, 1954, p. 111.
- 151 Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 9, p. 123.
- 152 Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 9, p. 229.
- 153 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Briefe: An Spalatin, 19. Oktober 1516«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 10. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, pp. 17-18. On the ethical approach of Luther, cf. Lindberg, Carter. »Luther's struggle with social-ethical issues«, in: McKim, Donald K. (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 166; Ebeling, Gerhard. »Luthers Kampf gegen die Moralisierung des Christlichen«, in: *Lutherstudien*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1985: III: 44-73.
- 154 Cf. Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Die Heidelberger Disputation 1518«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 391.
- 155 Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 1, pp. 391-392.
- 156 Cf. Mühlen, Karl-Heinz zur. »Luthers Kritik am scholastischen Aristotelismus in der 25. These der ›Heidelberger Disputation‹ von 1518«, in: Mühlen, Karl-Heinz zur. *Reformatorisches Profil. Studien zum Weg Martin Luthers und der Reformation*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995, p. 49.
- 157 Bayer, *Martin Luthers Theologie*, p. 146; cf. WA 40 I,359,7 – 373,2.
- 158 On the concept of love in Luther, cf. Mannermaa, Tuomo. »Liebe. VI. Reformation und Orthodoxye«. *Theologische Realencyklopädie*, Bd. 21. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991/2000, pp. 152-155.
- 159 Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 1, p. 393.
- 160 Cf. Mannermaa, »Liebe«, pp. 152-153.
- 161 Mannermaa, »Liebe«, p. 153.
- 162 Jüngel, Eberhard. »Die Welt als Möglichkeit und Wirklichkeit. Zum ontologischen Ansatz der Rechtfertigungslehre«, in: *Unterwegs zur Sache. Theologie*

- sche Erörterungen I.* 3. Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 2000, p. 215.
- 163 On Luther's theology of justification, cf. Frisch, Ralf; Hailer, Martin. »Ich ist ein Anderer«. Zur Rede von Stellvertretung und Opfer in der Christologie», *Neue Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie und Religionsphilosophie* 41 (1999): 62-77.
- 164 Jüngel, »Die Welt«, p. 216.
- 165 As O. Höffe notes, Aristotle discusses the ethical virtue of the righteous in Book V of Nicomachean Ethics. There he distinguishes the *abstract just* and the *concrete just*, which is located in institutions. - Höffe, Otfried. »*dikaio-synê / Gerechtigkeit*«, in: Höffe, Otfried (Hg.). *Aristoteles-Lexikon*. Stuttgart: Kröner, 2005, pp. 130-131.
- 166 Cf. Horn, C. »logos/Wortkombination, Rede, Sprache, Vernunft«, in: Höffe, Otfried (Hg.). *Aristoteles-Lexikon*. Stuttgart: Kröner, 2005, p. 332.
- 167 Cf. Regenbogen, Arnim; Meyer, Uwe (Hg.). *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe*. Hamburg: Meiner, 2013, p. 252.
- 168 Cf. Höffe, Otfried. »*aretê / Tugend*, wörtlich: Bestheit, Vortrefflichkeit«, in: Höffe, Otfried (Hg.). *Aristoteles-Lexikon*. Stuttgart: Kröner, 2005, p. 79.
- 169 In German: »Ebenso werden wir aber auch durch gerechtes Handeln gerecht [...].« - Aristotle. *Nikomachische Ethik*. 2. ed., translated by E. Rolfes. Philosophische Bibliothek Vol. 5. Leipzig: Meiner, 1911, p. 24.
- 170 Cf. Rohls, Jan. *Philosophie und Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Tübingen: Mohr, 2002, p. 272.
- 171 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Vorlesung über den Römerbrief 1515/1516«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 113.
- 172 Νυνὶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγώ κατεργάζομαι αὐτό, ἀλλ' ἡ οἰκουσα ἐν ἐμοὶ ἀμαρτία.
- 173 In German: »Hat denn die trügerische Metaphysik des Aristoteles und die in der menschlichen Tradition stehende Philosophie unsere Theologen etwa nicht in die Irre geführt?« - Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Vol. 1, p. 189.
