

***Sic Non Transit Gloria Mundi:*  
The Reformation Concept of Hope  
in Melanchthon's Exposition of the Lord's Prayer**

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**I. Introduction**

What we hope for determines to a considerable degree who we are and who we aspire to be. The 16th-century Reformation changed the concept of hope, which was prevailing in ancient and mediaeval Christianity, and thus paved the way for a new understanding of hope within the framework of emergent Protestant theology. Melanchthon's concept of hope was anchored not only to the intangible but also to the tangible in which God's presence and action were duly recognised and affirmed. Consequently, in Melanchthon's exposition of the Lord's Prayer the concept of hope was not reduced to a mere eschatological or spiritual reference, which was typical of Christian theology practised in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, but rather extended God's operation to the world in its entirety, to human society, corporeality and rationality as well as to mundane life.

The present paper ventures to explore a new perspective on the concept of hope found in Melanchthon's study of the Lord's Prayer,

especially, in his interpretation of the third and fourth petitions, situating it against Christian interpretations thereof prior to the Age of the Reformation. Based on the Reformation reading of the Scripture and the Reformation views on the world as God's creation Melanchthon invented the concept of hope which was alien to pre-Reformation Christian theology but dovetailing with Luther's insights. Although the literature on the development of Melanchthon's thought,<sup>1</sup> on the doctrinal features thereof<sup>2</sup> and on Melanchthon's influence on Protestant

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<sup>1</sup> Ernst Bizer, *Theologie der Verheissung: Studien zur theologischen Entwicklung des jungen Melanchthon 1519-1524* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1964); Alfons Brüls, *Die Entwicklung der Gotteslehre beim jungen Melanchthon 1518-1535* (Bielefeld: Luther-Verlag, 1975); Friedrich Galle, *Versuch einer Charakteristik Melanchthons als Theologen und einer Entwicklung seines Lehrbegriffs* (Halle: Lippert, 1840); Hans-Georg Geyer, *Von der Geburt des wahren Menschen: Probleme aus den Anfängen der Theologie Melanchthons* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1965); Martin Greschat, *Melanchthon neben Luther: Studien zur Gestalt der Rechtfertigungslehre zwischen 1528 und 1537* (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1965); Peter Heinrich, *Die Frage der menschlichen Willensfreiheit in der Theologie Melanchthons: Eine kurze Darstellung und Beurteilung ihrer Aufnahme und Entwicklung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Loci communes* (Nordhausen: Bautz, 2003); Nicole Kuroпка, *Philipp Melanchthon - Wissenschaft und Gesellschaft: Ein Gelehrter im Dienst der Kirche 1526-1532* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2002); Wilhelm Maurer, *Melanchthon-Studien* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1964); Carl E. Maxcey, *Bona Opera: A Study in the Development of the Doctrine in Philip Melanchthon* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1980); "Melanchthons theologische Entwicklung bis zur Herausgabe der Loci communes," in *Die Loci Communes Philipp Melanchthons in ihrer Urgestalt*, ed. Gustav Leopold Plitt and Theodor Kolde (Erlangen and Leipzig: Deichert, 1890), 3-56; Wilhelm H. Neuser, *Die Abendmahlslehre Melanchthons in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung 1519-1530* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1968); Heinz Scheible, *Aufsätze zu Melanchthon* (Tübingen: Mohr, 2010); Karl Sell, *Philipp Melanchthon und die Deutsche Reformation bis 1531* (Halle: Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1897); Paul Schwarzenau, *Der Wandel im theologischen Ansatz bei Melanchthon von 1525-1535* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1956).

