INTRODUCTION

Renaissance humanism around 1500 was an international phenomenon[1] as it was inculturated in the nations of Europe, i.e., 'nationalized'. However, it was not a homogeneous movement.[2] One may differentiate between humanists in general and biblical humanists,[3] but also between 'civic humanists',[4] 'courtly humanists',[5] 'curial humanists' (the latter referring to the 'Roman humanists' at the court of the Renaissance popes),[6] and finally 'monastic humanists' (*Klosterhumanisten*). The main transmitters of Renaissance humanism were not at first the universities but "the monasteries, the ecclesiastical and the secular courts, the urban centres" and then "in due course the universities".[7]

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[1] "Humanism was becoming an international Phenomenon", Donald R. Kelley, *Renaissance Humanism* (Boston 1991) 56; N. G. Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy: Greek Studies in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore 1992) 24–31; Charles Nauert Jr, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge 1995); Robert Black, "Humanism", in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 7, c. 1415–c. 1500, ed. Christopher Allmand (Cambridge 1997) 243–277; reprinted in Robert Black, ed., *Renaissance Thought* (London and New York 2001) 68–94; Peter Burke, *The European Renaissance. Centres and Peripheries* (Oxford 1998).

[2] See Peter Burke, "The Uses of Italy", in Roy Porter and Mikulás Teich, eds., *The Renaissance in National Context* (New York etc. 1992) 6–20, here 6.

[3] See Cornelis Augustijn, "Humanisten auf dem Scheideweg zwischen Luther und Erasmus", in *idem*, *Erasmus. Der Humanist als Theologe und Kirchenreformer* (Leiden and New York 1996) 154–67; *idem*, *Humanismus* (Series: *Die Kirche in ihrer Geschichte. Ein Handbuch*, vol. 2), trans. into German by Hinrich Stoevesandt (Göttingen 2003) (the entire book is dedicated to 'Biblical Humanism'). By the 1540s, however, the ideals of biblical humanism were *passé*; Augustijn, *Humanismus*, 110.

[4] Hans Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance. Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*, 2 vols. (Princeton NJ 1955; 1966); James Hankins, *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections* (New York 2000); Albert Rabil, Jr., "The Significance of 'Civic Humanism' in the Interpretation of the Italian Renaissance", in Keith Whitlock, ed., *The Renaissance in Europe: A Reader* (New Haven 2000) 31–55.

[5] See Friedrich Zoepfl, "Der Humanismus am Hof der Fürstbischöfe von Augsburg", *Historisches Jahrbuch* 62/69 (1949) 671–708 (on the bishops of Augsburg in the 15th and 16th centuries); August Buck, ed., *Höfischer Humanismus* (Weinheim 1989); David Mateer, ed., *Courts, Patrons and Poets* (New Haven 2000).

[6] John F. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome: Humanists and Churchmen on the Eve of the Reformation* (Baltimore 1983); *idem*, *Roman and German Humanism, 1450–1550. Collected Studies edited by Paul F. Grendler* (Aldershot, Great Britain 1993) I.264.

[7] Lewis W. Spitz, "Humanism in Germany", in *The Impact of Humanism on Western*

Initially, many humanists were marginalized and operated outside the universities. The courts may have been the first to employ the classically-trained men for various administrative services. Functions usually reserved for noblemen were increasingly assumed by civic humanists.[8] These people shared some form of humanist education and were active as Latin secretaries and lawyers at the courts of princes and bishops and in the cities and universities.[9]

We should also not overlook the fact that there were diocesan priests who were humanists, such as the Alsatian Jacob Wimpfeling (1450–1528) or Canon Conradus Mutianus Rufus (1470–1526) at Gotha.[10] There were episcopal humanists[11] such as Bishop Johann von Dalberg (1483–1503) of Worms, who was also the chancellor of the University of Heidelberg.[12] Furthermore, there were humanist laymen such as the Italian Giannozzo Manetti (1396–1459). He found emulators in the two Swabian laymen, Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522) and his grand-nephew Philip Melanchthon (1497–1560), who pursued the well-known ideal of the polyglot scholar. Yet, Reuchlin never joined the Lutheran camp, while his grand-nephew Philip Melanchthon did. Finally, worthy of at least a brief mention is the Croatian layman and patriot Marko Marulić (or Marcus Marulus, 1450–1524), who was an admirer of Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466/69–1536) and a gifted Christian poet and prolific historiographer.[13]

Europe, eds. Anthony Goodman and Angus MacKay (London and New York 1990) 202–219, here 205.

[8] See Eckhard Bernstein, "From Outsiders to Insiders. Some Reflections on the Development of a Group Identity of the German Humanists between 1450 and 1530", in James V. Mehl, ed., *In Laudem Caroli for Charles G. Nauert* (Kirksville 1998) 45–64, here 49; Bernstein, "Vom lateinischen Frühhumanismus bis Conrad Cletis", in *Die Literatur im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, eds. Werner Röcke and Marina Münkler (Hansers Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart, vol. 1) (Munich and Vienna 2004) 54–76, here 62–63.

[9] See Bernstein, "From Outsiders to Insiders", 53.

[10] The medieval ecclesiastical position of 'canons' (German: *weltliches Kanonikerinstitut*, the institution of secular canons) is difficult to define as it depends on the local circumstances; see Guy P. Marchal, "Was war das weltliche Kanonikerinstitut im Mittelalter? Dom- und Kollegiatstifte: eine Einführung und eine neue Perspektive", *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 94 (1999) 766–807; 95 (2000) 7–53.

[11] *Humanistenbischof*, as used in Alois Schmid, "Humanistenbischöfe. Untersuchungen zum vortridentinischen Episkopat in Deutschland", *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 87 (1992) 159–92 (on the bishops of Augsburg).

[12] See Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, "Dalberg", BBKL 1 (1990) 1195.

[13] A dossier with a biography and English translations of some of his works was published by Bratislav Lučin, ed., *Most/The Bridge. A Journal of Croatian Literature* 1–4 (1999) 3–172. Marulus was famous around the then-known world. One of his poems

Generally, reform-minded, humanist monks are neglected in the research on Renaissance humanism,[14] as the question of the relationship between the scholastics at the universities on one hand and the new type of scholar with humanist education outside or at the margin of academia on the other has dominated recent debate.[15] We must not forget that numerous members of the various religious orders, monks and friars,[16] were humanists along with other priest-humanists.

An informative depiction (see Fig. 8) of the coat of arms of Crotus Rubeanus (c. 1480–1545), a priest-humanist and rector of the University of Erfurt around 1520, demonstrates the various backgrounds and lifestyles of humanists centered at Erfurt,[17] including laymen, secular

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was published by Henricus Urbanus, the monastic humanist of the Gotha-Erfurt circle of humanists; see Franz Posset, "A Cistercian Monk as Editor of the *Carmen* of the Croatian Humanist Marcus Marulus (died 1524): The German Humanist Henricus Urbanus O.Cist. (died c. 1538)", CSQ 39 (2004) 399–419.

[14] Nicole Lemaitre in her Preface to Jean-Marie Le Gall, *Les moines au temps des réformes: France (1480–1560)* (Seyssel 2001), describes Le Gall's enterprise of investigating the monks at the time of reform as a "no man's land de la recherche historique" (p. 9).

[15] See James H. Overfield, *Humanism and Scholasticism in Late Medieval Germany* (Princeton 1984); Charles G. Nauert, "Humanism, Scholastics, and the Struggle to Reform the University of Cologne, 1523–1525", in James V. Mehl, ed., *Humanismus in Köln/Humanism in Cologne* (Cologne 1991) 39–76; Erika Rummel, *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation* (Cambridge, MA 1995).

[16] German scholars do not usually differentiate between monks and friars; the German word *Mönch* is used for the English 'friar' and 'monk'. On mendicant orders and humanism, specifically on several Franciscans in Vienna, Nuremberg, and Ulm, see Hermann Maschek, "Zur Geschichte des Humanismus im Franziskanerorden", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 28 (1935) 574–579 (on Guilhelmus de Savona, Johannes Lukas Camers, Nicolaus Glassberger, and Johannes von Laudenburg). Another Franciscan was Paul Scriptoris (c. 1460–1505); on him, see Helmut Feld, "Scriptoris", BBKL 9 (1995) 1258–1261. For the order of Saint Augustine, see Rudolf Arbesmann, *Der Augustinereremitenorden und der Beginn der humanistischen Bewegung* (Würzburg 1965). On mendicants in Florence, see Kaspar Elm, "Mendikanten und Humanisten in Florenz des Tre- und Quattrocento. Zum Problem der Legitimisierung humanistischer Studien in den Bettelorden", in Otto Herding and Robert Stupperich, eds., *Die Humanisten in ihrer politischen und sozialen Umwelt* (Boppard 1976) 51–85.

[17] On this so-called 'rectorate page', see Friedrich Kaiser, *Reformations-Almanach 1817* p. LXXXIff., as referred to by August Emil Frey, *Luther und seine Freunde. Erster Theil. Die Freunde Luthers bis zum Beginne der Reformation* (Saint Louis 1884) 66. A depiction of Crotus' emblem is shown in E. G. Schwiebert, *Luther and his times. The Reformation from a New Perspective* (Saint Louis 1950) Plate XL. A more detailed interpretation and depiction is provided by Eckhard Bernstein, "Der Erfurter Humanistenkreis am Schnittpunkt von Humanismus und Reformation. Das Rektoratsblatt des Crotus Rubianus", *Der polnische Humanismus und die europäischen Sodalitäten. Pirckheimer Jahrbuch für Renaissance- und Humanismusforschung* 12 (Wiesbaden 1997) 137–165; depiction of the rectorate page (in color) in Franz Posset, "Polyglot Humanism in Germany

priests, friars, and a monk. Rector Crotus Rubeanus was a friend of Martin Luther (1483–1546); they had been roommates in the *Georgenburse* at Erfurt.[18] In 1515, Crotus contributed to the famous *Letters of Obscure Men.*[19] Crotus' large emblem is framed by sixteen other coats of arms of his humanist colleagues and friends. At the bottom of the page we see the shield/seal of the Cistercian monk Enric[h]us[20] Urbanus (†1538) with two wheels (for a long time, Henricus Urbanus was mistaken for Urbanus Rhegius [1489–1541]). In addition to the monk Henricus there are two Augustinian friars from Erfurt and Wittenberg represented on this page: Johannes Lang (1487–1548) and Martin Luther. Membership of a religious order, however, played no apparent role in the positioning of the coats of arms on this rectorate sheet. The criterion for inclusion was being a 'humanist'. Evidently monks and friars had no problem being accepted in humanist circles of laymen and regulated (canons) or diocesan priests at that time.

