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**PHILIPP MELANCHTHON — A SHINING EXAMPLE OF A TRUE  
SCHOLAR, EDUCATOR AND PEDAGOGUE  
AND HIS INFLUENCE ON BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA**

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The historical remoteness from Melanchthon seems enormous. Nobody seems to be aware of his once undisputed importance, least of all those in the world of the academic education of pedagogues, as nearly all the memorial services which were held in honour of his 500th birthday were carried out by theologians or historians of the church. No pedagogues were seen at these memorial celebrations, although the person being remembered did not carry the honorary title *Theologus Germaniae* but *Praeceptor Germaniae*, which means the educator of the German nation. This honorary title was not presented to him by any academy or royal university, but by his grateful students who loved and worshipped him to the highest degree. This is a wretched state of affairs and throws a poor light on the condition of Pedagogical Studies at the present time, where the highest representatives ignore the greatest of their field as if they had never existed and could not possibly be examples to the younger generation.

The important scholar and founder of the *verstehende Kulturwissenschaft*, Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911), already ascertained that Melanchthon could be considered to be the *most underrated person of the following generations*, although he unfolded an *immeasurable effectiveness* and was the greatest organizing power in Protestant Germany in the 16th century. He was an *incomparable didactical genius* (Dilthey, V. II, pp. 162 ff.). And there is nothing to be learned from such a didactical genius?

Philipp Melanchthon was indeed the most *celebrated and acknowledged man of scholarly Europe* (Hartfelder 1889, p. 551), and next to Erasmus of Rotterdam, the most significant Middle European exponent of Christian humanism. He was actually the *Praeceptor Germaniae*, not only of the Protestant areas in later times, because in the early 16th century, before the Catholic revival and Counter-Reformation set in, Germany was mainly Protestant, also in the South. Practically all of the southern German cities were Protestant and Melanchthon's influence reached as far as Austria, into the heart of Habsburg territory, where even his textbooks were being used (cf. Loesche 1930, p. 91), and further to Bohemia and into Moravia, as is still to be shown, and even Poland and the northern parts of Europe. It is not

wrong, therefore, to call him the *Praeceptor Europae* and to make his importance clear to the people of today in view of their predominantly patriotic or even nationalistic way of judging the world, which since the beginning of the 19th century has taken hold of mankind to an increasing extent and is present up to today, although a lot is said about Europe (and some things have improved).

Glory fades. Above all in pedagogical circles. The great ones are seldom recognized, even the greatest ones in one's own field. At the same time there are those claiming to discover the world themselves (as if it were so simple!). For the student of Philosophy, however, it is an unconditional duty to study in great detail the greatest philosophers of the past centuries. Without this knowledge he would show himself up in the simplest of philosophical discussions. That is why the bookshelves are full of the works of Platon, Aristoteles, Thomas, Descartes, Hobbes, Spinoza, Hegel, Kant, Kierkegaard etc. In the educational departments of the bookshops it is a fruitless objective to look for works of the great pedagogical thinkers. This is not different in the Czech Republic than in Germany or the United Kingdom. In the case of Melanchthon, one of the greatest educational propagandists in world history, an exemplary practical pedagogue, with regard to his pupils an unbeatable university teacher, it has to be added that he was purposely forgotten in disinterested confessional circles and was even demeaned in order to put Martin Luther more into the limelight. Luther's second in command and later successor was not allowed to be a *great historical* person. It is therefore of even greater significance that in our memorial celebration at the University of Pardubice we remember the great Philipp Melanchthon.

In grateful memory a short description shall now outline the life and work of a single person — Philipp Melanchthon — , and the things which he brought about under the most difficult circumstances and at an often chaotic time — how a pedagogue understood how to withstand the power of the Kaiser, although he respected his superior position, how a pedagogue strived to maintain Europe's unity and to prevent a confessional war. This is done in a very compressed fashion, but it is not possible to do it in any other way, as a man's lifework is to be presented to those here today.

## **ONE OF THE GREATEST HUMANIST SCHOLARS OF ALL TIMES**

Melanchthon united the world of humanism, which *called on the images of human nobility* (Dilthey, V. IX, p. 137) in a Christian perspective of the world, aimed at the moral education of Man. He salvaged humanism through his competent influence in a time almost exclusively determined by religion and kept essential values of European culture from becoming extinct. Education in Protestant lands seemed to be awaiting an almost inevitable collapse, making way for a new *Age of Barbarism*. Schools and universities could hardly keep their students anymore because Luther's condemnation of scholastic education promoted by the Old Church was considered to be excessive and harmful. Melanchthon did his utmost *to stop this regression* and his 42 years of activity in the university as well as his writing in classical work, which occupied most of his time, created a *long enduring record of success which often found recognition in Catholic circles through the evaluation and*

*use of his philological publications* (Grisar, col. 633). One reads the detailed accounts of Catholic historian Johannes Janssen (1829-91), who was often slandered by Protestant critics, namely the seventh volume of his *History of the German People Since the End of the Middle Ages* in which the situation of schools and universities, science and education are analysed in depth. It is made clear what contributions Melanchthon made to German education. Janssen emphasises that despite the huge education crisis following the schism of faith among the Catholics who felt competent to judge in 1538, 1541, and 1550, the Catholic school system was collapsing, while the Protestant schools *were blossoming, and attracting the German youth* (Janssen, V. 7, p. 92).

Melanchthon taught at the University in Wittenberg for a very long time. Under his influence, it became the central Protestant University of Europe. This university in a small unimportant town *on the fringes of civilisation* gained especially through him an importance which one can compare with the meaning of the famous University of Paris for the old church. The university of Wittenberg became very popular in many European countries. Hundreds of students would pack into the classrooms to listen to his lectures, also due to the fact that he was a universally educated scholar representing an new type of science, which appeared quite new to the students and completely different from the traditional old scholastic science which had been taught at the universities so far and which now was felt to be out-of-date and antiquated. He did not only teach the classical languages, rhetoric, and poetics, but also philosophy, theology, ethics, history, even mathematics, astronomy, and medicine — the entire knowledge of his time. He promoted the *rebirth* of the sciences, spoken and written. Even when the *third power* first began to unfold, sciences of experience and knowledge about nature, there was already room in this universal mind (Dilthey, V. II, pp. 137, 170). Melanchthon created famous new textbooks because the old scholastic ones no longer met the new demands: he wrote a Greek and Latin grammar, two textbooks of dialectics, a rhetoric, an ethics, and a physics textbook, a revision of a world history written by one of his pupils, Johann Carion (the famous *Chronicon Carionis*) and theological writings such as the *Loci communes* written in a fresh and gripping style which appeared as the most convincing expression of a quite new type of theological science. These textbooks and instructive works have indeed influenced the German school system for centuries. His Latin grammar appeared in more than 50 editions. In Germany and in many other countries, his textbooks were considered *didactically perfect* (Dilthey, V. II, p. 163). Melanchthon also created especially with the just mentioned *Loci communes* the first protestant theological textbook, in other word the first Protestant dogmatic manual, which was absolutely necessary and which was called for at the time for the consolidation of the sciences under new conditions. Theological studies gained a totally new organisation and fresh life through him, which was transmitted to the better minds and a lot of young men. His *Loci communes* from 1521 resembled, as a Catholic author describes, *the first warm spring day after a harsh month of March* because he *dropped the boring method of syllogistic interpretation which the scholastics used in their dogmatic works, and presented dogmas synthetically with a beautiful flow of Latin words* (Robitsch, pp. 44 f.).