<sup>2</sup> Irene Dingel et al., ed., *Philip Melanchthon: Theologian in Classroom, Confession, and Controversy* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012); Hans Engelland, *Die Frage der Gotteserkenntnis bei Melanchthon* (München: Kaiser, 1930); Gregory B. Graybill, *Evangelical Free Will: Philipp Melanchthon's Doctrinal Journey on the Origins of Faith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Wolfgang Matz, *Der befreite Mensch: Die Willenslehre in der Theologie Philipp Melanchthons* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001); Rolf Schäfer, *Christologie und Sittlichkeit in Melanchthons frühen Loci* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1961); Timothy J. Wengert, *Human Freedom, Christian Righteousness: Philip Melanchthon's Exegetical Dispute with Erasmus of Rotterdam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Wengert, *Law and Gospel: Philip Melanchthon's Debate with John Agricola of Eisleben over Poenitentia* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1997).

theology and humanities in Europe<sup>3</sup> is immense, the Reformation concept of hope awaits further scrutiny in the light of the primary sources because it prepared the ground for the modern Protestant affirmation of and attention to mundane life which were articulated in the Age of the Enlightenment (e. g. Kant) and German Idealism (e. g. Hegel).

## II. Jewish Origins of the Lord's Prayer

The Lord's Prayer coincided with a classic Jewish prayer called the Kaddish (קדיש)<sup>4</sup> which in view of references made in the Talmudic literature<sup>5</sup> could be traced back to the 1st century AD.<sup>6</sup> The Babylonian Talmud presented the Kaddish as a daily prayer common to Jewry by virtue of which the LORD's mercy and favour could be sought, while the world might be preserved notwithstanding the destruction of the Temple.

A formal and material similarity between the Lord's Prayer (as recorded in Matt. 6:9-13) and the Kaddish can be visualised as follows:

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<sup>3</sup> Michael Beyer et al., ed., *Melanchthon Deutsch*, vol. 1-4 (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1997-2012); Irene Dingel and Armin Kohnle, ed., *Philipp Melanchthon: Lehrer Deutschlands, Reformator Europas* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2011); Günter Frank and Martin Treu, ed., *Melanchthon und Europa*, vol. 1-2 (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2001-2002); Karin Maag, ed., *Melanchthon in Europe: His Work and Influence beyond Wittenberg* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999); Frank Pauli, *Philippus: Ein Lehrer für Deutschland: Spuren und Wirkungen Philipp Melanchthons* (Berlin: Wichern-Verlag, 1996); Heinz Scheible, ed., *Melanchthon in seinen Schülern* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997); John Schofield, *Philip Melanchthon and the English Reformation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Birgit Stolt, ed., *Philipp Melanchthon und seine Rezeption in Skandinavien* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1998).

<sup>4</sup> "קדיש דרבנן" in סדר עבודת ישראל in אהל, ed. Seligman Baer (Rödelheim: Lehrberger, 1901), 153.

<sup>5</sup> "מסכת שבת" in תלמוד בבלי, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Orgelbrand, 1859), 3r [No. 3a]. "מסכת ברכות" in תלמוד בבלי, vol. 2 (Warsaw: Orgelbrand, 1859), 119v [No. 119b]; "מסכת סוטה" in תלמוד בבלי, vol. 8 (Warsaw: Orgelbrand, 1860), 49r [No. 49a].

<sup>6</sup> Francis L. Cohen, "Kaddish," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 7, ed. Isidore Singer (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalis, 1904), 401-403; Kaufmann Kohler, "Lord's Prayer," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. 8, ed. Singer (New York: KTAV, [s. a.]), 183-84.

Kaddish (Aramaic)	Kaddish (English)	Corresponding Petitions of the Lord's Prayer (Greek)	Corresponding Petitions of the Lord's Prayer (English)
יתגדל ויתקדש שמה רבא	May his great name be magnified and hallowed	ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομα σου	May your name be hallowed
בעלמא די ברא כרעותה	in the world which he created according to his will	γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημα σου, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς	may your will be done on earth as it is in heaven
וימליך מלכותה	and may he fortify his kingdom	ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου	may your kingdom come
בחייכון וכיןמיבון	in the lives and days of all of you		
ובחיי די כל בית ישראל	and in the life of all the house of Israel		
בעגלא ובזמן רקבי	promptly, indeed, in a twinkling		
ואמרו אמן	and let us say amen!		