Clockwise, starting from the shield of the Cistercian monk Urbanus in the middle of the bottom line, we find the following laymen, clerics, and religious represented: Canon Johannes Draco (or Drach, Draconites, 1494–1566), the layman Johann Reuchlin, the layman Adam Crato (or Krafft, 1493–1558, later a Lutheran preacher), the layman Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574), the priest Jodocus Menius (or Justus Mening, 1499–1558), Friar Martin Luther, the layman Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1532), the layman Eobanus Hessus (1488–1540), Canon Justus Jonas (1493–1555), Erasmus of Rotterdam as the former Augustinian canon regular who was dispensed from his religious vows by Pope Leo X, the layman Philip Melanchthon, Friar Johannes Lang, the layman Peter Eberbach (or Petreius, c. 1480–1531), Canon Conradus Mutianus Rufus, and the layman Georg Petz from Forchheim (or Forchemius, †1522).

Circa 1520 as Luther's Milieu and Matrix: The Evidence of the "Rectorate Page" of Crotus Rubeanus", *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 27 (2003; issue date November 2004) 5–33.

[18] See Schwiebert 133.

[19] The letters in English translation are found in: *On the Eve of the Reformation. Letters of Obscure Men, Ulrich von Hutten, et al. Translated by Francis Griffin Stokes, New Introduction by Hajo Holborn* (New York etc. 1964).

[20] His Latinized first name is rarely used, except for example in Mutianus' letter (1505), Krause 8 (no. 8) (see below with note 23). Usually he is addressed as *H. Urbanus*.

In a way, the iconographical lay-out of this page points to a typical humanist 'sodality' which, however, existed only in Crotus' imagination. Yet it remains remarkable for the figures included on it, namely two friars and a monk, representing monastic humanism around 1520 in the region of Erfurt, Gotha, and Wittenberg. This humanist document shows hand-written polyglot biblical inscriptions and mottos in the three sacred languages of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. It becomes clear that the association of Greek with Hebrew was primarily a theological rather than a literary one.[21]

Much of the humanists' thought is accessible only through their correspondence. They collected their own letters and those they received. In their view, letter writing was an art form. That the letter form was coming to the fore as a literary genre around 1500 is suggested by two collections of letters that are connected to the great controversy around Johann Reuchlin, who edited the letters of sympathy that he collected. Titled *Clarorum virorum epistolae . . . missae ad Ioannem Reuchlin*, the volume was first printed in 1514 (*Letters of Famous Men to Reuchlin*). An anonymous editor followed with the collection of fictitious *Letters of Obsure Men*, with its printer falsely given as Aldo Manuzio (Manutius, c. 1450–1515) of Venice.[22] The correspondence is frequently edited in elaborate critical editions.[23] Study of their

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[21] On Greek and Hebrew and the theological motivation for studying them, see Anthony Levi, *Renaissance and Reformation. The Intellectual Genesis* (New Haven 2002) 291. On the *Collegium trilingue* in Louvain at that time and its challenges for the theologians, see H. de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517–1550* (Louvain 1951); Augustijn, *Humanismus*, 92–93.

[22] See Cecil H. Clough, "The cult of Antiquity: letters and letter collections", in *idem*, ed., *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance: Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller* (Manchester and New York 1976) 33–67. It is not always evident what a humanist's self-edited letter collection was intended to be. Copyists were at times selective.

[23] For example: *Der Briefwechsel des Mutianus Rufus*, ed. Carl Krause (Kassel 1885); *Konrad Peutingers Briefwechsel*, ed. Erich König (Munich 1923); *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis*, ed. Hans Rupprich (Munich 1934); *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*, ed. Alfred Hartmann, 10 vols. (Basel 1942–); hereafter quoted as AK); *Dürer, Schriftlicher Nachlaß*, ed. Hans Rupprich (Berlin 1956); *Jakob Wimpfeling: Briefwechsel*, eds. Otto Herding and Dieter Mertens (Munich 1990); *Johannes Reuchlin: Briefwechsel*, eds. Matthias Dall'Asta and Gerald Dörner (Stuttgart 1999–); *Willibald Pirckheimers Briefwechsel*, vols. 1 & 2, ed. Emil Reicke (Munich 1940–1956), vols. 3–5, eds. Helga Scheible and Dieter Wuttke (Munich 1989–2001); Alfred Schröder, "Der Humanist Veit Bild, Mönch bei St. Ulrich: Sein Leben und sein Briefwechsel", *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg* 20 (1893) 173–227; Georg Wolff, "Conradus Leontorius. Biobibliographie", *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Renaissance und Reformation: Joseph Schlecht am 16. Januar 1917 als Festgabe zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag*, L. Fischer *et al.*, eds. (Munich and Freising 1917) 363–410; I am grateful to Matthias Dall'Asta for helpful

correspondence may reveal important insights. For example, in the attempt to reconstruct the biography of the Cistercian Henricus Urbanus, one must depend almost entirely upon the correspondence of his priest-friend Conradus Mutianus Rufus.

The following investigations into the lives of monks on the eve of the Reformation or during its early years are pursued on the working hypothesis that the Reformation of the sixteenth century was not something completely new and revolutionary, but part of a long-lasting process of reform during the Late Middle Ages. There is probably more resemblance and continuity rather than sudden shifts and changes.[24] Religious orders and their reforms played an important role in this development from c. 1450–c. 1550, the 'century of reform'[25] with its 'culture of reform'.[26]

Furthermore, the reformers of religious orders and the monastic humanists of the early sixteenth century stand on the shoulders of reformers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, known for their 'modern devotion' (*devotio moderna*), a designation for a reform movement that started in the Low Countries around 1375 with Geert Grote (1340–1384) in Deventer. Humanists like Rudolph Agricola (1443/44–1485), Conradus Celtis (1459–1508), Conradus Mutianus, Erasmus of Rotterdam, and also Martin Luther, when they were still pupils, are counted among the students who enjoyed the pastoral care of the 'New Devotionalists', the Brethren of the Common Life.[27] They promoted a 'book culture' (*Buchkultur*)[28] and with it the Western

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bibliographical hints and for providing me with G. Wolff's article. *Kilian Leibs Briefwechsel und Diarien*, ed. Joseph Schlecht (Münster 1909); *Christoph Scheurls Briefbuch, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Reformation und ihrer Zeit*, 2 vols., eds. Franz Freiherr von Soden and Joachim Karl Friedrich Knaake (Potsdam 1867–1872; reprint Aalen 1962); Nikolaus Ellenbog, *Briefwechsel*. Einleitung und Buch I–II von Andreas Bigelmair, Buch III–IX und Register von Friedrich Zoepfl (Münster 1938).

[24] See Robert J. Bast and Andrew C. Gow, eds., *Continuity and Change. The Harvest of Late Medieval and Reformation History. Essays Presented to Heiko A. Oberman on his 70th Birthday* (Leiden, Boston, Cologne 2000); Levi, *Renaissance and Reformation*; Alister McGrath, *The Intellectual Origins of the European Reformation* (2nd edition: Malden 2004).

[25] *Reformjahrhundert*, Stefan Ehrenpreis and Ute Lotz-Heumann, *Reformation und konfessionelles Zeitalter* (Darmstadt 2002) 11.

[26] *Une culture de la réforme*, Le Gall 18–21.

[27] See Junghans, *Der junge Luther*, 27–28; Robert Stupperich, "Devotio moderna und reformatorische Frömmigkeit", *Jahrbuch des Vereins für Westfälische Kirchengeschichte* 59/60 (1966/1967) 16–16; Spitz, "Humanism in Germany", in *The Impact of Humanism*, 203; Ross Fuller, *The Brotherhood of the Common Life and Its Influence* (Albany 1995), who apparently coined the English name 'New Devotionalist' (p. xi).

[28] See Thomas Kock, *Die Buchkultur der Devotio Moderna* (Frankfurt 1999).

Christian heritage of the Bible, the Church Fathers and monks, as well as the renewal of the orders and religious life in general.[29]

Indeed, one can say that there would have been no Reformation without monasticism.[30] 'Humanism', 'reformation', and 'monasticism' were not contradictions around 1500, a fact that makes the problematic field of the intellectual and spiritual sources of the Reformation vast and complex. Yet, working with 'Renaissance', 'reformation', and 'humanism' as cultural constructs is unavoidable.[31] For decades, the issue of the relationship between Renaissance humanism and the Reformation has emerged as a region yet to be explored further, where new findings may still be brought to light.[32] A major insight of such investigations has led to the well-founded theory that next to all the abuse and deformation of Church and religion prior to the Reformation, there was genuine Christian life in central Europe on the eve of the Reformation.[33]

The 'decline theory' (malaise of the Church) is actually outdated, if used as an exclusive explanation of the origins and development

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[29] Rudolf Th. M. van Dijk, "Die Frage einer nördlichen Variante der Devotio Moderna", in *Wessel Gansfort (1419–1489) and Northern Humanism*, eds. Fokke Akkerman, Gerda C. Huisman, and Arie Johan Vanderjagt (Leiden etc. 1993) 157–169.