Melanchthon was a Lutheran scholar, but he was no narrow-minded partisan who would have condemned all other denominational groups without consideration, but had even promoted irenic ecumenical beliefs at the same time, which peoples were just learning to grasp. He taught students of many nations and peoples and for that reason had influence not only on the “German culture” which did not yet exist in the narrow later sense, for through Latin as the language of scholars, the educated classes of many nations were closely linked since they made themselves understood in a language common to all. Melanchthon’s students frequently were quite different from the students at the universities of today, for in his *classroom sat princes, dukes, and other noblemen*. Scholars from the four corners of the world, not only Germans, but Frenchmen, Englishmen, Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Danes, as well as Italians and Greeks (Oehninger, p. 286; Raumer, p. 152). One Sunday, when he was together with foreign students, Latin, Greek, German, Hungarian, Italian, Turkish, Arabic, Hindi, and Spanish would be spoken at his desk (cf. Oehninger, p. 286). Beyond that, Melanchthon kept up an extended European correspondence with his pupils and those who shared his beliefs and wanted to get advice from him (cf. Hartfelder 1889, pp. 105-152). There are no less than 9,500 letters of him recovered which are presently being edited at the Melanchthon Research Department at the Heidelberg Academy of the Sciences. His correspondences are so extensive that the last volume will be completed in 2030 (cf. Scheible 1994). Among the professors at the University of Marburg, which was co-founded by Melanchthon, there were scholars from France, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Friesland, Brabant, and Flanders (cf. Justi 1827, p. 25). The national isolation of universities in later times — particularly in the 20th century when people thought to be especially scientific and progressive — did not yet exist. Professors from different nations taught side by side.

Melanchthon through his restless reformatory efforts initiated and promoted a new educational system, in a local, respectively state responsibility, which replaced the medieval one of the parochial and monastery schools. He created the first new school regulations of the electorate Saxony in 1528. Many others were developed by him or by his pupils. Melanchthon opened the first *Scholar School* (Latin school) in Magdeburg in 1525 (Holstein 1884) and the Latin school in Nuremberg 1527 (Steiger 1926) and his pupils were the most well-renowned schoolmasters of their time: Valentin Trotzendorf (1490-1556), Michael Neander (1525-1595) and Hieronymus Wolf (1516-1580). Like a central thread, the activities of the *incomparable Melanchthon* were pulled through the history of the University system in the Age of the Reformation and even among the Catholics his name was *said in glory* (Roth, p. 53). Three new universities were founded under Melanchthon’s interest: the University in Marburg in 1527, the first University which no longer received its privileges from the Pope or Kaiser (cf. Justi, pp. I f., 21), the University in Königsberg in 1543 and the University in Jena in 1558. New statutes were created according to Melanchthon and other professors’ expectations in the universities in Wittenberg, Tübingen, Leipzig, Frankfurt on the Oder, Greifswald, and Rostock. Even at the university of Heidelberg, a Calvinistic university, regarding the renewal of the curricula, there was much direct participation and advising by Melanchthon (Paulsen 1906, p. 36).

Melanchthon's influence was unbelievably strong according to measures of our time. He was an advisor for noblemen and for cities, someone who can be trusted with trust: *Just a short letter from Melanchthon would suffice in order to get the most sought-after positions as academic professor, Latin school teacher, or preacher* (Hartfelder 1889, p. 541). He not only educated young men, but also recommended them, so that in a sense, he gave out the positions. The *Master Philip-pus* was therefore not unjustly considered the *soul of complete studies* (Paulsen 1906, p. 37). The *Philippisten*, his pupils who he educated with Christian humanism, were demanded everywhere, as preachers, teachers, schoolmasters, and professors. The gymnasium based on his reform became the predominant neohumanistic gymnasium in Germany up until the beginning of the 20th century: *As the true Praeceptor Germaniae, he became the founder of Christian-humanistic education and of the modern gymnasium*. He had just as strong an influence on the selection and education of the new priest profession (Franz, vol. II, col. 1869). Even such a fundamental antagonist like the conservative Catholic theologian and church historian Ignaz Döllinger (1799-1890), who described the whole Reformation as a fatal and tragic development, called Melanchthon — one of the Lutherans — *the brightest thing that has ever appeared from the School of Erasmus*; he was said to be similar to his master Erasmus of Rotterdam in certain ways, in others even — *more superior*. Döllinger stated that Melanchthon combined *a wealth of knowledge, the most select classical education, ease of expression, skill to illustrate, rhetorical abundance and improvisation, and an untiring industriousness, clear and orderly in thought and in expression and very well trained rhetorically, it was his task to systematically arrange the dogmas and principles of the new Church* (cf. Döllinger, p. 360). In the *Lexicon of Pedagogy* from the Catholic publishing house Herder in Freiburg, H. Grisar, a member of the Jesuits and author of a very critical biography of Luther, writes in 1914 that Melanchthon was *one of the greatest humanist scholars of all time*, his written achievements would provide *a look into an encyclopaedia of knowledge* (cf. Grisar, col. 631 ff.), and even an intransigent antagonist of humanism and the Protestant school system, the professor at the Episcopal academy in Eichstädt Albert Stöckl (1823-1895) (*through humanism formalism was able to reign supreme in school*) wrote in 1876 in his textbook for the *History of Pedagogy* that Melanchthon was such a popular teacher *that sometimes three-and-a-half-thousand listeners would gather and the students would climb up outside on the windows if the lecture hall was filled* (cf. Stöckl, p. 217, pp. 214 f.). It must be admitted that this is a repetition of the exaggerations which were customary throughout the 16th century, for in Wittenberg there was not lecture room of that size and there were no microphones at that time to address human crowds of such dimensions. But this doesn't matter in our context, for these quotations only should show how high Melanchthon's estimation was even in the minds of his denominational opponents. This was true during his lifetime also because in the old church it was not possible to put up any scholar of his importance against him. And therefore it is justified to assume that Luther's Reformation without the cooperation of the humanistic scholar Philipp Melanchthon would not have spread as far as it did and that Melanchthon was the very important link between humanism and reformation. He was the decisive exponent of Christian humanism and the Protestant movement.