The petitions fourth,<sup>7</sup> fifth,<sup>8</sup> sixth<sup>9</sup> and seventh<sup>10</sup> were also mirrored in the classic Jewish literature and in the Jewish prayer books of ancient origin. The Jewish root of the Lord's Prayer was either unknown to the Reformers of the 16th century or denied by them due to anti-Semitism. Nonetheless, the Reformation interpretation of the fourth petition conformed to the Jewish tradition in defiance of the ancient and mediaeval Christian legacy.

<sup>7</sup> "סדר עבודת ישראל," in "סדר קדוש לסעודת שחרית בשבת," 35r [No. 35a]. "מסכת ברכות," 252.

<sup>8</sup> "מסכת מגילה," in "תלמוד בבלי," vol. 5 (Warsaw: Orgelbrand, 1860), 28r [No. 28a]; "מסכת ראש השנה," in "תלמוד בבלי," vol. 5, 17r [No. 17a]. Abraham Tawrogi, ed. and trans., *Der talmudische Traktat Derech Erez Sutta* (Königsberg: Erlatis, 1885), 39 [VIII].

<sup>9</sup> "מסכת ברכות," 60v [No. 60b].

<sup>10</sup> "מסכת ברכות," 16v [No. 16b]; "מסכת ברכות," 17r [No. 17a]; "מסכת ברכות," 60v [No. 60b].

### III. The Lord's Prayer in the Edifice of Melanchthon's Theology

Granted that the Lord's Prayer was a text fundamental to the Christian identity, Melanchthon continued to expound it throughout his theological career. He commented upon the Lord's Prayer in the second<sup>11</sup> and third<sup>12</sup> versions of his Latin Loci as well as in the final version of his German Loci (1555).<sup>13</sup> Moreover, Melanchthon's interpretation of the Lord's Prayer was contained in *Christiana studiosae iuventutis institutio* published by Christoph Hegendorf in 1526.<sup>14</sup> Subsequently, in 1527 Melanchthon released another exposition thereof.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Editio princeps: Philipp Melanchthon, *Loci communes theologici recens collecti et recogniti* (Wittenberg: Klug, 1535), X8r-Y7r [De oratione]; Critical edition: Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Secunda eorum aetas)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 21, ed. Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider and Heinrich Ernst Bindseil (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1854), 536-42 [De oratione]; German translation by Justus Jonas: Melanchthon, *Loci communes das ist die vornehmsten Artikel Christlicher Lehre*, trans. Justus Jonas (Wittenberg: Rhau, 1536), 281v-291v [Vom Gebet].

<sup>12</sup> Editio princeps: Melanchthon, *Loci theologici recens recogniti* (Wittenberg: Seitz, 1543-1544), [s. p.] [De invocatione Dei seu de precatone]; Critical edition: Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 21, 955-84 [XIX (De invocatione Dei seu de precatone)].

<sup>13</sup> Editio princeps: Melanchthon, *Hauptartikel Christlicher Lehre im Latin genant Loci Theologici etwa von Doktor Justo Jona in Deutsche Sprache gebracht jetzund aber im MDLV Jahr von Philippo Melanthon wiederum durchsehen* (Wittenberg: Creutzer, 1555), 222r-232v [Vom Gebet]; Critical edition: Melanchthon, "Loci Theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 22, ed. Bretschneider and Bindseil (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1855), 564-577 [Vom Gebet].

<sup>14</sup> Editio princeps: Melanchthon, "Paraphrasis Dominicae Orationis," in Christoph Hegendorf, *Christiana studiosae iuventutis institutio* ([s. l.]: [s. n.], 1526), A7v-B1v; Critical edition: Melanchthon, "Paraphrasis Dominicae Orationis (1526)," in *Supplementa Melanchthoniana: Werke Phillip Melanchthons die im Corpus Reformatorum vermisst werden*, vol. 5/1, ed. Ferdinand Cohrs (Leipzig: Haupt, 1915), 57-60.