[30] See Bernd Moeller "Die frühe Reformation in Deutschland als neues Mönchtum", in *Die frühe Reformation in Deutschland als Umbruch. Wissenschaftliches Symposion des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 1996*, eds. Bernd Moeller and Stephen E. Buckwalter (Gütersloh 1998) 76–91.

[31] See Levi 370, note 1; on the history of the idea of 'Reformation', see Gerhart B. Ladner, *Idea of Reform. Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, Mass. 1959); Robert Stupperich, Introduction in *Reformatorenlexikon*, 7; Philippe Contamine, "Le vocabulaire politique à la fin du Moyen Âge: L'idée de *reformatio*" in Jean Philippe Genet and Bernard Vincent, eds., *État et Église dans la genèse de l'État moderne* (Madrid 1986) 145–156; Jos E. Vercruysse, "'Reformatio' in Katholischer Perspektive: Drei Beispiele aus dem 16. Jahrhundert", *Ephemerides theologicae Lovaniensis* 75 (1999) 142–156 (including the Fifth Lateran Council from 1512–1517).

[32] See Werner Schwarz, "Studies in Luther's Attitudes Towards Humanism", *The Journal of Theological Studies* 6 (1953) 66–76; Lewis W. Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (Cambridge, Mass. 1963); James M. Kittelson, "Humanism and the Reformation in Germany", *Central European History* 9 (1976) 303–322; James D. Tracy, "Humanism and the Reformation", in Steven Ozment, ed., *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research* (Saint Louis 1982) 33–57. On the history of this issue and related themes, see Helmar Junghans, "Der Einfluss des Humanismus auf Luthers Entwicklung bis 1518" (first published 1970); revised and integrated in his book *Der junge Luther*, 11–62.

[33] See Bernd Moeller, "Religious Life in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation", in Gerald Strauss, ed., *Pre-Reformation Germany* (London 1972) 13–42 (originally published 1965). The idea of a Catholic Reformation before 'the' Reformation stems originally from the Protestant historian Wilhelm Maurenbrecher.

of the Reformation. The religious climate of these years was not simply shaped by disgust with the 'deformed' Church, but more decisively by the will to 'reform' popular and elitist piety. In place of the stereotype of deformation/reformation, we may have to consider a combination of concepts, like 'headwaters' or 'matrix' or the 'heterogeneity' of the Reformation.[34] This issue is also debated in terms of the aptness of the metaphor 'wild growth' (*Wildwuchs*) for the great variety of reform ideas and actions in the 1520s.[35] For instance, the spirituality of Augustinian friars like Luther (and his superior Johann von Staupitz [†1524]) is just one variety within the broad late-medieval spiritual garden. Such spirituality grew primarily on monastic humanism, the fertile ground from which men like Luther developed, but also others,[36] including his opponents. In other words, the Reformation was "not a 'miscarriage' of late scholasticism, but it was a rebirth"[37] ('renaissance'). There was a substantial affinity between the humanism of scholastics and that of monks.[38]

Connected to monastic humanism, Luther's religious ideas and difficulties were often perceived from hindsight and through the later Table Talks. Yet, they were typical of monastic piety "based on spiritual athleticism"[39] in the cloister more than anything else. It is generally overlooked that Luther was much impressed by the monastic humanist and Carmelite, Baptista Mantuan (1448–1516).[40] In other words, Luther was both a man of his age, i.e., of humanism, and a deeply religious genius, "a trained theologian and humanist, immersed in biblical, theological and classical sources".[41] However, he was not as unique as later historiographers made him out to be.[42] He may

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[34] See Hans-Jürgen Goertz, "Eine 'bewegte' Epoche—zur Heterogenität reformatorischer Bewegungen", in Heiko A. Oberman *et al.*, eds., *Reformiertes Erbe: Festschrift für Gottfried W. Locher zu seinem 80. Geburtstag* (Zürich 1993) 103–25.

[35] See Helmar Junghans: "Plädoyer für "Wildwuchs der Reformation" als Metapher", *Lutherjahrbuch* 65 (1998) 101–108.

[36] See Franz Posset, "Benedictus Chelidonius O.S.B. (c. 1460–1521), A Forgotten Monastic Humanist of the Renaissance", ABR 53 (2002) 426–452, here 426–427.

[37] Spitz, "Humanism in Germany", in *The Impact of Humanism*, 202.

[38] See Richard William Southern, *Scholastic Humanism and the Unification of Europe* (Cambridge, Mass. 1995), vol. 1.

[39] R. W. Scribner and C. Scott Dixon, *The German Reformation* (New York 2003; 2nd ed.) 8.

[40] See Franz Posset, "'Heaven is on Sale': The Influence of the Italian Humanist and Carmelite Baptist Mantuanus on Martin Luther", *Carmelus* 36 (1989) 134–144.

[41] Scribner and Dixon, 13.

[42] Scribner and Dixon, 16.

fit quite well (up to his marriage) into the broadly-conceived group of monastic humanists, avoiding the narrow definition of humanism as Erasmianism.

One of the recent trends in Reformation research has been the further investigation of 'social groups'[43] and their role in the history of the Reformation. One such group has attracted particular attention: the lawyers and administrators of princely courts and imperial cities, such as the layman and city clerk of Nuremberg, Lazarus Spengler (1479–1533).[44] However, the social group of 'monastic humanists'—who were normally far removed from the cities,[45] living in distant monasteries—has not so far found equal attention. The great deficit with regard to this group within early Reformation research is now being recognized; it concerns the Catholic realm.[46] The role of land-owning monasteries in remote, rural areas is underexposed at this stage of Reformation research. By bringing monastic humanists into the scene and thus onto the early Reformation stage a beginning can be made.

A misconception also needs to be corrected: namely, that monks with their ties to one monastic location (*stabilitas loci*) were not in touch with their surroundings and the trends of their times. For example, they did not "turn up their noses at the new technology" of printing as was recently observed.[47] In fact, they used it quite effectively. Monastic humanism and civic and educational humanism

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[43] See Miriam Usher Chrisman and Otto Gründler, eds., *Social Groups and Religious Ideas in The Sixteenth Century* (Kalamazoo 1978); includes only the nobility, the patriciate, the poor, the universities, refugees, and exiles.

[44] See Harold J. Grimm, *Lazarus Spengler. A Lay Leader of the Reformation* (Columbus 1978); Ehrenpreis and Lotz-Heumann 114f.

[45] The connection between the Reformation and the imperial cities in the German lands has been thoroughly researched in recent years under the leadership of Bernd Moeller; see his *Reichsstadt und Reformation* (2nd German edition: Berlin 1987); English trans.: *Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays*, ed. and trans. by H. C. Erik Midelfort and Mark U. Edwards, Jr. (Philadelphia 1972; 2nd ed.: Durham NC 1982); Steven E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland* (New Haven 1975); Berndt Hamm, "The Urban Reformation in the Holy Roman Empire", in Thomas A. Brady, Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy, eds., *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation* (Leiden 1995) vol. 2:193–220; Ehrenpreis and Lotz-Heumann 29–39.

[46] *Katholisch-altgläubige Thematiken*, Ehrenpreis and Lotz-Heumann 113.

[47] Guy-Marie Oury, "The Monks of the Renaissance at the Heart of the Revolution of the Printed Book", CSQ 36 (2001) 163–74; translated from the French by Brian Kerns OCSO.

often went hand-in-hand. Monastic and civic humanists agreed totally on the importance of grammar, rhetoric, logic, and eloquence, and they usually shared a love of poetry. Monks as humanists were open to the reform ideas that were floating around. Although "more reformers were friars than monks",[48] the focus here will be on Benedictine and Cistercian monks rather than on friars.

Monks (and friars) represent what since the nineteenth century has been known as *Klosterhumanismus* (monastic humanism). It means primarily the scholarship that was pursued by monks and friars with humanist tendencies during the Renaissance period from the fifteenth century. The German concept of *Klosterhumanismus* is originally found in the context of the history of literature towards the end of the nineteenth century.[49] Now, it is employed by Church historians and theologians as well.[50]

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[48] Owen Chadwick, *The Early Reformation on the Continent* (Oxford 2001) 151. An example of an Augustinian friar (later a Benedictine monk) who was open to humanism is Luther's superior in the order, Johann von Staupitz (†1524); see Franz Posset, *The Front-Runner of the Catholic Reformation: The Life and Works of Johann von Staupitz* (Aldershot, Great Britain 2003).