## A DEVOTED AND IDEAL ACADEMIC TEACHER

Philipp Melanchthon did not leave a theory of pedagogics to us, for his time needed a new base for all sciences and new textbooks and the lessons of an enthusiastic teacher. He did not feel at all the necessity to theorize about pedagogics as is usual today in a most exaggerated manner. In the language of today he was a teacher, author of textbooks, policy-maker in education, propagator of pedagogics, religious reformer and politician, and all that in one person who did everything in his power to create the conditions for a renewed system of schools and universities, who cared for the founding of schools and universities, providing them with new and better curricula, who educated young people assigned for filling these schools and universities with life as teachers and professors.

Many princes and councillors of the cities enriched themselves shamelessly by the property of the old church, and they would not dream of spending even parts of the property they had confiscated for the maintenance of schools or universities. Melanchthon attacked them severely: he meant that without education and science no orderly and peaceful living together of mankind is possible. Once he put the question what could bring greater advantages to all mankind than the sciences? And he answered in his address *In laudem novae scholae* (1526): *No art, no craft and industry, and indeed no product of the earth, nor even the sun that has been looked upon by many as the principle of life. Nothing is as indispensable as the knowledge of the sciences. For if no state could be held upright for the lack of laws and justice and religion, then mankind would wander around in the manner of wild animals.* Melanchthon compared those who were not willing to let their children be educated with *wild animals* and with *blasphemers* against God, for they would only hide *under a human mask* their *truly bestial way of thinking*. He attacked the lords who forgot their duties and only thought of their luxury and their power saying that they partly were of such a *crude nature* that they would not grasp the value of the sciences, and that partly they were so *insidious that they esteemed it only useful and profitable for their tyranny if once all laws, religion and civic decency could be completely destroyed* (cf. Beyer/Rhein, pp. 94 ff.).

Melanchthon indeed was the ideal type of teacher, whereas the great Erasmus of Rotterdam (1465-1536) was only an author who did not take pains with educating young peoples because he considered that as a waste of time. His younger colleague Melanchthon on the other hand was active as a teacher besides all his literary work, and when he came back from the Imperial Diet or from ecclesiastical conferences where it had been his duty to act as the main speaker of the Protestant side, he returned to his lecturing-desk always being quite relieved as if a burden had been taken from him. For all that he easily could have entered the service even of kings, for his reputation was so high that even the king of France and the king of England desired him to be their counsellor. But he remained in the little town of Wittenberg on the Elbe river and did not desert the students. The life of a man in education — he once wrote — *be is esteemed less than the life of a man at court but it deserved better of human existence than anything else, for what could be more useful than to fill the minds of young peoples with the beneficial teaching of God, of the nature of things and of public morals?* (cf. Grisar, col. 633).

The self-sacrificing way in which he engaged himself for the young students, can be shown by the fact that in his house he established a *schola privata* for younger students who could not yet follow the lessons at the university. The amount of his work at the university would have deterred anybody else from establishing such a private school, and when he died it became more than clear how much work he had accomplished every week alone at the university, for his place there was taken by no less than four (!) professors. He even provided other professors, who had asked for it, with copies of lectures or drafts of lectures and scientific papers which then were published under their own names. His student and friend Joachim Camerarius (1500-1574), a famous humanistic professor, reports that a student once in the auditorium delivered a speech on which Melanchthon still was working. The pages with the wet ink were brought to the lecturing-desk while the student was delivering his speech. The many themes about which Melanchthon knew to write and to teach made him a unique university teacher who always was ready to do a person a good turn in order not to disappoint anybody and to support as many as possible. And so there are not only a great number of speeches written by him, which other persons delivered and published under their own names, but there are also many letters which other persons copied and sent off as letters of their own. Expert's reports were published under which his name was missing, and also whole documents were published that way (cf. Koehn, col. 1290).

How times and peoples change! Sorry to say, but today nobody would think of becoming active for friends or students in such an unselfish way as once Melanchthon. As a matter of fact, probably such an attitude would be thought as out of place. But a famous man like Melanchthon did not have to put his name under each line he wrote. Shortly before his death, in spite of being already ill, he undertook the strain of travelling to Leipzig in order to examine scholarship holders at the university there. The roads were very bad, the scarcely elastic iron wheels of the coaches brought tortures. But he set out on this strenuous journey in order to benefit the students in Leipzig.

## **LUTHER' SUPPORT OF THE BOHEMIAN REFORMER JAN HUS**

The Reformer Luther did not have nearly as much contact to others in writing as he did to the religious community of the Evangelist Bohemian Brothers. He corresponded with the clergy and nobility of this relatively small group. Georg Loesche (1855-1932), the chronicler of the Protestant movement of the Habsburg monarchy, states that Luther's songs sounded like those sung during Catholic church services in the Habsburg territories and that Melanchthon reached much further into Austria with his correspondence than Luther (cf. Loesche 1909, pp. 5 f.). According to Eduard Winter (1896-1982), no country was as ready to take up Luther's doctrine as much as Bohemia. *The battle had been going on for a century already for a national Church that would still be in the frame of the main Church without relinquishing any special features. The first texts and flyers were read by the Czechs in Bohemia with burning interest.* Luther's support of the Bohemian reformer Jan Hus after the dispute in Leipzig with Johann Eck (1519) gave rise to *enthusiasm in*

*Czech circles*. The writing from Hus *De ecclesia* was sent to him as a token of thanks from the Czech nation (cf. E. Winter 1938, pp. 146 f.).

The University in Prague was organised *Utraquistically*, that is, the Eucharist was received against the Pope's will *sub utraque specie*, under "both forms" (the Host and Wine). The Holy Wine, which was and is left to the priests in the Catholic Church, was attainable to the laymen. A moderate Utraquism stood between the Old Church and the Protestant one. By the influence of the Reformation, a strong Protestant branch began to form in the 16th century, New-Utraquism, while the old Utraquism fell back. But Prague University did not offer any Protestant theological education. It also did not reach the current level of scientific teachings of that time. These aspects led to a rush of students from Bohemia and Moravia to Wittenberg, despite many prohibitions, where they could receive a Protestant theological education and find famous professors for other subjects there. *The future Bohemian schoolteachers, town scribes, doctors, preachers, who had often attended Prague University, were now meeting in the Leucorea [Wittenberg University] for extended studies, often lasting for several years. They met in the professor staff to see their countryman Matthäus Aurigallus (Aurogallus) from Komotau, an outstanding scholar of Hebrew who worked with Luther on the translation of the Bible* (Řičan 1963, p. 238). Luther worked with the *Bohemian Brothers* a small, almost century old Church. It existed next to the larger Utraquist Church, with a noticeable admiration. He supported the *Hussites*, although their army a century ago had caused fear and terror due to its invasions in the German areas. His Catholic opponents were appalled by this fact, which could be seen in publications up to the 19th century (cf. Janssen, V. 2, p. 199). The Lutheran Johann Agricola (1492-1566) renewed the memory of Jan Hus through publications as propaganda of Luther being the successor and avenger of the Bohemian reformers (cf. Kraus, p. 175).