- 174 διότι τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς ἔχθρα εἰς θεόν, τῷ γὰρ νόμῳ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐχ ὑποτάσσεται, οὐδὲ γὰρ δύναται·
- 175 Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 1, p. 193.
- 176 καρδίᾳ γὰρ πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην, στόματι δὲ ὄμοιογεῖται εἰς σωτηρίαν.
- 177 Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 1, p. 223-224.
- 178 καὶ μὴ συσχηματίζεσθαι τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ μεταμορφοῦσθαι τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοὸς ύμῶν, εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον.
- 179 Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 1, p. 229.
- 180 In German: »In dieser Weise philosophiert nämlich Aristotle über den Bereich des Natürlichen, und zwar richtig, leider versteht man ihn nicht dement sprechend.« - Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Vol. 1, p. 230.
- 181 Jenson, Robert W. »Luther's contemporary theological significance«, in: McKim, Donald K. (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 282.
- 182 Bayer, Oswald. »Verheißung«. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4. Aufl., Bd. 8. Tübingen: Mohr, 2005, p. 1015.
- 183 Bayer, »Verheißung«, p. 1015.
- 184 Jenson, »Luther's contemporary theological significance«, p. 282.
- 185 On this, H. Busche aptly notes that in the Aristotelian natural philosophy the soul designates the cause and principle of the living body, that is, its vitality, not its materiality. – Busche, H. »*psychê / Seele*«, in: Höffe, Otfried (Hg.). *Aristoteles-Lexikon*. Stuttgart: Kröner, 2005, p. 505.

- 186 Cf. Seidl, »Seele«, p. 750.
- 187 Jenson, »Luther's contemporary theological significance«, p. 282.
- 188 On the responsiveness of man toward the word of God, cf. Jüngel, Eberhard. »Der Gott entsprechende Mensch. Bemerkungen zur Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen als Grundfigur theologischer Anthropologie«, in: Jüngel, Eberhard. *Entsprechungen: Gott – Wahrheit – Mensch. Theologische Erörterungen*. 2. Aufl. München: Kaiser, 1986, p. 310.
- 189 In German: »[...] immer zuhören müsse und nie auch nur mit kleinem Vorgefechte den Aristoteles oder die Sentenzen angreifen und gegen sie mucken dürfe. Denn was sollten die nicht glauben, die dem Aristoteles geglaubt haben, dass es wahr sei, was dieser Oberste aller Verleumder anderen so absurdes Zeug andichtet und aufbindet, dass ein Esel und ein Stein dazu nicht schweigen könnte?« - Aland, Kurt (ed.). »Briefe: An Joh. Lang, 8. Februar 1517«, *Luther Deutsch*. Vol. 10. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 23-24.
- 190 Cf. Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 10, p. 24.
- 191 Aland, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 10, p. 25, 30, 41, 82.
- 192 In his »Disputation Against Scholastic Theology 1517« Luther uses 7 of 97 theses to refute Aristotle. - Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Disputation gegen die scholastische Theologie 1517«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, pp. 358-359.
- 193 On the discussion of thesis 50 of Luther's disputation against scholastic theology, cf. Hailer, Martin. *Glauben und Wissen. Arbeitsbuch Theologie und Philosophie*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006, pp. 90-91.
- 194 Andreatta, Eugenio. »Aristoteles als literarische Quelle Martin Luthers«, in: Junghans, Helmar (Hg.). *Lutherjahrbuch. Organ der internationalen Lutherforschung*, Bd. 65. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998: 45-52.
- 195 Andreatta, »Aristoteles«, p. 45.
- 196 WA 42, 34, 5-10.
- 197 WA 38, 470, 15-19.
- 198 Cf. Regenbogen, Armin; Meyer, Uwe (Hg.). *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe*. Hamburg: Meiner, 2013, p. 403.
- 199 In German: »[...] von einem ›moralischen‹ Aristoteles, der Leitsätze liefert, die aus ihrem ursprünglichen Zusammenhang herausgerissen werden und dazu dienen sollen, die Grundsätze des christlichen Glaubens von außen zu untermauern, wobei sie gegebenenfalls wieder angefochten werden, wenn sie zu diesem in Widerspruch stehen.« - Andreatta, »Aristoteles«, p. 50.