[49] The German concept of *Klosterhumanismus* is found in I. W. Nagl and Jacob Zeidler, *Deutsch-Österreichische Literaturgeschichte* (Vienna and Leipzig 1899) vol. 1:455 (on Chelidonius); Richard Newald, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Humanismus in Oberösterreich", *Jahrbuch des oberösterreichischen Musealvereins* 81 (1926) 155–223; reprinted in Newald, *Probleme und Gestalten des deutschen Humanismus: Studien* (Berlin 1963) 82–102. The concept is also used by Paul Richter, "Die Schriftsteller der Benediktinerabtei Maria-Laach, mit Textbeilagen. III: Die humanistische Epoche in Maria-Laach mit Rücksicht auf den rheinischen Klosterhumanismus überhaupt", in *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst* 17 (1912) 277–340 (Richter deals with, among others, Johannes Trithemius (abbot of Sponheim), Johannes Butzbach (prior of Maria Laach), Jacobus Siberti, and Johannes Curvello); on the Rhenish humanist Curvello, of the monastery of Johannesberg near Bingen, Germany, see F. W. E. Roth, "Johannes Curvello O. S. B. Ein vergessener Humanist des XVI. Jahrhunderts", *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 62 (1896) 209–210; Josef Oswald, "Die Gedichte des Abtes Wolfgang Marius von Aldersbach", *Ostbairische Grenzmarken: Passauer Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Kunst und Volkskunde* 7 (Passau 1964/1965) 310–19, here 312; Franz Machilek, "Klosterhumanismus in Nürnberg um 1500", *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 64 (1977) 10–45; Franz Josef Worstbrock, "Aus Gedichtsammlungen des Wolfgang Marius", *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 44 (1981) 492; Rolf Schmidt, *Reichenau und St. Gallen: ihre literarische Überlieferung zur Zeit des Klosterhumanismus in St. Ulrich und Afra zu Augsburg um 1500* (Sigmaringen 1985) 11–25; hereafter quoted as Schmidt; Noel L. Brann, *Abbot Trithemius (1462–1516): The Renaissance of Monastic Humanism* (Leiden 1981). Klaus Graf would like to replace the concept of *Klosterhumanismus* with what he calls 'monastic historism'; see his "Ordensreform und Literatur in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts", in Johannes Janota and Werner Williams-Krapp, eds., *Literarisches Leben in Augsburg während des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen 1995) 100–59, here 139 and 157; Alois Schmid, "Klosterhumanismus im Augustiner-Chorherrenstift Polling", in Rainer A. Müller, ed., *Kloster*

The concept of monastic humanism may surprise those who think of humanism and monasticism as mutually exclusive opposites, and that humanism was a pagan and an anti-monastic movement. True, some Italian humanists were critical of the monks' and friars' presumptuous claim to the concept of 'religious life' (*religio*), if monks and friars presumed that they themselves were exclusively the true religious people (*religiosi*). Lorenzo Valla (1406–1457) in his work on the profession of the religious (*De professione religiosum*) refuted their claim and suggested that monks and friars in their various orders should call themselves 'sects'. Similar attacks surfaced with Erasmus of Rotterdam and Jacob Wimpfeling.[51] In his book on moral integrity (*De integritate*) of 1505, Wimpfeling attacked the lifestyle (concubinage) and ignorance of the secular clergy and the laziness of the monastic clergy. He included the thesis that the highly-respected Church Father Saint Augustine of Hippo was neither a monk nor a friar, but a canon who had written the *Rule of Augustine*, and that the so-called Augustinian order was a product of later historical developments.[52] The young Augustinian friar Luther questioned Wimpfeling's position.[53]

In the contemplative orders in particular (i.e., in the Benedictine tradition) the study of classical antiquity had probably never disappeared completely, and it was revived in the Renaissance.[54] At that

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und Bibliothek. Zur Geschichte des Bibliothekswesens der Augustiner-Chorherren in der Frühen Neuzeit (Publikationen der Akademie der Augustiner-Chorherren von Windesheim 2) (Paring 2000) 79–107; Harald Müller and Anne-Katrin Ziesak, "Der Augsburger Benediktiner Veit Bild und der Humanismus. Eine Projektskizze", *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben* 95 (2002) 27–51, on *Klosterhumanismus*, see 28–38; Anna Scherbaum's dissertation, *Albrecht Dürers 'Marienleben'. Ein Buch im geistigen Umfeld des Nürnberger Klosterhumanismus* (Berlin 2003) published in book form as *Albrecht Dürers* Marienleben. *Form—Gehalt—Funktion und sozialhistorischer Ort. Mit einem Beitrag von Claudia Wiener* (Wiesbaden 2004).

[50] See, for example, the eminent historical theologians Helmar Junghans and Ulrich Köpf who used this concept: Junghans in his groundbreaking study on the young Luther and the humanists, *Der junge Luther und die Humanisten* (1984), 24, and Köpf in his introduction to *Theologen des Mittelalters: Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt 2002) 41.

[51] See Martin Burgdorf, *Der Einfluß der Erfurter Humanisten auf Luthers Entwicklung bis 1510* (Leipzig n.d.) 64–66. Rabelais and others are also known for their anti-monasticism.

[52] See Burgdorf, 73–74.

[53] See WA 9:12; see Reinhard Schwarz, *Luther* (Göttingen 1986) 19.

[54] See Adalbert Horawitz, *Zur Geschichte des Humanismus in den Alpenländern*, 3 vols. (Vienna 1886–1887) vol. 1:4, as referred to by Bernhard Gerhard Winkler, *Die Sonette des B. Chelidonius zu A. Dürers Marienleben und ihr Verhältnis zum Marienleben des*

time, humanistic thought was present in most of the religious orders through members who were trained primarily in Italy, and who brought humanist insights back to their cloisters. These monastic humanists made great contributions to Renaissance thought and scholarship. In terms of content, they were often biblical humanists and at the time of the 'Reuchlin Controversy' early in the sixteenth century they sided with Johann Reuchlin, the Christian Hebraist, Swabian patriot, and defender of Jewish books. Yet, not all monastic humanists became later 'Protestant'[55] Reformers.

Generally viewed, monastic humanism provided inspiration for the young Luther and his early Reformation as a still inner-Catholic reform movement. His theology was shaped largely by the monastic and patristic theology of Bernard of Clairvaux and Augustine. Only in the 1520s did the split along the now familiar denominational lines pro and contra Luther develop.[56] The phenomenon is now called the 'confessionalization' of humanism and the formation of the various Christian denominations.[57] Thus, this view supports the thesis that the Reformation in Germany was not simply a reaction to abuses in the Church (i.e., ecclesiastical de-formation lead-

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Kartäusers Philipp (dissertation, Vienna 1960) 9. I am grateful to Professor em. Gerhard B. Winkler (Stift Wilhering, Austria) for providing me with a copy of his dissertation.

[55] The term 'Protestant' was originally a political one, designating those who objected in 1529 to the abrogation of previously-granted privileges; see Scribner and Dixon, 3.

[56] See David V. N. Bagchi, *Luther's Earliest Opponents, Catholic Controversialists, 1518–1525* (Minneapolis 1991); Götz-Rüdiger Tewes, "Luthergegner der ersten Stunde. Motive und Verflechtungen", *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 75 (1995) 256–365 (on Eck, Hochstraaten, Aleander *et al.*).

[57] See Ernst Walter Zeeden, "Grundlagen und Wege der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe", *Historische Zeitschrift* 185 (1958) 249–299; *idem*, *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen; Grundlagen und Formen der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (Munich 1965); Wolfgang Reinhard, "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment", *Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1989) 383–404; Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler, eds., *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Land und Konfession 1500–1650*, 7 volumes (Münster 1989–1998); Heinz Schilling, "Confessional Europe", in *Handbook of European History 1400–1600*, vol. 2:641–681; Franz Machilek, "Die Zisterzienser in Böhmen und Mähren in den konfessionellen Auseinandersetzungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts", in *Zisterzienser zwischen Zentralisierung und Regionalisierung. 400 Jahre Fürstenfelder Äbtetreffen*, eds. Hermann Nehlsen and Klaus Wollenberg (Frankfurt 1998) 113–138; Andrew Pettegree, "Confessionalization in North Western Europe", in Joachim Bahlcke and Arno Strohmeyer, eds., *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa. Wirkungen des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur* (Stuttgart 1999) 105–120; Erika Rummel, *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany* (Oxford 2000); Ehrenpreis and Lotz-Heumann, 62–71.

ing to re-formation), but almost an organic result of monastic humanism with its emphasis on the return to sources, biblical scholarship, linguistic expertise in Greek and Hebrew, inner-monastic reforms, and also its interest in historiography, especially local history—all of which we can also observe with regard to other non-monastic Renaissance humanists. Local historiography became a mark of distinction for humanists, monastic and non-monastic.[58]

Occasionally, one encounters the idea of 'national humanism'.[59] However, the use of 'nation' (*natio*) in the period of the Renaissance around 1500 is rather complex and in need of further clarification.[60] At times, the German humanists display their patriotism as an aversion to anything that is not German, by contrasting Germany to the loquacious Greece, the presumptuous Italy, and the quarrelsome France.[61] Especially strong is the anti-Italian attitude of Conradus Celtis and Conradus Leontorius (c. 1460–1511). In addition, these German humanists were opposed to the Italians' perceived homosexual tendencies.[62] A similar aversion is found in the older Luther. In a tirade against cardinals and the contemporaneous Pope Paul III (in office from 1534–1549) he called the cardinals "in their front parts men, in their back parts women". Paul III is a "desperate rascal and scoundrel with his hermaphrodites".[63]

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[58] See Franz Brendle, Dieter Mertens, Anton Schindling, and Walter Ziegler, eds., *Deutsche Landesgeschichtsschreibung im Zeichen des Humanismus* (Stuttgart 2001). For example, monastic historiographers are Johannes Trithemius, *Chronicon Sponheimense*; Bolfgangus Marius, *Annales sive Chronicon domus Alderspacensis* (see Chapter on Marius), and Angelus Rumpler (c. 1460–1513, Benedictine abbot) and his 1504 history of the monastery of Formbach, *Historia Monasterii Formbacensis*; see Erika S. Dorrer, *Angelus Rumpler Abt von Formbach (1501–1513) als Geschichtsschreiber. Ein Beitrag zur klösterlichen Geschichtsschreibung in Bayern am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Munich 1965); Kurt Rumpler, "Angelus Rumpler", BBKL 24 (2005) 1250–1264.

[59] See Helmar Junghans, "Der nationale Humanismus bei Ulrich von Hutten und Martin Luther", in *Spätmittelalter, Luthers Reformation, Kirche in Sachsen. Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, eds. Michael Beyer and Günther Wartenberg (Leipzig 2001) 67–90.

[60] See Dieter Mertens, "Nation als Teilhabeverheißung: Reformation und Bauernkrieg", in Dieter Langewiesche and Georg Schmidt, eds., *Föderative Nation. Deutschlandkonzepte von der Reformation bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Munich 2000) 115–134.

[61] For example, the Dominican historiographer Felix Fabri (†1502) who wrote on the *Suevia natio* (the 'Swabian tribe'/'nation'); see Klaus Graf, "Reich und Land in der südwestdeutschen Historiographie um 1500", in Brendle *et al.*, *Deutsche Landesgeschichtsschreibung*, 201–11, here 207.