When Luther was informed that the Bohemian Brothers would be performing the Eucharist differently, he had to take a position, which he chose very carefully (cf. Luther, Vom Anbeten, pp. 417 ff.). He requested a written description of their views, because perhaps the obscurities could be explained on account of difficulties in comprehension (*because of the Bohemian speech sounds*, p. 455). He praised the high moral criteria of the Brotherhood and criticised the "Sodom and Gomorra" in the areas affected by his Reformation. But the Bohemian Brothers were for their Church, and were convinced in their history and institutions. They didn't think to simply join Luther and change their views. Despite the fact, Luther remained *continuously mild* (in the work cited, pp. 419 ff.) and even arranged for the publication of the Hus letters, with which he supplied a foreword (1536). Luther further added a preface to the support of the Brothers from 1532/33, in which he expressed similar views to their Biblical doctrine with recognition. He tended to the printing of this piece in Wittenberg (cf. Flajšhans 1901, p. 327; Jakubec. 1929, p. 381; Loesche 1930, p. 389). These prefaces and the letters addressed to the Brothers were highly valued by the Evangelist Bohemian Brotherhood who stemmed from the Utraquists in Bohemia, and they legitimised their religious community in the European Protestant public (cf. Řičan, p. 253). The Brothers acknowledged Luther's influence on their confession and changed it in several areas according to him (cf. Müller, V. III, 1931, pp. 298 ff.).



Lutherdom expanded in Bohemia with its 782 cities, 36 of which royal, and also in Moravia, at the cost of Catholicism and Utraquism and namely at the borders. It did have an influence on the predominant Utraquist movement, chiefly on the New-Utraquist branch which had a tendency toward Protestantism. Luther's works were enthusiastically being translated into Czech, especially by Burian Sobek z Kornic (1520-1544), a doctor of laws. Sobek transcribed Johann Carion's historical chronicle "Chronican Carionis" revised by Melanchthon, which then appeared in 1541 in his Czech translation (cf. Vlček, pp. 354 ff.; Flajšhans, p. 327). Among Melanchthon's students, many ambitious Utraquists, also known as Calixtines, could be found. Among them was Petr Kodicek z Tulechova (Petrus Codicillus), Matouš Kolin z Choteřiny (Mattäus Collinus), and one of the most significant seniors of the Bohemian Brothers in the Czech history thought, Jan Blahoslav. Between 1520 and 1560, 371 students enrolled at Wittenberg University from Bohemia and Moravia. In 1545, there were 19, and in 1557, 32. In 1560, the year of Melanchthon's death, 14 students were immatriculated at Wittenberg. From 1560 to 1602, 533 more students signed up who were from the Bohemian Kingdom (cf. Menčík 1897, pp. 250-268). While many of them did attend the lectures of Melanchthon and other famous professors for extended periods of time, the actual number can be assessed as higher. The total number of students from Bohemia and Moravia was 904, quite a considerable amount, considering the fact that in the 16th century universities had only very few students. The number of students from Poland studying at Wittenberg in the 16th century is estimated at 500 (cf. Bartel, p. 228).

## MELANCHTHON'S HUMANISM IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA

The spreading of Protestant humanism in the Bohemian Kingdom was aided by the already existing tradition in parts of the upper class. Humanism expanded from Italy across all of western Europe and reached quite early on in Bohemian country. The most celebrated poet next to Dante was the reviver of the Classical Age, Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374), a personal friend of Kaiser Charles IV. Petrarca joined the Milano legation in Prague in 1356 in order to actively promote humanistic education ideals (cf. Pallas/Zelinka, p. 129). The later Hussite wars hindered the expansion of early Bohemian humanism, which Bohuslav Hasištejnský z Lobkovic (1460-1510) was the most significant representative of, but this was only temporary (cf. Král, pp. 6 ff.; Pallas/Zelinka, pp. 129 f.).

Erasmus of Rotterdam and Philipp Melanchthon marked the third phase of the conquest of humanistic educational ideals (cf. Harder, pp. 21 ff.). Georg Loesche, who searched to find Melanchthon's influence in Bohemia and Moravia, wrote that Melanchthon won the trust of the Bohemian and Moravian Evangelists like no other. He surpassed Luther in this sense. One can follow the trail he left to scholars, teachers, noblemen, and hundreds of students, who, despite all prohibitions, travelled to Wittenberg to sit in his lecture hall. The Bohemians received *the lion's share of Melanchthon's gifts* (so explains Georg Loesche), and following, the Galicians. He was said to have had an especially high opinion of the Bohemians, however, he never tired in speaking about the followers of the Hussites which he spoke about with *rhetorical élan, the old fame, the honour and steadfastness, the*

*scholarship and education of their ancestors* (ibid., pp. 150 ff.). Melanchthon stayed in the imperial free city of Eger (Cheb) three times, which was pledged to the Bohemian Kingdom in 1298. He was highly revered there, although the city did not turn towards Protestantism until a decade later (cf. Loesche 1930, pp. 387 f.). When the great Czech humanist Zikmund Hrubý z Jeleni (Gelenius, 1497-1554), who lived in Basle, died, Philipp Melanchthon praised his *openness, modesty, and piety* (Vlček, p. 339). He asked him to come to Nuremberg in 1525 to teach at the gymnasium co-founded by him (Melanchthon) (cf. Raumer, p. 153). Gelenius was the first significant representative of Czech humanistic science and first-class philologist in the new school of thought. He worked in the house of Frobenius as printing supervisor and as editor of Greek as well as Latin publications. He was famous in all of Europe. Rudolf Říčan describes him as being a friend of Melanchthon's (cf. Říčan 1963, p. 240).

Melanchthon's influence on the development of Czech philosophy is not to be disregarded, stated Josef Král (1882-1978), expert on the history of Czech philosophy (cf. Král, pp. 8 ff.). Melanchthon even professed that the knowledge of Czech is more important than that of French. The great number of German geographical names that were originally Slavic had inspired him to learn Czech (Říčan 1963, p. 245). How much Melanchthon focused upon the Slavic peoples can be clearly seen by his relationships to the Poles, to whom, as with the Czechs, he presented his *historically based, humanistically effusive tributes* (Loesche 1909 [II], p. 167). Several Polish students had lived in his house for a time. He was popular in the Protestant as well as Catholic circles in Poland, where he was even highly respected. Texts of his were reprinted in Cracow, others were copies passed on from hand to hand. His *Augsburg confession* appeared in Polish (cf. Bartel, pp. 226 f., 234).