- 200 Cf. Poller, *Philosophen*, p. 202.
- 201 Cf. Dieter, *Luther*, p. 23, footnote 50; cf. Andreatta, Eugenio. *Lutero e Aristotele*. Padua: CUSL Nuovavita, 1996.
- 202 Andreatta, »Aristoteles«, p. 52.
- 203 Leppin, Volker. »B. Person. I. Traditionen. 6. Universitätswissenschaft«, in: Beutel, Albrecht (Hg.). *Luther Handbuch*. 2. Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 2010, p. 62.
- 204 In German: »Einer aristotelisch überwucherten, philosophischen Theologie stellt L[uther] eine sich als biblisch verstehende Theologie entgegen: Allein der Schrift, meinte er, nicht aber der Philosophie sei die dem Theologischen angemessene Denk- und Redeweise zu entnehmen.« - Beutel, Albrecht. »Luther, Martin«, in: Lutz, Bernd (ed.). *Metzler Philosophenlexikon*.

- sophen-Lexikon. Von den Vorsokratikern bis zu den Neuen Philosophen.* 3., aktual. u. erw. Aufl. Stuttgart: Metzler, 2015, p. 441.
- 205 Nitzsch, Friedrich. *Luther und Aristoteles. Festschrift zum vierhundertjährigen Geburtstage Luther's.* Kiel: Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1883.
- 206 Nitzsch, *Luther*, pp. 3-19; 27-32.
- 207 Nitzsch, *Luther*, p. 25.
- 208 Aubenque, Pierre. »Aristotelismus«, Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart. 4. Aufl. Bd. 1. Tübingen: Mohr, 1998: 737.
- 209 Cf. Fraas, Hans-Jürgen. »Katechese/Katechetik. I. Geschichte. 2. Mittelalter und Reformation«. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. 4. Aufl. Bd. 4. Tübingen: Mohr, 2001, p. 855.
- 210 Cf. Leppin, Volker. »B. Person. I. Traditionen. 6. Universitätswissenschaft«, p. 66.
- 211 In German: »[...] indem er (Luther; Vf.) sich die Alternative vorhielt ›Aristoteles oder Christus‹, verlor er allerdings in einem gewissen Sinne die Unbefangenheit des Blicks. [...] Daher fühlte sich Luther zu einer möglichst scharfen Kritik vom evangelisch religiösen Standpunkte aus gedrungen, und bei dieser musste Aristoteles allerdings kleiner sich ausnehmen, als er sonst war [...]. - Nitzsch, *Luther*, pp. 33-34.
- 212 Cf. Regenbogen, Arним; Meyer, Uwe (Hg.). *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe*. Hamburg: Meiner, 2013, p. 586.
- 213 כִּי־פָשׁעַ אָנִי אָקֵעַ וְחַטָּאתִ נָגֵדִי תְּמִידִי:
- 214 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Erste Vorlesung über die Psalmen 1513/1515«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 52.
- 215 Aland, »Erste Vorlesung über die Psalmen«, p. 59.
- 216 Aland, »Vorlesung über den Römerbrief«, p. 132; cf. Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Die sieben Bußpsalmen 1525«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 133.
- 217 Aland, »Vorlesung über den Römerbrief«, p. 142.
- 218 Aland, »Vorlesung über den Römerbrief«, p. 172; cf. Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Disputation über des Menschen Vermögen und Willen ohne die Gnade 1516«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 351.
- 219 Aland, »Die sieben Bußpsalmen«, p. 138.
- 220 Cf. Delitzsch, Franz. *Die Psalmen*. Giessen: Brunnen, 2005, p. 372.
- 221 Westermann, Claus. *Ausgewählte Psalmen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984, p. 73.
- 222 Cf. Weiser, Artur. *Die Psalmen. Erster Teil: Psalm 1-60*. ATD 14. 10., unveränderte Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987, p. 272.