<sup>15</sup> This exposition was published in the Laymen's Bible of 1529 and reprinted many times. In the present paper the edition of 1543 was consulted. Melanchthon, "Kurze Auslegung des Vateruners," in *Ein Büchlein für die Kinder aufs neu zugerichtet: Der Laien Biblia* (Wittenberg: Rhau, 1543), C1r-C2v. Critical edition: Melanchthon, "Kurze Auslegung des Vateruners (1527)," in *Supplementa*, vol. 5/1, 76-77.

In 1547<sup>16</sup> and in 1549<sup>17</sup> new explications of the Lord's Prayer came to light. Besides, Melanchthon commented upon the Lord's Prayer in one of his sermons.<sup>18</sup>

Melanchthon's interpretation of the Lord's Prayer emerged in his lectures on the Gospel of Matthew which were compiled by Sebastian Fröschel in 1558.<sup>19</sup> It should be noted that Fröschel's extensive version of Melanchthon's lectures on Matthew differed from earlier, terse versions<sup>20</sup> which did not contain any exposition of the Lord's Prayer. Although in the history of Melanchthon scholarship there was some doubt about the authenticity of Fröschel's production,<sup>21</sup> it is arguable that this compilation represented Melanchthon's teaching because Fröschel published it in Melanchthon's lifetime (1558), while Melanchthon himself raised no objection to this book which was bearing his name. Additionally, Fröschel confirmed Melanchthon's authorship in his preface<sup>22</sup> and

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<sup>16</sup> This explication was contained in the devotional book *Hortulus animae* published in 1547 and reprinted on several occasions. In the present paper the edition of 1558 was examined. Melanchthon, "Andere Auslegung des Vaterunser," in *Hortulus animae: Lustgarten der Seelen mit schönen, lieblichen Figuren, samt einen neuen Kalendar und Passional Jesu Christi* (Nürnberg: Geyssler, 1558), M3v-N5r; Critical edition: Melanchthon, "Kurze Auslegung des Vaterunser (1547)," in *Supplementa*, vol. 5/1, 337-41.

<sup>17</sup> Critical edition: Melanchthon, "Die zehn Gebote, der Glaube, das Vaterunser (1549)," in *Supplementa*, vol. 5/1, 367-369 [Das Vaterunser].

<sup>18</sup> Critical edition: Melanchthon, "Dominica vocem iucunditatis (Evangelium Ioannis 16)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 24, ed. Bretschneider and Bindseil (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1856), 835-38.

<sup>19</sup> Editio princeps: Melanchthon, *Conciones explicantes integrum Evangelium S. Matthaei Witebergae habitae in Ecclesia, a Magistro Sebastiano Frochelio Ambergense, Archidiacono in eadem Ecclesia, scriptae a Philippo Melanthane*, ed. Sebastian Fröschel (Wittenberg: Rhau, 1558), K5r-O2v [Matthew 6]; Critical edition: Melanchthon, "Conciones explicantes Evangelium Matthaei," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 14, ed. Bretschneider (Halle: Schwetschke, 1847), 634-69 [Matthew 6].

<sup>20</sup> As collated in: Melanchthon, *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 14, 531-36.

<sup>21</sup> "Praemonenda," in Melanchthon, *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 14, 531-32.

<sup>22</sup> Fröschel, "Epistola dedicatoria," in Melanchthon, *Conciones*, 2r-\*6r. *Corpus Reformatorum* reprinted only a part of Fröschel preface: Melanchthon, *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 14, 535-42.

Fröschel's compilation was adopted in the posthumous edition of Melanchthon's works printed in 1563 and it was certified as genuine.<sup>23</sup>

#### **IV. It is Right to Pray and Hope for the Tangible Provision and Protection**

In Melanchthon's opinion, it was right for Christians to pray and hope for the tangible provision and protection. According to Melanchthon,<sup>24</sup> God was the sole Creator and Giver of all tangible and intangible goods and blessings which were countless and which reflected God's benevolence towards humankind. Thus, God's spiritual and corporeal gifts enjoyed the same dignity and should be received by human race with equal gratitude because they varied in their appearance, not in their status or function. Both visible and invisible gifts were bestowed by the same Creator for the benefit of his creatures. Consequently, Melanchthon rejected the ideal of ascetic and monastic life and denounced proponents thereof for undermining and deprecating God's tangible gifts and institutions which in his view ought to be appreciated and honoured by believers and unbelievers alike.