[62] See Ingrid D. Rowland, "Revenge of the Regensburg Humanists, 1493", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 25 (1994) 307–22.

[63] See WA 54: 222–223. On Luther's comments in the context of his quoting the Carmelite humanist Mantuan, see Posset, "'Heaven is on Sale'", 142.

We can see a connection between the anti-Italian and anti-Roman humanists and the later confessionalization of humanism north of the Alps. However, humanists in these lands were not always automatically anti-Roman or anti-papal. For example, the monastic humanist Johannes Trithemius OSB (1462–1516), although critical of ecclesiastical abuses, could at times frankly side with the pope.[64] Nevertheless, 'German humanism'[65] came into existence. Or should we say 'humanism in Germany', or 'northern humanism' including 'French humanism', and 'humanism in England', and then also 'Spanish humanism'?[66] In any case, the monastic element in these forms of humanism is rarely taken into consideration.

The contemporary voice of the Nuremberg humanist, Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530), may be of help in finding a useful description of monastic humanism. In his view, a true humanist theologian has studied first of all the three ancient languages (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew),[67] including grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, physics and metaphysics, based upon the mathematical sciences (geometry, arithmetic, music, and astronomy). A theologian, furthermore, needs to study history and law. In short, Pirckheimer referred here, without using this terminology, to the study of the humanities and letters (*studia humanitatis ac litterarum*) as a program of education for future leaders.[68] The idea appears to have been introduced to the German lands in 1456 by Peter Luder († c. 1474) during his lectures at Heidelberg.[69]

Such universally-educated people, with moral integrity, were considered by Pirckheimer to be the "true theologians" who do not need training in scholastic speculations, but who should primarily study the Bible and the Church Fathers.[70] The list of names that meet

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[64] See Walter Ziegler, "Landeschronistik und Kirchenreform", in Brendle *et al.*, *Deutsche Landesgeschichtsschreibung*, 189–200, here 195–95.

[65] Spitz, *The Religious Renaissance*; Eckhard Bernstein, *German Humanism* (Boston 1983).

[66] See Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture* (Cambridge 1995) 95–123. On humanism in France and England, see Werner L. Gundersheimer, ed., *French Humanism, 1470–1600* (London 1969) and James McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics* (Oxford 1965).

[67] *Siquidem praeter grammaticam litteras latinas, graecas et hebreas callere necesse est . . .*, *Willibald Pirckheimers Briefwechsel*, vol. 3:160, lines 482–562, line 548.

[68] See, for example, Nauert, *Humanism and the Culture*, 12–14.

[69] See Eckhard Bernstein, *Die Literatur des deutschen Frühhumanismus* (Stuttgart 1978) 8, 34–38.

[70] He listed Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Hilary, Origen, Basil, Nazianz, Athanasius, and Cyrill, vol. 3:163 (no. 464), lines 586–606. On the humanists' return to the Church Fathers, see August Buck, "Der Rückgriff des Renaissance-Humanismus

Pirckheimer's criteria includes humanist theologians and humanist-trained preachers like the Italian Johannes Pico de Mirandola (1463–1494); the Strasbourg preacher Johannes Geiler von Kaisersberg (1445–1510); the Dominican friar and Graecian of Nuremberg Johannes Cuno (c. 1462–1513); the Benedictine monk Benedictus Chelidonius (c. 1460–1521); the Augustinian Canon Kilian Leyb (or Leib, 1471–1553), who was mentioned explicitly as being learned in the three languages; Erasmus of Rotterdam; Johannes Eck (1486–1543); Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531); Johannes Cochlaeus (1479–1552); Thomas Murner (c. 1475–1537); Jacob Wimpfeling; Conrad Pellican (1478–1556); Jerome Emser (1477–1527), and Georg Spalatin (named after his birthplace of Spalt near Nuremberg, 1484–1545). Pirckheimer also listed the vicar-general of the Saxon reformed congregation of the Augustinian order, Johann von Staupitz, superior of Martin Luther, and several members of this order, who were called *sacrae theologiae doctores*, namely Wenceslaus Linck (1483–1547), Martinus Lueder (i.e., Martin Luther), Wolfgang Volprecht, Johannes Lang, and Johannes Fug.[71]

Pirckheimer's definition and examples include priests, friars, and monks, and remarkably, Luther, whom some people might not expect to find in such a list. His list was not meant to be comprehensive. I will concentrate here on a few examples of monks and have picked those that are generally not well known. This lack of information has not improved much since the following statement was written more than thirty years ago in *The American Benedictine Review*:

> We may talk with some justification of a monastic culture of the Renaissance that was also humanistic and hence different in style, if not in ultimate purpose, from the monastic culture of the Middle Ages. We may thus hope to modify, if not to reverse, the prevalent view . . . and at least to formulate, if not to solve, a problem whose very existence has been concealed by too literal and narrow a historical perspective . . . I can only attempt a kind of outline, hoping that future research will add substance and content to it.[72]

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auf die Patristik", in Kurt Baldinger, ed., *Festschrift Walther von Wartburg zum 80. Geburtstag 18. Mai 1968* (Tübingen 1968) vol. 1:153–75.

[71] See vol. 3:162, lines 549–580. It is noteworthy that the lay theologian Philip Melanchthon is not mentioned.

[72] Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The Contribution of Religious Orders to Renaissance Thought and Learning", ABR 21 (1970) 1–155; reprinted in *Medieval Aspects of Renaissance Learning. Three Essays* (Durham NC 1974) 95–158. See also Schmidt, 18; Spitz, "Humanism in Germany", in *The Impact of Humanism*, 205.

This *desideratum* of 1970 for further research in this area will be partly fulfilled with the present study of several monastic intellectuals on the eve of the Reformation and in its early phase. The group called monastic humanists would need to include, by today's and by Pirckheimer's own standards, his sister, Caritas (1466/67–1532), a nun and later the prioress of the Sisters of Saint Clare at Nuremberg, but Willibald himself did not mention her in his list of names.[73] She was however herself a monastic humanist.[74]

Although the focus here is on the Benedictine and Cistercian traditions, we should remain aware that while they had humanists in their midst, so did the other contemplative orders, such as the Camaldolese and the Carthusians. The best known early humanist and Camaldolese monk is Ambrose Traversari (1386–1439) of the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence. This monastery was a "favorite place of the third generation of Florentine humanists".[75] In 1425 Traversari organized a course in Greek at his monastery.[76]

Two Carthusians must also be mentioned, though their lives and works will not be dealt with here in any detail. Georg Pirckheimer (†1505) lived at the Charter house in Nuremberg; he was a member of the Pirckheimer clan and the prior of the monastery.[77] The other was one of the best known German Carthusians: Johannes Heynlin von Stein (de Lapide, 1430–1496), a doctor of theology, who in 1470 helped in setting up the first printing press in Paris.[78]

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[73] Caritas Pirckheimer was prioress from 1503–1532; she would deserve a book of her own. On her, see Georg Deichstetter, ed., *Caritas Pirckheimer: Ordensfrau und Humanistin: Ein Vorbild für die Ökumene: Festschrift zum 450. Todestag* (Cologne 1982); Katharina M. Wilson, ed., *Women Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation* (Athens, GA 1987) 287–303; Martin H. Jung, *Nonnen, Prophetinnen, Kirchenmütter. Kirchen- und frömmigkeitsgeschichtliche Studien zu Frauen der Reformationszeit* (Leipzig 2002) 77–120, here 87 on Caritas as a representative of *Klosterhumanismus*.

[74] *Mulier studiosa et egregie erudite . . . ingenio subtilis et in eloquio Romanae lingue prompta*, Machilek, "Klosterhumanismus", 40.

[75] Cesare Vasoli, "The Theology of Italian Humanism in the Early Fifteenth Century", in Giulio D'Onofrio, ed., Matthew J. O'Connell, trans., *History of Theology. III* (Collegeville, MN 1998) 17–74, here 55. Charles L. Stinger, *Humanism and the Church Fathers: Ambrogio Traversari (1368–1439) and Christian Antiquity in the Italian Renaissance* (Albany 1977); Augustijn, *Humanismus*, 59–60.

[76] See Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy*, 33.

[77] See Arnold Friedrich Siegfried Reimann, *Die älteren Pirckheimer: Geschichte eines Nürnberger Patriziergeschlechts im Zeitalter des Frühhumanismus (bis 1501)*, ed. Hans Rupprich (Leipzig 1944) 182.

[78] See Max Hossfeldt, "Johannes Heynlin aus Stein. Ein Kapitel aus der Frühzeit des deutschen Humanismus", *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 6 (1907)

He entered the Carthusian monastery at Basel in 1487, and from there he helped publish the works of the Church Fathers.[79] He was also the author of a very popular Mass commentary, first printed in 1492, which was reprinted thirty-eight times up to 1519, and five times more up to the seventeenth century.[80]

A brief historical review of the monastic reform efforts in the German territories needs to be included here insofar as "monastic reforms" preceded monastic humanism.[81] As noted, the headwaters of monastic humanism in the Renaissance are found in the international, inner-monastic reform movements of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The reform of monastic life and the return to the observance of the original monastic rules in the fifteenth century was called *reformatio monachorum*.[82] Often such reformation was tied together with interest in the humanist trends towards the sources of the Christian faith (*ad fontes*). This means that a sharp distinction between the pre-Reformation and Reformation periods is often not possible, as "new perspectives increasingly transcend the divide" between these periods.[83] The late medieval Latin word *reformatio* is opalescent. For example, a Benedictine monk in France wrote in 1503 a defense of monastic reforms under the title *Reformationis monasticae vindiciae seu defensio*.[84] The constitutions of Luther's order, which Johann von Staupitz had printed at the beginning of the sixteenth century, explicitly

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309–356 and 7 (1908) 79–219, 235–431; Anna Morisi, "Traditionalism, Humanism, and Mystical Experience in Northern Europe and in the Germanic Areas in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", in D'Onofrio, ed., *History of Theology. III*, 320–370, here 304; Hans-Josef Olszewsky, "Johannes de Lapide", BBKL 3 (1992) 452–57; Martin H. Jung, "Johannes Heynlin von Stein (de Lapide)", *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Religionswissenschaft* 4 (2001).