At the university in Prague, Humanism could be taught against the opposing Professorate, which stubbornly clung to the scholastic teaching method, when the German Reformation began to have an influence in Bohemia. Matouš Kolin z Choceřiny (Mattäus Collinus, 1516-1566), the most significant representative of Protestant humanism in the mid-16th century in Bohemia, taught as the first humanist at the Prague University. He was a protégé of Melanchthon's and studied for ten years in Wittenberg. In 1541, he was employed at the University in Prague as a lecturer of Greek. He didn't only acquire humanistic knowledge at Wittenberg University, but also an affinity for Luther's doctrine. He brought Melanchthon's humanism to Prague and dedicated himself to the expansion of the religious teaching of his teacher, Melanchthon (cf. Hejnic 1964, p. 394). This created serious problems for him and he was forced to leave the University in 1558. He continued on as a private tutor and a freelance writer and became one of the most well-noted poets of New Latin in Bohemia (cf. Jakubec, p. 620; Harder, p. 35). There are over 50 letters known to be written to him from Melanchthon: *Among the Czech humanists, Collinus had achieved such distinction that his songs would be sung as church songs, such as in the Magdeburg hymnal of 1594* (Jakubec, p. 161; Slovník lat. spisovatelů, p. 191).

The Prague scientists bought everything up from Erasmus of Rotterdam that appeared on the market (cf. 1956, p. 10), which is why numerous Czech translations of Erasmus' work was being printed and prepared for printing by Catholic as well as Utraquist authors (cf. Bohatcová, p. 14). Erasmus did not separate from the Catho-

lic church. Melanchthon was the humanistic author and teacher of the Protestant side, and after the Great Schism, the stream of Wittenberg humanism began to flow. In 1533, for example, Jindřich Dvorský z Helfenburka (Curius) (1505-1582) announced in an invitation to an Aristoteles seminar that he would explain what was in the dialectics books of Melanchthon (cf. Winter 1897, p. 35). Dvorský left for Protestant Germany in 1534 in order to familiarise himself with the theological education taught there. In Wittenberg, he won the favour of Melanchthon. After his return, he became dean of the art (philosophy) faculty at Prague University and had the opportunity to prove his likeability to his teacher. He lent Melanchthon a manuscript of Plinius the Elder (Ottův slovník, V. 8, 1894, p. 275). The professors of Collinus' time as well as Collinus' pupils Johann Sentygar, Sebastian Aerichalus, Petrus Codicillus, and others, completed their studies at Wittenberg, where they were influenced by Melanchthon's humanism (cf. Svatoš, p. 201).

Petrus Codicillus (1533-1598) became principal at the University in Prague in 1573 and was renowned as a New Latin poet. He was also a theological and pedagogical writer. He studied in Wittenberg and Prague, was a pupil of Melanchthon, and gave much effort to the improvement of lessons in the particular schools in Bohemia and Moravia. One of his great contributions, among many others, is *Ordo studiorum docendi atque discendi litteras in scholis civitatum regni Bohemiae* (1558). In 1586, he presented the study regulations of Prague University to be arranged for the schools mentioned (cf. Šafránek, p. 40). The dialectics textbook *Praecepta dialectices* for school use appeared in 1590, which he created using Melanchthon's example. It was based on his Aristotle's lectures and the first Czech textbook of logic (cf. Jakubec, p. 760; Klika, p. 120, Král, p. 9).

Martin Bacháček z Nauměřic (1539-1612) should be mentioned, a Czech scholar and pedagogue of rank, who studied mathematics and astronomy in Leipzig and Wittenberg, and wrote as a representative of University reform *his own chapter of universal history* (Svatoš, p. 202). He then worked as a teacher at Latin schools and later as professor at Prague University. He gave great efforts towards the improvement of the system of particular schools in Bohemia and Moravia and he sent hundreds of letters in which he, as principal of Prague University, requested the municipal administration to maintain school regulations enacted by the University (cf. Ottův slovník, V. 3, 1890, p. 88; Chlup 1957, p. 69). His endeavours in the improvement of education were unmistakably in competition with those of the Jesuits, who took over the higher Catholic school system in the name of the Counter-Reformation. But the *example* followed had to be older than that of the Jesuits, Zikmund Winter (1846-1912), an expert on the Bohemian school system, believes, because years before that, a private school was established in Melanchthon's own house in Wittenberg for his students (cf. Winter 1897, p. 69). Martin Bacháček influenced Prague University in a Christian humanistic sense, that is why it isn't strange that the reform taking place was described as an extended result of Melanchthon's influence. Rudolf Řičan (1899-1975), an expert on the history of the Bohemian Church and professor in the Evangelist theology faculty in Prague, says the exceptional influence of Melanchthon in Bohemia and Moravia can be explained by the fact that since the time the Hussites ruled, Christian life belonged to their confession. *The Czechs felt the same as Melanchthon* (Řičan 1963,

p. 255). We might add that Melanchthon's well-known tolerance in Bohemia and Moravia was acknowledged.

From the side of the Bohemian Brothers the active senior (bishop), Jan Augusta (1500-1572), had strong connections with Luther. When the battle between the Utraquists and the Brothers began to intensify in the 1540s, he fled in 1542 to Luther in Wittenberg, in order to escape being held prisoner (cf. Müller. V. III, p. 113). The already-mentioned Jan Blahoslav (1523-1571), the most significant of the older senior-Brothers, attended the famous Latin school of Melanchthon's pupil Valentin Trotzendorf in Goldberg (Silesia), whose school was known as the *Schola Philippica*. Blahoslav studied in Wittenberg in 1544, when the University was at its peak. He lived in the house of Melanchthon's stepson,,

Caspar Peucer (1525-1605), with whom he had a life-long friendship (cf. Odložilík, p. 43). (Peucer became principal at the university in Wittenberg.) Later he went to Königsberg, where the Lutheran theologian Andreas Osiander (1498-1552) and Melanchthon's stepson Georg Sabinus (1508-1560) taught. Sabinus left Blahoslav his lectures and texts about poetry (cf. Mukařovský, pp. 363 f.). Lastly, Blahoslav studied in Basle. The long lasting isolation from the world of science caused by the old Christian ideals of the Bohemian Brothers was finally overcome with Blahoslav. His brother, Martin Abdon (1529-1561), studied Greek and Latin for three years in Königsberg and two years in Wittenberg, at that place under Melanchthon's teaching. A letter of Melanchthon written on February 16th, 1560, reveals the friendly relationship Melanchthon had with his former student (cf. Müller, V. III, p. 32).