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<sup>23</sup> Melanchthon, "Conciones explicantes integrum Evangelium S. Matthaei Witebergae habitae in Ecclesia, a Magistro Sebastiano Froeschelio Ambergense, Archidiacono in eadem Ecclesia, scriptae a Philippo Melanthe," in *Omnia opera*, vol. 3, ed. Caspar Peucer (Wittenberg: Crato, 1563), 247-591.

<sup>24</sup> Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Secunda eorum aetas)," 540-41 [De oratione]; Melanchthon, *Loci communes das ist die vornehmsten Artikel Christlicher Lehre*, 287r-89v [Vom Gebet]; Melanchthon, "Loci Theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas)," 573-74 [Vom Gebet]; Melanchthon, "Loci Theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas)," 576-77 [Vom Gebet, VII]; Melanchthon, "Kurze Auslegung des Vaterunsers (1547)," 340; Melanchthon, "Enarratio Epistolae Prioris ad Timotheum," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 15, ed. Bretschneider (Halle: Schwetschke, 1848), 1361-64 [1 Timothy 4:4 (Corporalis exercitatio ad modicum est utilis, pietas ad omnia)]; Melanchthon, "Dominica vocem iucunditatis (Evangelium Ioannis 16)," 836-837. Idem, "Dominica XII post Trinitatis (Evangelium Marci 7)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 25, ed. Bretschneider and Bindseil (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1856), 359.

Melanchthon<sup>25</sup> pointed out that God's provision and protection embraced both the intangible and the tangible. Accordingly, God, on the one hand, provided various tangible gifts (such as good government, health and crops, livelihood or peace) for his children, on the other hand, protected his children from all spiritual and corporeal adversity, plight and peril either by undoing it or by allowing his children to overcome or to endure such evil phenomena.

Similarly, Melanchthon<sup>26</sup> listed different visible and invisible calamities to illustrate that God was committed to helping and defending his creatures in both dimensions, videlicet, in the tangible and in the intangible. Therefore, relying on God's promises, believers were privileged to pray, hope and look for God's provision and protection in both dimensions of the created world. The fact, that every possible hardship or challenge fell within the compass of God's care for and commitment to human race, was highlighted by Melanchthon in his interpretation of the seventh petition.<sup>27</sup> Melanchthon maintained that God encouraged believers to consider every single part of their lives to be covered and taken care of by the LORD on a daily basis.

Since human beings were created as both corporeal and spiritual beings, Melanchthon<sup>28</sup> emphasised that God would cater for both tangible and intangible needs of his creatures, attending to the necessities of mundane life as well. Thus, God's children should await God's provision and protection in terrestrial affairs and could feel

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<sup>25</sup> Supra.

<sup>26</sup> Supra.

<sup>27</sup> Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Secunda eorum aetas)," 542 [De oratione, VII]; Melanchthon, *Loci communes das ist die vornehmsten Artikel Christlicher Lehre*, 290v [Vom Gebet, VII]; Melanchthon, "Loci Theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas)," 576 [Vom Gebet, VII]; Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," 977 [XIX (De invocatione Dei seu de precatone), VII]; Melanchthon, "Paraphrasis Dominicae Orationis (1526)," 60 [VII]; Melanchthon, "Kurze Auslegung des Vaterunsers (1527)," 77 [VII]; Melanchthon, "Kurze Auslegung des Vaterunsers (1547)," 339 [VII].

<sup>28</sup> Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," 961-962 [XIX (De invocatione Dei seu de precatone)]; Melanchthon, "Conciones explicantes Evangelium Matthaei," 640-42 [Matthew 6]; Melanchthon, "Conciones explicantes Evangelium Matthaei," 645 [Matthew 6:9].



entitled to it in accordance with God's will. Therefore, Melanchthon<sup>29</sup> taught that God would lavish whatever his creatures needed in mundane life on them.