[79] See the biographical sketch that accompanies the edition of Lapide's letter to Amerbach in AK, vol. 1:22. Lapide's preface to the *Opera Omnia* of Ambrose (Basel 1492) in AK, no. 23; vol. 1:31–32. On the social context of Amerbach's correspondence and the correspondence itself in English translation, see Barbara C. Halporn, *The Correspondence of Johann Amerbach: Early Printing in its Social Context* (Ann Arbor 2000) 311–15.

[80] *Resolutorium dubiorum circa celebrationem missarum occurentium*, AK, 228, note 2; "Heynlin", BBKL 2 (1990) 810–12.

[81] *Dem Klosterhumanismus ging die Klosterreform voraus*; Richter, "Die Schriftsteller", 277 (see note 49 above). For France, see Marie-Dominique Chenu, "L'humanisme et la réforme au collège Saint-Jacques", *Archives d'histoire dominicaine* 1 (1946) 130–154.

[82] *Reformatorenlexikon*, 7.

[83] See Bob Scribner, "Introduction", in Bob Scribner and Trevor Johnson, eds., *Popular Religion in Germany and Central Europe, 1400–1800* (New York 1996) 1; Posset, *The Front-Runner*, 3.

[84] See Morisi, 305.

contain the idea of *reformatio* in the title.[85] The German Dominican friars of the fifteenth century spoke of the *Reformacio Prediger Ordens* (Reformation of the Order of Preachers).[86] In addition to the monastic aspect of *reformatio*, there is the academic aspect. For example, the four leading men at the newly-founded University of Wittenberg were called *reformatores* and had the task of advising the territorial lord on matters of university reform.[87]

Benedictines[88]

As may be expected, Italian Benedictines were at the forefront of monastic humanism, particularly those in Padua.[89] Among the younger ones was Gregorio Cortese (1483–1548), later a cardinal.[90] Long before Cortese's time, Benedictine humanism had gone hand-in-hand with reforms of the Church and of monastic life, particularly in Austria and Germany, in connection with the reform efforts of the Cistercian Pope Benedict XII (1334–42) and the reform Council of Constance at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In the fourteenth century the Benedictines were organized in numerous provinces, and in the fifteenth century they formed several reform congregations or unions with the purpose of restoring the original discipline of the order. In Italy there was the Congregation of Saint Giustina in Padua, founded in 1412, with Abbot Ludovico Barbo as the leader, while in Spain there was the Congregation of Valladolid, founded in 1450. In the German-speaking lands there were several reform

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[85] "Constitutiones fratrum Eremitarum sancti Augustini apostolicorum privilegiorum formam pro reformatione Alemanniae", ed. Wolfgang Günter in Johann von Staupitz, *Sämtliche Schriften. Abhandlungen, Predigten, Zeugnisse*, eds. Lothar Graf zu Dohna and Richard Wetzel, vol. 5 (Berlin 2001); see Heiko A. Oberman, "Martin Luther Contra Medieval Monasticism: A Friar in the Lion's Den", in *Ad fontes Lutheri: Toward the Recovery of the Real Luther: Essays in Honor of Kenneth Hagen's Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, eds. Timothy Maschke, Franz Posset, and Joan Skocir (Milwaukee 2001) 192, note 19.

[86] See Graf, "Ordensreform", 106 with note 25.

[87] See Posset, *The Front-Runner*, 79.

[88] See Ulrich Faust and Franz Quarthal, *Die Reformverbände und Kongregationen der Benediktiner im deutschen Sprachraum* (St. Ottilien 1999).

[89] See Barry Collett, *Italian Benedictine Scholars and the Reformation: The Congregation of Santa Giustina of Padua* (Oxford 1985).

[90] See Francesco Ciriaco Cesareo, "Gregorio Cortese and the Reform of Italian Benedictinism", ABR 41 (1990) 36–58; *idem*, *Humanism and Catholic Reform: The Life and Work of Gregorio Cortese (1483–1548)* (New York etc. 1990).

centers: Kastl with its influence in Bavaria and parts of Switzerland; Melk with its influence in Austria, Swabia, and Bavaria; Bursfeld with its influence in northwestern and central Germany, but also in the southwest (Hirsau [1458] and Alpirsbach [1482], both in the Black Forest),[91] and in Alsace, Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg. In 1517 (the year that marks the beginning of the Lutheran Reformation in Germany) the Bursfeld Union comprised almost one hundred monasteries.[92]

The monastic reformers in these congregations were open to the new spirit of what is now called 'humanism'. In the contemporary report *Supplementum chronicorum* by the Augustinian friar and humanist from Bergamo, Giacomo Filippo Foresti (†1520), printed at Venice in 1483, we read that in the congregation of Padua there were countless monks who not only studied theology and canon law, but were also skilled in Greek and Latin eloquence.[93] This document shows that the combination of humanist erudition and monasticism was a widespread phenomenon, even though there is a lack of written documentation.

Humanist ideas were brought from Italy by the Benedictine Peter von Rosenheim (1380–1433) to the monastery of Melk in Austria. Peter became a monk in 1413 at Subiaco and was later the prior at Rocca di Mondragone near Capua. In 1416 he participated in the Council of Constance and afterwards became the co-visitator of Melk, which had a reform-minded prior, from 1418 to 1424. From

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[91] See Klaus Schreiner, "Benediktinische Klosterreform als zeitgebundene Auslegung der Regel. Geistige, religiöse und soziale Erneuerung in spätmittelalterichen Klöstern Südwestdeutschlands im Zeichen der Kastler, Melker und Bursfelder Reform", *Blätter für württembergische Kirchengeschichte* 86 (1986) 105–95.

[92] See Karl Bihlmeyer and Hermann Tüchle, *Church History*, trans. from the 13th German edition by Victor E. Mills (Westminster, MD 1958–1966) 3 vols., here vol. 2: Chapter 151.2. The major work on the Bursfeld Union was done by Paulus Volk, *Die Generalkapitels-Rezesse der Bursfelder Kongregation* (Siegburg 1955–1972) 4 vols. A good summary is found in Adam Wienand, "Die Bursfelder Reformbewegung", in *Und sie folgten der Regel St. Benedikts: Die Cistercienser und das benediktinische Mönchtum*, eds. Ambrosius Schneider and Adam Wienand (Cologne 1981) 381–398; hereafter quoted as Wienand. See also Walter Ziegler, *Die Bursfelder Kongregation in der Reformationszeit: Dargestellt an Hand der Generalkapitelrezesse der Bursfelder Kongregation* (Münster 1968). Roland Behrendt wrote of more than two hundred houses that were influenced by the Bursfeld Union: "The Library of Abbot Trithemius", ABR 51 (2000) 3–23 (reprint of 1959 article).

[93] See Paul Joachimsohn, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluß des Humanismus* (Leipzig and Berlin 1910) 240, note 23; Junghans, *Der junge Luther*, 24–25.

1423 to 1426 he was the Bible instructor (*cursor biblicus*) and director of studies. Rosenheim's best known book was the *Rosetum memoriale divinorum eloquiorum*, written between 1423 and 1426. In it he summarized the biblical books in verse form (except for the psalms). Thirty manuscripts are extant and almost ten printings from between 1470 and 1570. It was used for memorizing the Bible.[94] He reformed the Benedictine monasteries of Tegernsee and Salzburg. The latter became a stimulating intellectual and spiritual center from the middle of the fifteenth century. No other monastery possessed more texts in the vernacular than the Benedictine library at Salzburg. Its scriptorium reflected the determination of an unknown library director who wanted to make Latin religious literature available to wider circles by offering vernacular translations of works by Augustine (354–430), Bernard (1090–1153), Jean Gerson (1363–1429), Johannes Nider (fifteenth century), Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471), and others.[95]

The ancient Benedictine monastery of Sankt Gallen in Switzerland was another center where monastic reforms took effect under Abbot Kaspar von Breitenladenburg (1442–1457), who had been educated in Italy and who learned of the reforms at Saint Giustina in Padua and at Subiaco. This abbot invited monks from the Melk Union to join his monks at Sankt Gallen. At that time another monk, the humanist and historian Sigismund Meisterlin (c. 1434–c. 1489), joined the community at Sankt Gallen and became its master of novices. He was originally a member of the Benedictine monastery at Augsburg and had spent time at Saint Giustina in Padua.[96] Meisterlin was a pioneer in humanist historiography.[97]

A monk and humanist by the name of Hermannus Piscator at the Benedictine monastery of Saint Jacob in Mainz, which belonged to the Bursfeld Union, became known for his historiography of the local church and city of Mainz with his *Chronicon urbis et ecclesiae Maguntinensis* (written c. 1520). Along with Ulrich von Hutten, he belonged to the

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[94] See Hellmut Rosenfeld, "Petrus von Rosenheim", BBKL 7 (1994) 377–79. A print by Jakob Thanner is known from Leipzig in 1505.

[95] See Newald (note 49 above).

[96] See Schmidt, 152f.