Jan Blahoslav was a humanist like Melanchthon, and therefore not only was he a great theologian, but also a poet, historian, and theorist of song as well as of music. He is the author of Czech song textbooks and of a Czech grammar, initiated and promoted the transcription of the Holy Scriptures in six volumes, the *Kralitz Bible*, with his Czech translation of the New Testament in 1564. This Bible had the same significance to the Czech language as Luther's Bible did for German. Blahoslav was very closely acquainted with Melanchthon, although he had a tendency towards Calvinism. Yet, there was no contradiction, Melanchthon was also suspected of Cryptocalvinism. During his four-year study at the *Wittenberg Poet University*, Blahoslav had many creative incentives, namely in poetics and music (cf. Jakubec, p. 669). His revolutionary work in language reform was not only possible on account of his excellent knowledge of Czech writers but also because of his education in the texts of Erasmus of Rotterdam and Melanchthon, and Luther's *Letter Concerning Interpretation* (cf. Mukařovský, p. 375). In the year 1557, he became Bishop of the Brothers. Because of Blahoslav, who belonged to the most *brilliant figures of Czech culture* (Říčan 1963, p. 253), humanistic studies received a recognised place in the Brotherhood. In 1571, the *golden book* (*De methodis*), written by Danish pupil of Melanchthon and professor of theology in Copenhagen, the *Praeceptor Daniae* Niels Hemmingsen (Hemmingius, 1513-1600), was translated into Czech by two of the Brothers, Bartolomej Justin and Jan Gerson, in the Moravian city of Uherský Brod. Jan Kapito, who studied in Heidelberg, translated Hemmingsen's text *Pastor, seu de pastoris optimo vivendi agendique modo* into Czech as well (Molnár 1956, p. 23; Daňková 1951, p. 43). Apart from that, one referred the theologians of the Brothers to the studies of manuals and textbooks of

foreign authors, especially Philipp Melanchthon and Erasmus of Rotterdam (Mukařovský, p. 374). Jan Blahoslav died in 1571. Brother-Bishop Ondřej Štefan (1528-1577), who was educated in Goldberg and Wittenberg as well, took over the organising of the Bible's translation. The translation was divided among seven translators, five of which studied in Wittenberg: alongside Blahoslav and Štefan, was Ezaiáš Cibulka, Jan Aeneas, and Pavel Jesen (cf. Daňková, pp. 39, 41 ff.). *In the first half of the 16th century, humanism found its base with us* states the well-known Czech literature historian Jan Jakubec (1862-1936). As Lutherdom spread through Bohemia, Moravia, and in the parts of Silesia under the Bohemian Crown, Wittenberg was for the non-Catholic Czech students what Italy was to the rich Catholic students earlier. The Catholic students moved on the Padua, Ferrara, and Bologna. Jan Jakubec states: *From Wittenberg University, where famous humanistic scholars taught, a significant strengthening of the Czech humanists followed with a tendency toward religious reform. They cultivated humanistic subjects at Prague University: poetics, rhetoric, and philosophy, mainly of Aristoteles and Plato* (Jakubec, p. 617). The *Augsburg Confession* from Melanchthon was already published in Czech in 1530, the year it first appeared. A century later, there were 15 editions. The translations were characteristic of the active connection of the Czechs to the German Reformation (cf. Jakubec, p. 645). The *Grammatica Philippi Melanchthonis latina* appeared in 18 editions, most of them published in Prague (cf. Tobolka, pp. 104-108). In the catalog of the National Library of the Czech republic (Národní knihovna v Praze) one can find no less than 200 timehonored titles of Melanchthon's, which is an enormous amount of old prints.

Collinus and his friends (predominantly former Wittenberg students) created a closely-knit group that was closely tied to the citizens in the cities of Bohemia, summarises Josef Hejnic (born 1924), a member of the Institute of Classical Studies of the Academy of Sciences in the Czech Republic. These are results of his research of *Filip Melanchthon, Matouš Collinus a počátky měšťanského humanismu v Čechách* (1964) He explains about the objective and method of their literary creations:

*The Bohemian followers of Melanchthon can be ranked with the poëtae docti: their doctrines were not only based on the mythological apparatus the sense of Roman poets from the Age of Augustus, but also on the studies of Melanchthon's works and other reformers; they sought to make the reader familiar with their ideas. The actual worth of their poetry is seen most clearly by their predominant reproduction of the tracts of Melanchthon. The poetry sometimes had only a formal value to the Bohemian followers of Melanchthon, which was to them all the more important, because he enabled them to expand their ideology forbidden by the Habsburger absolutism. Should the 'tract poetry' of Bohemian neo-Latin writers be considered as poetry, one must consider, most importantly, their didactic tendencies. Their authors, truly bound to the clear language of Melanchthon's texts, especially emulated Virgil and Ovid, the masters of Roman didactic poetry. About all of the works of Collinus and his friends are suffused with religious-moral considerations, as pupils of Melanchthon, one can't be surprised. [...] Through this one can well conclude that Collinus and his friends brought more than just a new literary movement to Bohemia. They also brought a new ideology which began to soon take effect in social, pedagogical, and religious life* (Hejnic 1964, p. 379).

## INFLUENCE ON THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA

Christian d'Elvert reports in his *Geschichte der Studien-, Schul- und Erziehungsanstalten in Mähren und Oesterr.[reichisch] Schlesien insbesondere der Olmützer Universität in den neueren Zeiten* from 1857 that the Protestant and Picardite doctrine was spreading (Picardites is a garbled term from *Beghards*, a Catholic collective term for *heretical* communities). The rich young nobility as well as the middle-class youth eager to learn studied *preferably at the Protestant schools in Germany, especially in Wittenberg, Strasbourg, Leipzig, Jena, Altdorf, Ingolstadt, etc.* (d'Elvert, p. XXIV). The Bohemian Brothers, renowned because of their school system (cf. Ball, Molnár 1952), sent the gifted of their youth to Wittenberg because they didn't agree with the teachings at the Utraquist University in Prague. In the following decades, they no longer sent their scholars to Wittenberg but to the Calvinist universities in Heidelberg and Herborn, and in Basle and Geneva in Switzerland, where moral discipline was more predominant there, but when they gave up Wittenberg as their place of study, they didn't forfeit the sciences there. They hired a famous professor from Wittenberg, Esrom Rüdinger (1523-1591), to teach, which was made possible by the Lutheran party battle. In Wittenberg, Rüdinger was professor of Greek, philosophy, ethics, and physics, and in 1574 came to Ivancice as *gubernator studiorum in schola fratrum Evančicij*. Rüdinger lost his professorship in Wittenberg and for several weeks was sent to prison. He was released by request of the Brothers in order to teach for them and to take over the position as headmaster of the school of nobility to be built in Ivančice. *This well-furnished school was primarily intended for the nobility of the Brothers. They received the education there they would otherwise have to do abroad which estranged them from their home land* (cf. Ball, pp. 90 f.). In Ivančice, even Hebrew and philosophy were offered. The school developed into an academic gymnasium, in the language of the 16th century a *gymnasium illustre*, where some of the subjects in the artist faculty were taught at a University level. Among the students, was Karel Starší z Žerotína (1564-1636), who became a powerful country captain of Moravia through wealth and talent (cf. Winter 1901, p. 220; Chlumecký, p. 132; Daňková, pp. 44 ff.).