Moreover, Melanchthon<sup>30</sup> recognised the phenomenon of life, good health, place and right of abode, civil authorities, good leadership, peace, social harmony, right of self-defence, marriage, family, civil liberties, sustenance, sound economy, education,<sup>31</sup> modest entertainment, professional achievements, various stations in life and various professions beneficial to the neighbour and thus useful to the community as divine gifts by means of which God's benevolence towards humankind was manifested, while the corporeal dimension of human existence was sustained and entrenched by God.

For Melanchthon,<sup>32</sup> mundane life, all institutions thereof, particularly, the God-given ability to form the community and to exist as the community, required *στοργή* (natural bonds of friendship and love) which was a divine commitment to care for the neighbour implanted by the Creator in human heart. Consequently, a God-given *στοργή* uniting human beings reflected God's *στοργή* towards his creatures. Melanchthon<sup>33</sup> maintained that God created human beings not for solitary life but rather for communal life which sprouted out of the family.

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<sup>29</sup> Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," 961-62 [XIX (De invocatione Dei seu de precatone)]; Melanchthon, "Conciones explicantes Evangelium Matthaei," 656-57 [Matthew 6:12]; Melanchthon, "Conciones explicantes Evangelium Matthaei," 667 [Matthew 6:13].

<sup>30</sup> *Supra*.

<sup>31</sup> Melanchthon, "Communis forma agendi gratias pro collatione Magisterii philosophici, praescripta M. Hieronymo Schreiber (1542, 9. Febr.)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 10, ed. Bretschneider (Halle: Schwetschke, 1842), 943-44.

<sup>32</sup> Melanchthon, "Testimonium," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 6, ed. Bretschneider (Halle: Schwetschke, 1839), 5-6 [No. 3350]; Melanchthon, "Casparo Crucigero (29. Mart. 1547)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 6, 457 [No. 3804]; Melanchthon, "Hieronymo Baumgarteno (18. Aug. 1548)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 7, ed. Bretschneider (Halle: Schwetschke, 1840), 104 [No. 4322]; Melanchthon, "Christophoro Pannonio (10. Iul. 1549)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 7, 430 [No. 4558].

<sup>33</sup> Melanchthon, "Dehortatio de solitudine fugienda, Doctori Martino Luthero," in *Epistolarum farrago*, ed. Johannes Manlius (Basel: Queck, 1565), 485-86.

Granted that *στοργή* was underlying all vertical and horizontal relationships, Melanchthon<sup>34</sup> animadverted upon ancient Greek philosophy which disregarded mundane life and perceived tangible phenomena as a source of human vulnerability and as impediment to human happiness. The concept of happiness (*ἀπάθεια / ἀταραξία*) espoused by ancient Greek philosophy entailed human detachment from the world and from the world's institutions. To the contrary, Melanchthon believed that *στοργή* would always engage human beings in the service to the neighbour and thus commit them to mundane life. Moreover, Melanchthon<sup>35</sup> argued that since *στοργή* was the moral framework of the universe established by the Creator, this texture making the world liveable to human beings was absolutely inalienable notwithstanding objections of ancient Greek philosophy.

### V. Third Petition

In his interpretation of the third petition of the Lord's Prayer Melanchthon<sup>36</sup> argued that God created human life and committed himself to sustain it through the means which he established for this purpose. Thus, God carried out his will by providing for his creatures and protecting them through the instruments of his own devising.

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<sup>34</sup> Melanchthon, "Liber de anima," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 13, ed. Bretschneider (Halle: Schwetschke, 1846), 131-35 [De sensibus interioribus]. Ibidem, 157 [De voluntate]; Melanchthon, "Dominica XV post Trinitatis (Evangelium Matthaei 6)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 14, 367.

<sup>35</sup> Melanchthon, "In Secundum Librum Ethicorum Aristotelis enarrationes," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 16, ed. Bretschneider and Bindseil (Halle: Schwetschke, 1850), 313-16 [II, III].