[97] See Paul Joachimsohn, *Die humanistische Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland. Heft I: Die Anfänge. Sigismund Meisterlin* (Bonn 1895); reprint in *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, vol. 2, ed. Notker Hammerstein (Aalen 1983) 121–461; Graf, "Ordensreform", 108.

circle of humanists around the Archbishop of Mainz, Albrecht of Brandenburg (1490–1545).[98]

In order to comply with monastic discipline, the founders' Rules were to be kept in mind and for that reason to be made available in print. Within the Bursfeld Union, for example, there was a monastery (not known by name) which possessed a copy of *The Rule of Saint Benedict* from the printer Johannes Schöffer in Mainz in 1528/29. *The Rule* was accompanied by a *Ceremoniale* of the Bursfeld Union. The title page of this Benedictine work shows a woodcut with a motif typical of the Cistercians who are reformed Benedictines: 'The Embrace of Bernard by the Crucified' (*Amplexus Bernardi*).[99] It is the only known edition of *The Rule of Saint Benedict* showing this Cistercian and Christocentric motif. This resembles another woodcut, of 1503, that is attributed to the Renaissance artist Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). The use of the *Amplexus* motif early in the sixteenth century by non-Cistercians may be interpreted as a sign of the times when monks, too, wanted to return to the sources (*ad fontes*), in this case to the proper observance of their *Rule*. In so doing, they were following the lead of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, who appears to have been very popular at that time.[100] We can recognize a "powerful movement" for reform that transformed the spirit of numerous Benedictine congregations in Germany, Italy, and Spain at that time,[101] but also in France, especially under the Benedictine humanist Guy Jouennaux.[102]

It is true that some humanist monks left their monasteries at a certain point in their careers. One was Paul Volz (or Volzius, c. 1480–1544), the Benedictine abbot of Hugshofen in Alsace, a monastery of the Bursfeld Reform. He admired Erasmus, who dedicated the 1518 edition of his *Enchiridion* to him. During the Peasants'

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[98] See Uta Goerlitz, *Humanismus und Geschichtsschreibung am Mittelrhein. Das 'Chronicon urbis et ecclesiae Maguntinensis' des Hermannus Piscator OSB* (Tübingen 1999).

[99] See Wienand, 87.

[100] See Franz Posset, "Saint Bernard of Clairvaux in the Devotion, Theology and Art of the Sixteenth Century", *Lutheran Quarterly* 11 (1997) 309–52. On the history of the *Amplexus Bernardi*, see *idem*, "The Crucified Embraces Saint Bernard: The Beginnings of the *Amplexus Bernardi*", CSQ 33 (1998) 289–314.

[101] See Jean Claude Margolin, *Humanism in Europe at the Time of the Renaissance*, trans. John L. Farthing (Durham NC 1989) 47.

[102] See Guy-Marie Oury, "Les premiers humanistes et la réforme monastique: Guy Jouennaux", *Province du Maine* 76 (1974) 218–236; Le Gall, 49.

War Volz's monastery was destroyed. He had to seek help, but was refused because he was considered a Lutheran sympathizer.[103] Another such monk was Matthaeus Hisolidus (or Hiscold, Hitzschold) of the Benedictine monastery of Bosau (Posa) near Zeitz, who attended the Leipzig Disputation as Luther's friend[104] and who joined the rebels during the Peasants' War. He had studied in 1519 at Wittenberg while he held the title of prior of his monastery.[105] The two best known Benedictines and later Protestant reformers, however, were Ambrose Blarer (1492–1564) and Wolfgang Musculus (1497–1563). Both were active in southwestern Germany/Switzerland. Musculus was the preacher in the monastery of Lizheim, Alsace, and later became a reformer in Switzerland and southern Germany.[106] Ambrose Blarer was an Erasmian humanist who, from 1521, was the prior of the monastery of Alpirsbach in the Black Forest. He liked Luther's Christ-centered spirituality. In disagreement with his abbot over the Luther issue, he left the monastery in 1522 (without any intention of giving up the monastic way of life, however) and went to Constance, where in 1525 he became a reformer for southern Germany.[107] Also living in a cloister in the Black Forest was Michael Sattler (1490–1527) of the monastery of Sankt Peter. He became an Anabaptist and was executed in 1527.[108] Gottschalk Kruse (born at the end of the fifteenth century, †1527) who had entered the Benedictine monastery of Saint Aegidius in Braunschweig, was another of the reform-minded Benedictines. He received his doctorate in theology from Wittenberg and became a Lutheran reformer in northern Germany.[109]

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[103] See Gerhard Kaller, "Volz, Paul", BBKL 13 (1998) 69–71; Chadwick 51; Levi 255.

[104] See Schwiebert 398f; Hisolidus wrote a pamphlet so similar to those emanating from Wittenberg that Johann Eck felt compelled to respond to it, *ibid.* 422.

[105] Apparently, after his studies he went to the Benedictine monastery at Oldisleben, and thus did not go back to Bosau; see Gerhard Günther, "Bemerkungen zum Thema 'Thomas Müntzer und Heinrich Pfeiffer in Mühlhausen'", in Gerhard Heitz *et al.*, *Der Bauer im Klassenkampf* (Berlin 1975) 157–82, here 165–174. Hisolidus edited two sermons at Erfurt in 1522.

[106] See *Reformatorenlexikon*, 152.

[107] See *Reformatorenlexikon*, 39; Bernd Moeller, "Ambrosius Blarer als Alpirsbacher Mönch", in *Luther-Rezeption: Kirchenhistorische Aufsätze zur Reformationsgeschichte* (Göttingen 2001) 156–66.

[108] See John Horsch, *Mennonites in Europe* (Scottdale, PA 1942) 70–78; C. Arnold Snyder, *The Life and Thought of Michael Sattler* (Scottdale, PA 1984).

[109] See *Reformatorenlexikon*, 124.

In contrast to these former Benedictines, the learned Abbot Angelus Rumpler (c. 1460–1513) of the Benedictine monastery of Formbach (Vornbach) remained a monk and became known as a historiographer.[110] He did not join the Lutheran movement; nor did the other three Benedictine humanists who are featured here: Benedictus Chelidonius (Nuremberg, later Vienna), Vitus Bild Acropolitanus (Augsburg), and Nikolaus Ellenbog or Cubitus (Ottobeuren in Swabia).

Some of their works have survived. We do not know how much has been lost, possibly gone forever, especially when we think of the 800 out of more than 1,500 Benedictine monasteries in Europe that did not survive the Reformation.[111]

Cistercians

The Cistercians, too, were open to humanism. From the middle of the thirteenth century their General Chapter had always been concerned with the promotion of academic studies. Special attention was given to the College of Saint Bernard in Paris. Those who obtained their degrees from there enjoyed extensive privileges in their home monasteries. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, almost every significant German university recorded Cistercian students. The most frequented among them was the University of Heidelberg, founded in 1386. The faculty of theology was organized by a Cistercian doctor, a graduate of Paris, Reginald of Alna (from the Abbey of Aulne, near Luttich). According to the university records, from its foundation until 1522, the number of Cistercian students totaled 600. When, during the course of the fifteenth century, Heidelberg became a stronghold of nominalism, the Cistercians, as adherents of the doctrine of Saint Thomas Aquinas, gradually abandoned the university. The majority of students were transferred to Cologne; those from southwestern Germany went to Freiburg. Cistercians were also sent to the University of Prague, founded in 1348, but after that faculty became infiltrated by Hussites, the University of Leipzig (founded in 1409) received the largest number of Cistercians. Its records show that some 400 identifiable Cistercians attended the university up to

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[110] See Dorrer, *Angelus Rumpler* (see note 58 above).

[111] See *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione* (Rome 1974) vol. 1:1321, as quoted by Le Gall, 17.

the middle of the sixteenth century. In Cologne, the university (founded in 1388) recorded some 100 Cistercian students in attendance up to the middle of the sixteenth century.[112]

The Cistercian monastery of Adwert (Aduard) in the Netherlands was a "lively intellectual centre", where Rudolph Agricola, "the 'father of German humanism' and a 'second Petrarch'"[113] came with others to study and to visit the learned Abbot Henry of Rees. In France, a leader of monastic reform among the Cistercians was the Abbot General, Jean de Cirey (1476–1503).[114] His work is little known and may some day be investigated in greater detail. However, we know that his secretary was Conradus Leontorius whose life and work we will feature in Chapter 1. Furthermore, recent research focused on Spain has demonstrated the relationship of Cistercians there to the humanist movement.[115] We also know of the Swiss Nicholas Wydenbosch (or Weidenbusch) who was a humanist and who called himself Nicolaus Salicetus. Originally he was a medical doctor with a degree from Paris which he gained around 1460, and for a while he was the procurator of the German students in Paris. In 1470 he entered the Cistercian monastery of Frienisberg near Bern in Switzerland. In 1482 Salicetus became abbot of the Alsatian monastery of Baumgarten. He was the author of the widely-read *Antidote for the Soul* (*Antidotarius animae*), first printed in Strasbourg in 1489. In the humanist fashion of the day, the name *Antidotarius* mimicked the ancient technical term for a "book of medication".[116]

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[112] See Louis Lekai, *The Cistercians: ideals and reality* (Kent, KS 1977); his text is posted on the website of the monks of Spring Bank Abbey, Wisconsin, www.MonksOnline.org

[113] Spitz, "Humanism in Germany", in *The Impact of Humanism*, 205.

[114] See Augustin Renaudet, *Préréforme et Humanism à Paris 1494–1517* (Paris 1916; 2nd, revised edition, 1953) 189.

[115] *Humanismo y Cister: actas de I Congreso Nacional de Humanistas Españoles*, Francisco R. de Pascual, J. Paniagua Pérez, J. F. Domíngez, and Gaspar Morocho Gayo (León 1996).

[116] The full title is *Liber meditationum ac orationum qui anthidotarius animae dicitur*; see Luzian Pfleger, "Nicolaus Salicetus, ein gelehrter elsässischer Cisterciensерabt des 15. Jahrhunderts", *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner- und dem Cistercienser-Orden* 22 (1901) 588–89; E. Mikkers, "Nicolas Salicetus", *Dictionnaire de Spitualité*, vol. 11:299–301; Francis Rapp, "Salicetus", *Nouveau dictionnaire de biographie alsacienne* (no. 32) (Strasbourg 1998) 33–49; Sheryl Frances Chen, "Bernard's Prayer Before the Crucifix that Embraced Him: Cistercians and Devotion to the Wounds of Christ", CSQ 29 (1994) 24–54, with an English version of Salicetus' prayer (25–40); Franz Posset, "The Crucified Embraces Saint Bernard: The Beginnings of the *Amplexus Bernardi*", CSQ 33 (1998) 289–314, here 295–296.