- כִּי־הָוֹא אָמַר גַּם־הִזְמִינָה נִיעַמֶּד:
- 224 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Zwölfter Sonntag nach Trinitatis Mark. 7,31-37«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 8. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 339.
- 225 In German: »Gleichwie Gott alles aus Nichts macht und aus Finsternis das Licht schafft, so macht auch sein Wort, dass im Tode nichts denn Leben sein muß. Darum, wer am Wort Gottes hanget und ihm folgt, der erfährt zuletzt, was David im Psalm 33,9 sagt: ›Wenn Gott spricht, so ists (sic!) gemacht, und wenn ers (sic!) heißt, so stehts (sic!) da.«« - Aland, »Tischreden: Das Wort«, p. 17.
- 226 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Tischreden: Der Christ in der Welt«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 9. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 219.

- 227 Piennisch, Markus. »Der ›biblisch-semitische Aspekt‹ in der Grundstruktur der WORT-TAT Gottes (dabar)«, *Stuttgarter Theologische Themen* 3 (2008): 81-99.
- 228 Cf. Kraus, Hans-Joachim. *Psalmen. 1. Teilband*. BKAT XV/1. Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1960, p. 263.
- 229 Cf. Lüpke, Johannes von. »Schöpfer/Schöpfung. VII. Reformation bis Neuzeit. 2. Reformatorische Theologie«. *Theologische Realencyklopädie*, Bd. 30. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999/2006, p. 306.
- 230 WA 42,3,30-4,20.
- 231 In German: »Das Wort [...] wird als die einzige Kontinuität zwischen Jahwe und der Welt, aber auch als einziges Erkenntnismedium der Schöpfung angesprochen.« - Kraus, Hans-Joachim. *Theologie der Psalmen. 3. Teilband*. BKAT XV/3. Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 1979, p. 43.
- 232 Οὗτος ἐστιν ὁ νιός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα· αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε.
- 233 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Vorlesung über den Hebräerbrief 1517/1518«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 327.
- 234 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Von Menschenlehre zu meiden 1522«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 25.
- 235 Cf. Konradt, Matthias. *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*. NTD 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015, p. 273.
- 236 In German: »Du sollst keine andere Predigt hören, nichts anderes lesen, lehren, lernen, sondern es soll alles aus dieses Mannes Munde gehen. [...] Darum ist es unmöglich, dass der Gott hören oder zu seiner Liebe kommen könne, wer Christus nicht allein liebt und hört.« - Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Erster Pfingstag Joh. 14,23-31«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 8. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 255.
- 237 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Tischreden: Der neue Glaube«, p. 45.
- 238 On the trinitarian love of god as the origin of communication, cf. Piennisch, *Kommunikation und Gottesdienst*, pp. 48-56.
- 239 τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου, τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν.
- 240 Aland, »Vorlesung über den Hebräerbrief«, p. 319.
- 241 Cf. Schneider, Hans. »Blut. IV/2. Christi Blut in evangelischer Theologie und Frömmigkeit«. *Theologische Realencyklopädie*, Bd. 6. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980/1993, p. 740.
- 242 Luther's reformatory purpose included emphasizing the priesthood of all believers so that he rejected the distinction between priests and laity, but maintained the special ministry of preaching and sacramental administration. – Cf. Ritter, A.M. »Laie. I. Kirchengeschichtlich«. *Theologische Realencyklopädie*, Bd. 20. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990/2000, p. 380.
- 243 Aland, »Von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft der Kirche«, pp. 174-175.
- 244 Cf. Konradt, *Matthäus*, p. 407.
- 245 Aland, »Von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft der Kirche«, p. 182.
- 246 In German: »Er sagt nicht: in dem Brot ist, sondern: das Brot selbst ist die Gemeinschaft des Leibes Christi. Was liegt daran, ob die Philosophie das nicht versteht? Der heilige Geist ist mehr als Aristoteles.« - Aland, »Von der babylonischen Gefangenschaft der Kirche«, p. 183.
- 247 Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωὴ· οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, εἰ μὴ δι' ἐμοῦ.
- 248 Aland, »Vorlesung über den Römerbrief «, p. 146.