<sup>36</sup> Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Secunda eorum aetas)," 541 [De oratione, III]; Melanchthon, *Loci communes das ist die vornehmsten Artikel Christlicher Lehre*, 290r [Vom Gebet, III]; Melanchthon, "Loci Theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas)," 575 [Vom Gebet, III]; Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," 975 [XIX (De invocatione Dei seu de prece), III]; Melanchthon, "Kurze Auslegung des Vaterunsers (1547)," 338 [III]; Melanchthon, "Die zehn Gebote, der Glaube, das Vaterunser (1549)," 368 [Das Vaterunser, III]; Melanchthon, "Conciones explicantes Evangelium Matthaei," 647-48 [Matthew 6:10]; Melanchthon, "Dominica vocem iucunditatis (Evangelium Ioannis 16)," 836-37.

According to Melanchthon, the LORD governed the world, namely, put his will into practice particularly through the institutions which were called to represent him in the world. Consequently, God acted through his agents such as civil rulers, law enforcement officers, educators or parents with the intention of protecting and caring for his creatures.<sup>37</sup> In Melanchthon's opinion, a relationship of authority, submission, mutual dependence and responsibility emerged from the family as the foundation of society and naturally extended to the communal life in which stakeholders acted as parents for the community by leading, guiding and enlightening its members and by shaping the communal life.

Interpreting the fourth commandment in 1523, Melanchthon<sup>38</sup> clarified that this precept not only described the respect and service, which children owed to their parents, but also constituted the relationship between students and teachers, between residents and rulers, inferiors and superiors because every form of authority originated from God and served his purpose. Such an understanding of the fourth commandment was unprecedented in the history of patristic

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<sup>37</sup> Melanchthon, "Ethicae doctrinae elementa," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 16, 242-244 [II, De iustitia]; Melanchthon, "In Politica Aristotelis," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 16, 417-22.

<sup>38</sup> Editio princeps (Latin): Melanchthon, "In caput Exodi XX Scholia," in *In obscuriora aliquot capita Geneseos* (Tübingen: Morhard, 1523), [s. p.] [IV]; Editio princeps (German): Melanchthon, *Eine kleine Auslegung über das XX Kapitel Exodi der zehn Gebote* ([s. l.]: [s. n.], 1525), B1v [IV]; Critical edition: Melanchthon, "In caput Exodi XX Scholia (1523)," in *Supplementa*, vol. 5/1, 12-13 [IV]; Cf. Melanchthon, "Kurze Auslegung der zehn Gebote (1527)," in *Supplementa*, vol. 5/1, 74 [IV]; Melanchthon, "Die zehn Gebote, der Glaube, das Vaterunser (1549)," 363 [IV]. Melanchthon upheld and advocated such an interpretation of the fourth commandment throughout his theological career. Melanchthon, "In Politica Aristotelis," 438 [III]; Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," 703-7 [VI, Expositio Decalogi, IV]; Melanchthon, "Loci Theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas)," 220-34 [Vom göttlichen Gesetz, Die zehn Gebote, IV]; Melanchthon, "Enarratio Symboli Niceni," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 23, ed. Bretschneider and Bindseil (Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1855), 314-20 [De quarto praecepto]; Melanchthon, "Explicatio Symboli Niceni," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 23, 418-22 [De quarto praecepto]; Melanchthon, "Communis forma agendi gratias pro collatione Magisterii philosophici, praescripta M. Hieronymo Schreiber (1542, 9. Febr.)," 944.

and mediaeval Christian theology<sup>39</sup> which never applied it to the social structure. In fact, some ancient and mediaeval Christian theologians recognised ministers of the church as "spiritual parents"<sup>40</sup> of Christians or interpreted a father to be honoured as the LORD, while a mother to be honoured - as the "holy mother church"<sup>41</sup> which was an example of their undisguised clericalism.