Zikmund Winter wrote much about the influence of humanism on education in the countries under the Bohemian Crown. His work *Život a učení na partikulárních školách v Čechách v XV. a XVI. století* (1901) makes many references to the close contact humanists had among each other. Naturally, Melanchthon's school regulations in the electorate Saxony of 1528 were well known in Prague, with its plans of design three *clusters* of pupils in Latin schools, which was transmitted very well to the situation in Bohemia and Moravia (cf. Šafránek, p. 40). Prague University had a significant effect on the particular school existing in cities. These Latin schools were no longer under the supervision of the Catholic clergy but were headed by the citizens of the cities or country councils. The Utraquist University of Prague regulated its lesson plans, educated its teachers, and held the position of principal. It functioned, in effect, like a supreme school administration. In 1586, the University released a set of school regulations which all particular schools had to comply with, written up by headmaster Petr Codocillus z Tulechova (Reprint in: Chlup 1957, pp. 67 ff.). The expansion of humanistic education ideals had an effect in Bohemia and

Moravia (see Svatoš, pp. 203 ff.). In some of these *higher* schools even Greek was taught (cf. Udolph, p. 343). The humanist poet Pavel Vorličný († about 1599) had excerpts of the works of Erasmus and Melanchthon printed for school purposes (*Zpracování z Erasma a Melanchthona*) and issued the *Konfessi školstva luteranského na Moravě* (1566). He also revised Melanchthon's Latin Grammar (*Grammatica Ph. Melanchthonis latina*, 1567) to which he added Czech annotations (cf. Mukařovský, p. 327; Ottův slovník, V. 26, pp. 969 f.). The publications of this grammar which were created by Valentin Trotzendorf for the Latin school in Görlitz were also being used in Bohemia (cf. Winter 1901, p. 251). The Terenz comedies edited by Erasmus of Rotterdam and Melanchthon also enjoyed great popularity and Melanchthon's rhetoric textbook was considered exemplary.

The expansion of humanistic curricula played a significant role in school plays. The Slovakian historian Milena Cesnaková (born 1924) explains: *Starting in 1524, he [Melanchthon] learned the Terentian comedies with his pupils in his private school, along with Greek and Latin dramas, and performed them. Among many were the Euripides and Seneca. Not only headmasters and teachers of the Latin schools in Germany followed his example, but also in the Czech-speaking areas and Hungary with its territories, what is today Slovakia. Pupils everywhere memorised lengthy Latin paragraphs from the classical dramas.* According to Milena Cesnaková one of the main organisers of theatre at the university was the already-mentioned pupil of Melanchthon, Mattäus Collinus. Another enthusiastic producer of Latin theatre performances at Prague University was Šebastián Měděný (Aerichalcus), principal of the university from 1551 to 1553, who like Collinus, studied in Wittenberg (cf. Cesnaková, pp. 469 ff.; Hejnic/Martínek, V. I, p. 49). Měděný wrote school dramas and commentaries for the comedies of Terenz and the essay *Descriptiones affectuum, que extant in libello d. Philippi Melanthonis De anima versibus heroicis comprehensae* (Řičan, 1963, p. 243). Christian d'Elvert shows with a lot of examples that in Moravia, a blossoming school system was developing under the influence of Lutherdom, especially in the southern city of Jihlava, the centre of Protestantism in Moravia. The city of Jihlava had constant contact with Melanchthon in Wittenberg and had much of its youth study there (d'Elvert, pp. XXVII ff.). Concerning Bohemia, d'Elvert states, there were no longer any market towns in Bohemia after the mid-16th century that had their own special, well-established schools. Most of the headmasters of schools were said to be masters: *No nation could boast of having such an excellent institution then, and perhaps also later on* (ibid. p. XXVI).

Also in the Slovakian areas under Hungarian rule, the influence of the Erasmus of Rotterdam and the protestant humanist movements were present. In the 16th century, significant amendments to the school constitution were made, where *at the same time, the influence of the Reformation began to make itself felt in our schools.* Organisations of German schools served as an example (cf. Vajcik, p. 176). Melanchthon's most influential follower of the Slovakian-speaking areas was the renowned Protestant reformative writer and headmaster in Bardejov, Leonard Stöckl (1510-1560). He studied in Wittenberg from 1530-1534, finished his exams there and was the headmaster of a Latin school in Eisleben for a short time. He returned to Wittenberg as lecturer at the university, where he had close contact with Luther and Melanchthon. In 1538, he headed back to his homeland and published,

after many other texts, the *Annotationes Locorum communium doctrinae Philipp Melanchthonis* in 1561. His school in Bardejov became the example for the entire Hungarian school system. His admirers knew him as *Communis Hungariae praeceptor* (Pedag. encykl. Slovenska, V. 1, p. 563; V. 2, p. 313).

## PHILIPP MELANCHTHON AND JOHANN AMOS COMENIUS

With the last bishop of the Brothers Johann Amos Comenius/Komenský (1592-1670) the Bohemian Brotherhood reached its peak with humanistic education but then came to its tragic end due to the Thirty-Years'-War. Comenius was well informed of the relations between Melanchthon and the Bohemian Brothers that once existed. It is indicated in one of his texts, *Na spis proti Jednotě Bratrské od M. Samuele Martinia [...] Ohlášení* (1635). He wrote it as a scribe of the Brothers against the polemics of Samuel Martin z Dražova (1593-1639), the leader of Lutheran Czech emigrants who stayed in Saxony. Samuel Martin accused the Brothers of Calvinism and stated the *Bohemian Confession* was identical to the Lutheran one. Comenius mentions Melanchthon many times in his piece against these claims (cf. Komenský 1898, pp. 83, 87, 90 ff.). The personal handing down should be noted: from Melanchthon to Jan Blahoslav to the Brothers in Ivančice to Esrom Rüdinger to the country captain of Moravia, Karel Starší z Žerotína, to Comenius. It should be mentioned that Comenius was in close connection to Karel Starší ze Žerotína, his *most merciful patron* who protected him from the persecution of the Counter-Reformation. He dedicated his work *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart*, from 1623 to him. Also to be noted is the close literary concurrence with Erasmus of Rotterdam concerning humanistic objectives (Steiner, pp. 144 ff.) and of course the Latin of Comenius was a humanistic one (see Nováková 1970).