- 249 On the biblical-theological background of the relationship between the earthly Son of God and the heavenly Son of

- Man in the OT and NT, cf. Wassermann, Peter. »Gottes Sohn und Menschen-Sohn«, *Stuttgarter Theologische Themen* 10 (2015): 95-112.
- 250 Aland, »Vorlesung über den Hebräerbrief«, p. 293.
- 251 Aland, »Die Heidelberger Disputation«, p. 389.
- 252 In German: »Diese radikale Exklusivität, in der aller Glaube an Gott in den Glauben an Jesus integriert wird, hat ihren Grund in der radikalen Zuwendung Gottes zu den Menschen in seinem Menschgewordenen Sohn.« - Wilckens, Ulrich. *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*. NTD 4, 17. Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998, p. 224.
- 253 Cf. Schnelle, Udo. *Das Evangelium nach Johannes*. ThHKNT 4, 5., neu bearb. Aufl. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2016, p. 300.
- 254 Regarding the understanding of the verb form Λογιζόμεθα as an editorial plural or as an emphasis on the common knowledge of Paul and his readers, cf. Longenecker, *Romans*, pp. 445-446.
- 255 On the translation possibilities of the expression »works of the law« (gr. *érga nómou*) in the Roman and Galatian letters, cf. Haacker, Klaus. »Bibelübersetzung und Bibelwissenschaft«, *Stuttgarter Theologische Themen* 10 (2015), pp. 20-21.
- 256 Cf. Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Ein Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen 1530«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, pp. 89-90; cf. Pienisch, »Hermeneutische Überlegungen zur Übersetzung der Bibel«, p. 66; cf. Gritsch, Eric W. »Luther as Bible translator«, in: McKim, Donald K. (Hg.). *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 67.
- 257 Λογιζόμεθα οὖν πίστει δικαιοῦσθαι ἄνθρωπον, χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου.
- 258 Aland, »Vorlesung über den Römerbrief «, p. 167.
- 259 Aland, »Vorlesung über den Römerbrief «, p. 167.
- 260 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Sermon über die zweifache Gerechtigkeit 1518«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 369.
- 261 Aland, »Die Heidelberger Disputation«, p. 392.
- 262 Cf. Hauschild, Wolf-Dieter. »Gnade. IV. Dogmengeschichtlich«. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Bd. 13. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984/1993, p. 490.
- 263 Aland, »Vom unfreien Willen«, p. 313.
- 264 Cf. Haacker, Klaus. *Der Brief des Paulus an die Römer*. ThHKNT 6, 4., erneut verb. u. erw. Aufl. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2012, p. 111.
- 265 Cf. Wilckens, Ulrich. *Der Brief an die Römer*. EKK 6, 1. Aufl. Studienausgabe. Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 2010, pp. 244-250.
- 266 Cf. Lohse, Eduard. *Der Brief an die Römer*. KEKNT 4, 15. Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003, p. 138.
- 267 In German: »Grund und Verwirklichung der Rechtfertigung liegen in Gottes Gnade allein, wie sie in Jesus Christus in Erscheinung getreten ist, und nur der von Gott durch das Evangelium geweckte Glaube lässt einen Menschen an ihr teilhaben.« - Stuhlmacher, Peter. *Der Brief an die Römer*. NTD 6, 15. Aufl. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998, p. 63.
- 268 On the central significance of justification by faith for the theology of Paul, cf. Jüngel, Eberhard. *Paulus und Jesus. Eine Untersuchung zur Präzisierung der Frage nach dem Ursprung der Christologie*. 5., unveränderte Aufl. Tübingen: Mohr, 1979, pp. 29-33.
- 269 ὃ δὲ νῦν ζῶ ἐν σαρκὶ, ἐν πίστει ζῶ τῇ τοῦ νοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντός με καὶ παραδόντος ἔσυντὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ.

- 270 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Vorlesung über den Galaterbrief 1516/1517«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 270.
- 271 Aland, »Vorlesung über den Galaterbrief«, p. 285.
- 272 Aland, Kurt (Hg.). »Von den guten Werken 1520«, *Luther Deutsch*. Bd. 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991, p. 148.

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