The Cistercian humanist Martin von Lochau, who from 1501 to 1522 was the abbot of Altzelle, near Leipzig and Dresden, was known as a protector of the humanists.[117] His monk Michael Haenlein Meurer (or Michael a Muris Galliculus, †1537) published a manual on music (*Compendium musicae*) in 1514, and a book on the soul (*De statu animae*) in 1519. Michael, however, left the monastery and became a Lutheran.[118] Another, younger, humanist was Antonius Corvinus (or Rabe, 1501–1553) of the monastery of Loccum, later of the monastery of Riddagshausen in northern Germany. He studied at the Cistercian college in Leipzig, but because he sympathized too much with Luther, was evicted from his monastery as "a Lutheran rascal" (*lutherischer bube*). He became known as the 'Reformer of Lower Saxony' and as an 'evangelical martyr' because he was persecuted and died at Hannover shortly after his release from a three-year prison term.[119] Then there was Albert Rizaeus Hardenberg (1510–1574) of the Dutch Cistercian monastery of Adwert, who was a friend of the humanist Philip Melanchthon. Because of his sympathy for the reform ideas of what was later called the Protestant Reformation, Hardenberg was condemned to burn all his books.[120]

Least known are several humanists and poets among the Cistercians in Bavaria who were students of the famous humanist Conradus Celtis[121] in Heidelberg, such as the two Cistercian abbots of Kaisheim, Georg Kassner (1490–1509) and Conrad Reuter (or Reitter, c. 1470–1540),[122] or the abbot of Raitenhaslach, Ulrich Moltzner (†1506), to whom the Cistercian abbot Bolfgangus Marius (1469–1544) dedicated several poems.[123] From among these Bavarian Cistercians, only Marius will be included in the biographical sketches.

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[117] See Otto Clemen, "Martin von Lochau, Abt von Altzelle", in Ernst Koch, ed., *Kleine Schriften zur Reformationsgeschichte (1897–1944)* (Leipzig and Cologne 1982) 460–466.

[118] See *Reformatorenlexikon*, 145.

[119] See *Reformatorenlexikon*, 62. Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, "Corvinus", BBKL 1 (1990) 1135–37; Chadwick 147 and 151 mentions Corvinus as a former Cistercian and Reformer.

[120] See *Reformatorenlexikon*, 95f.; Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz, "Hardenberg", BBKL 2 (1990) 523–26.

[121] Celtis was the author of a book on writing poetry, *Ars versificandi* (1496).

[122] On Kassner and Reuter, see Marian Gloning, "Konrad Reuter, Abt von Kaisheim 1509–1540", StM 32 (1912) 450–92.

[123] A brief study on Abbot Moltzner was published early in the 20thC by Fritz Hacker, "Abt Ulrich Moltzner von Raitenhaslach 1502–1506", StM 35 (1914) 347–50.

One of the most infamous former Cistercians was Heinrich Pfeif[f]er (†1525) of the monastery of Reifenstein (Eichsfeld), who renounced his monastic vows in 1521 and became the reform-minded preacher of the church of Saint Mary in the imperial city of Mühlhausen, his birthplace.[124] After Erfurt, this was the second largest city in central Germany, with about 8,000 inhabitants.[125] Pfeiffer eventually led a series of uprisings against the patrician government among well-to-do citizens such as the guild-craftsmen and merchants. This rebellion was part of what became known as the Peasants' War of the 1520s, which in some respects was also a war against land-owning monasteries (*Klosterkrieg; Pfaffenkrieg*); Erasmus saw the revolt in this way.[126] Pfeiffer at first had an ally in the Saxon princes, who had long craved possession of the powerful imperial city. He and his partisans won their first victory in 1523; the spoils fell to the well-to-do citizens, who received a share in the municipal government, while the poor in the suburbs and particularly the peasants came off empty-handed. They, however, had certainly lost none of their confidence, particularly since the arrival of another priest, Thomas Müntzer (1490–1525), formerly the father confessor at the Cistercian monastery for women at Beuditz near Weissenfels, south of Leipzig. These leaders of destruction were decapitated on 27 May 1525 on the command of Duke John of Saxony. Their separated bodies and heads were brought to the city gate of Mühlhausen, were they were exhibited on stakes as a warning to the entire population.[127] Another Cistercian monastery also fell victim to the uprising. This was Georgenthal near Gotha, where Henricus Urbanus was a member and at that time a prominent humanist, whose emblem was included in the aforementioned rector's page of Erfurt University. His biographical sketch will be given in Chapter 4.

In order to better understand monastic humanism around 1500, we must also realize that these monks shared an interest in the study of the biblical languages, as they wanted to return to original sources

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[124] See Klemens Löffler, "Reifenstein", *Catholic Encyclopedia* (www.newadvent.org).

[125] See Günther, 162.

[126] See Heiko A. Oberman, "Tumultus Rusticorum: Vom Klosterkrieg zum Fürstenkrieg. Beobachtungen zum Bauernkrieg unter besonderer Berücksichtigung zeitgenössischer Beurteilungen", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 85 (1974) 301–316; reprinted in Peter Blickle, ed., *Der Bauernkrieg von 1525* (Darmstadt 1985) 214–236.

[127] Otto Merx, *Thomas Müntzer und Heinrich Pfeiffer, 1523–1525* (Göttingen 1989); Eric W. Gritsch, *Thomas Müntzer* (Minneapolis 1989).

and original meanings. The search for the original meaning of a text was called the search for 'truth' (*veritas*) as the *archetypa veritas*,[128] *hebraica veritas*,[129] or *evangelica veritas*.[130] The expression *hebraica veritas* was picked up by Luther when, around 1510 as a young monastic humanist and instructor, he underlined this expression in his copy of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.[131]

Common to most of the Renaissance monks and friars was their interest in polyglotism, i.e., in the "sacred philology"[132] of Latin, Hebrew, and Greek. Related to this was their support for the troubled Christian Hebraist Reuchlin and his defense of Jewish books. Monasteries were often at the forefront of learning these languages, as the example of Nikolaus Ellenbog at Ottobeuren demonstrates. In this connection we must realize that it was a long time before many printers possessed, for instance, Greek type. Oxford did not get Greek type till 1586,[133] while Nikolaus Marschalk (c. 1470–1525) at Erfurt had a Greek textbook printed as early as 1501. It was based on the *Erotemata* ('Questions', grammar book) of Constantine Lascaris (1434–1493/1501), the Greek scholar living in Milan, Italy, and was printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice[134] sometime after the first edition had come out in Milan in 1476.[135]

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[128] For this expression, see *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus*, eds. Adalbert Horawitz and Karl Hartfelder (Leipzig 1886, reprint Hildesheim 1966) 577, with note 53; D'Amico, *Roman and German Humanism*, X.241.

[129] This expression may go back to the Church Father Jerome. For a bibliography on 'Hebrew Truth', see Franz Posset, "'Rock' and 'Recognition'. Martin Luther's Catholic Interpretation of 'You are Peter and on this rock I will build my Church' (Matthew 16:18) and the Friendly Criticism from the Point of View of the 'Hebrew Truth' by his Confrère, Caspar Amman, 'Doctor of the Sacred Page'", in *Ad fontes Lutheri*, 214–246, here 227f, note 71.

[130] See the 1523 correspondence between two humanists, Veit Bild and Kaspar Amman, in Alois Wagner, "Der Augustiner Kaspar Amman", *Jahresbericht des Historischen Vereins Dillingen* 8 (1895) 42–64, here 60.

[131] On Liber I, dist. 2, c. 6: *hebraica veritas habet heloym*, Luther crossed out the 'h' in *heloym* and entered in the margin the spelling *elohim* and added notes which he took from Jerome and others; see WA 9,32,9.

[132] Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought: The Classic, Scholastic, and Humanistic Strains* (New York 1961) 79.

[133] See Chadwick, 5.

[134] See Junghans, *Der junge Luther*, 35. The textbook of Constantine Lascaris was first issued in 1476 in Milan, according to Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy*, 96, and "a later edition" by Aldus followed in Venice (p. 122), probably in 1494 upon recommendation by Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) (pp. 125–126).

[135] The *Erotemata* type of textbook has a history of its own; see Wilson, *From Byzantium to Italy*, 9f., 42, 95f., 146.

As to Hebrew, very few people knew this language in 1500. When monks north of the Alps wanted to study it, they relied on the layman who wrote an introduction to it in 1506, i.e., Reuchlin and his *Rudimenta hebraica*. He had learned this language from Jehiel Loans, the Jew and personal physician of Emperor Frederick III (1440–1493).[136]

In addition to the polyglot interests of numerous monastic humanists, an interest in Christ-centered poetry was shared by most of them. We shall observe this phenomenon particularly with the Cistercian Bolfgangus Marius and the Benedictine Benedictus Chelidonius.

Altogether six monks are featured: Leontorius, Chelidonius, Marius, Urbanus, Acropolitanus, and Ellenbog. They represent monastic humanism in the Benedictine and Cistercian tradition on the eve of the Reformation and during its early years in the German-speaking territories. Their lives and works demonstrate the close relationship of monasticism, humanism, and reform efforts in the Renaissance. Yet, inner-ecclesiastical reforms may not always have been their first priority, and much of their criticism of the Church may actually have been a fashion,[137] in contrast to Luther, who began to draw practical conclusions and took action.

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[136] See Chadwick, 28f.

[137] *Rhetorische Phrase*, according to Walter Ziegler, "Landeschronistik und Kirchenreform", in Brendle *et al.*, *Deutsche Landesgeschichtsschreibung*, 200.