Comenius' textbooks, like those of his great predecessor, conquered the world of pedagogy. He mentions Melanchthon already in his *Bohemian Didactics* in 1632. In it is written that the orderly situation of the parishes and society affects the existence of a sufficient number of understanding people. *That is why Melanchthon wrote to Camerarius, that knowing how to educate the youth is more significant than conquering Troy* (Komenský 1970, p. 17). In Comenius' *Didactica magna* Melanchthon is quoted as an authority against the overestimation of the ancient writers in the Latin schools (cf. Comenius 1993, p. 245). In *Informatorium of the Mother School*, Comenius not only refers to the prophets and the Holy Scriptures, but also to Melanchthon in *blessed memory*. When he entered a school, he greeted the pupils with the following words: *Greetings, reverend Pastors, Doctors, Licentiates, Superintendents, greetings greatly respected, wise, and most favourable Mayors, Bailiffs, Jurors, Chancellors, Secretaries, Masters, etc., etc.* For those who thought he was jesting, he replied: *This is no joke to me. Because I see children not how they are created, but how they will be raised and educated and I know that from this group of several men will come, if there is no doubt of chaff and shavings* (Comenius 1962, p. 18).

Like Melanchthon, Comenius was deeply disappointed with the results of the German Reformation, and wanted a second, real Reformation, not just of the



Church and other European countries, but of all humankind, the entire world. In his *Testament of the Dying Mother, the unity of Brothers* (1650), he criticised both Protestant Churches very sharply (Comenius 1958, pp. 94 ff.). Rudolf Řičan writes on Comenius and Melanchthon: *He [Comenius] praised his understanding of children's education. He spoke with much recognition of what he contributed to school reform, through which also the Reformation of the Church was promoted. In his modesty regarding the contents of Greek philosophy, he refers to Melanchthon's ,Locí'. He shared the same principles of the language lesson with Melanchthon: the constant repetition of grammar rules is a means of education for a ethical life. He calls him the reviver of higher education in Germany. Comenius also praises the theologian Philippus for his leniency and love for concord and respects his authority in some aspects. [...] Comenius refers to the comments Melanchthon makes about his sadness about the discord in the Evangelist Church over the Eucharist issue. His view was very similar to that of Bucer; they were peace initiators as the disagreements in the Evangelist Church began. According to Comenius, Melanchthon was one of the people sent from God whose task it was not only to bring theoretical knowledge but love and edification in the Church. Flacius and other restless thinkers had tortured his pious soul in many ways (Řičan 1961, p. 256). As an old man preparing for his death, Comenius considers Melanchthon: As consolation, Melanchthon's words came into mind, which were found in his notes discovered after Melanchthon's death: "Fear not death because then you will be freed of all sins, from the attacks of the Devil, from the fury if the theologians, etc." (Michel/Beer, p. 194).*

## **A HARD FIGHTING AGAINST NUMEROUS ENEMIES**

Philipp Melanchthon became Luther's successor. Far and wide there was no equal in the Lutheran countries, but treachery and vacillation from the Protestant princes led to victory for Kaiser Charles V who was fighting for the Catholics. Not the princes but Melanchthon, the supposedly *weak* successor, was given the blame for the defeat in the battle of Mühlberg on the Elbe river (1547). Fierce quarrels which did not end followed between Lutheran hardliners and Melanchthon's supporters, the *Philippists*, who were accused of making secret agreements with the Calvinists and even the Catholics. The epigones were just glad to have a guilty person. In a debate after Melanchthon's death a Wittenberg theologian tore a painting of him off the wall and stamped all over it. Melanchthon became *the Martyr of the Lutheran Reformation* and had to *experience fully the bitter consequences of the unavoidable situation. Among the pugnations, defiant people from the 16th century with their theological farm-hand behavior (Landsknechtsmanieren) he seemed like a well-educated Roman apologist from the 2nd century* (Sell 1897, pp. 114, 118), and dark shadows fell over the end of this great man's life: *The aim towards which he had worked, to improve mankind's morals, disappeared into the distance. [...] The last words he spoke were a prayer for peace between the warring churches* (Dilthey, V. II, p. 167). His reputation was lost as a result of these fierce battles, and for a long time a fair judgement of this great pedagogue and theological innovator was prevented. The annihilation of Protestantism by the Habsburgs in the Bohemian Kingdom broke practically all connections to

other Protestant countries. After the defeat of the Bohemian country council army against the army of Kaiser Ferdinand II in 1620, non-Catholic books were burned and destroyed by the truckload. In 1910, there were only 156,000 Protestants of Czech nationality in Bohemia and Moravia (cf. Havelka, p. 1). This was the result of these fundamentally altering events. For these reasons it is understandable that Philipp Melanchthon fell into oblivion in the territories of the Bohemian Crown and this has been true up to our time which can be realised by the fact, that in Czech encyclopaedias or *Histories of Pedagogics* he is mentioned only in a very short form. In Germany there were in addition to that the mentioned hostilities within the Lutheran churches, and the writers of the history of pedagogies never really took notice of Philipp Melanchthon and never really appreciated his work appropriately. But in the *Enzyklopädisches Handbuch der Erziehungskunde* by Joseph Loos (Vienna 1908) there is an impressive and appropriate evaluation of Philipp Melanchthon by Julius Antonius, with which the account of his life and work in the year of his 500th birthday can be brought to an end, although for a better understanding one would like to see the title *Praceptor Europae* in the place of the title *Praceptor Germaniae*:

*He was and is the Praceptor Germaniae, not just because of the extent of his knowledge, which is exeptional for a single person, but because of his intellectual ability and language skills and his unusual talent für organization, but moreso because he stayed true to his own belief that a teacher should teach not just by what he says, but by his own example — how he himself learns, teaches and lives, by his own enormous diligence, by his own scrupulous use of time, by his faithfulness to the small tings as to the great, by his friendliness towards colleagues and pupils, by his peace-loving mind, his simplicity and modesty. All in all his whole person embodies that of a resounding Christian personality, a shining example of a true scholar, educator and pedagogue.*

Melanchthon led — and this is our finishing statement full of admiration — a selfless life marked by the hardest performance of his duty. To study Melanchthon's dramatic life and his exemplary educational work and to learn about his painful experiences has to be of use to those interested in great educators. And therefore pedagogical-historical research is urgently needed and it is to be hoped that it will find friends and supporters in the future.

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