In principle, the ancient<sup>42</sup> and mediaeval<sup>43</sup> Christian interpreters of the third petition tended to treat God's will as something to be imposed or enforced on the world by the visible church and they did not construe institutions of mundane life as God's instruments for carrying out his will. It appears that pre-Reformation Christian thinkers anticipated that the world would be adjusted to some divine norms external to the

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<sup>39</sup> Walafriidus Strabus, "Glossa ordinaria," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 113, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1852), 254 [Exodus 20:12]; Hugo de Sancto Victore, "Institutiones in Decalogum," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 176, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1880), 12-13 [II]; Nicolaus de Lyra, Paul of Burgos and Matthias Döring, *Biblia sacra cum glossis interlineari et ordinaria*, vol. 1 (Lyon: Vincent, 1545), 164r (n. "a") [Exodus 20:12]; Hugo de Sancto Charo, "Liber Exodi," in *Opera omnia in universum Vetus et Novum Testamentum*, vol. 1 (Venice: Pezzana, 1703), 88r-88v (n. "d") [Exodus 20:12].

<sup>40</sup> [Pseudo-]Clemens Romanus, "Constitutiones apostolicae," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Graeca*, vol. 1, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1857), 679-82 [II, XXXIII]; Thomas Aquinas, "In duo praecepta caritatis et in decem legis praecepta expositio," in *Opera omnia*, vol. 16 (Parma: Fiacadori, 1865), 106-8 [De quarto praecepto].

<sup>41</sup> Beda Venerabilis, "Commentarii in Pentateuchum," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 91, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1862), 319 [Exodus 20:12]; Bruno Astensis, "Expositio in Exodum," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 164, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1854), 280 [Exodus 20:12].

<sup>42</sup> Cyprianus Carthaginensis, "Liber de Oratione Dominica," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 4, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1844), 528-31 [XIV-XVII]; Origenes, "Libellus de oratione," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Graeca*, vol. 11, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1857), 499-506 [§ 26]; Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, "Catechesis XXIII: Mystagogica V," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Graeca*, vol. 33, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1857), 1119-20 [XIV]; Augustinus Hipponensis, "De sermone Domini in monte libri II," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 34, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1845), 1278-79 [II, VII, § 21-24]; Augustinus Hipponensis, "Sermo LVI," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 38, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1865), 379-80 [IV, § 7-8].

<sup>43</sup> Rabanus Maurus, "Commentariorum in Matthaicum libri octo ad Haistulphum," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 107, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1864), 818-19 [Matthew 6:10]; Theodoricus Paderbrunnensis, "Commentatio in Orationem Dominicam," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 147, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1879), 336-37 [IV]; Hugo Ambianensis, "De fide catholica et Oratione Dominica," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 192, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1855), 1132-33 [§ 5].

universe. Thus, in their view, the world must be remodelled in order to comply with God's standards, as envisaged by them, in the process of transformation into the Divine which was called ὁμοίωσις θεῶν or θέωσις.

Therefore, the Reformation made a breakthrough in the Christian interpretation of that petition and opened up new horizons in this respect. Luther's exposition of the fourth commandment<sup>44</sup> resembled that of Melanchthon and stressed the social application of the precept which was also mirrored in the catechetical texts<sup>45</sup> produced by Reformation theologians in the first half of the 16th century.

Melanchthon<sup>46</sup> was convinced that God intended to bless humankind both through those, whom he allowed to be in authority, to wit, those, whom he allowed to be at the top of the social ladder, and through those, who were on the bottom rung of the social ladder, because the community must embrace people from all walks of life and from all stations in life who could serve collectively as divine

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<sup>44</sup> Martin Luther, "Instructio pro confessione peccatorum (1518)," in *Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 1 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883), 258 [Decem precepta, IV]; Luther, "Instructio pro confessione peccatorum (1518)," 261 [Decem precepta, Transgressio preceptorum seu praevaricatio, IV]; Luther, "Instructio pro confessione peccatorum (1518)," 263 [Decem precepta, Praeceptorum plenitudo, IV]; Luther, "Decem praecepta Wittenbergensi praedicata populo (1518)," in *Werke*, vol. 1, 447-60 [IV]; Luther, "Von den guten Werken (1520)," in *Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 6 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1888), 250-65 [IV]; Luther, "Eine kurze Form des Vaterunsers (1520)," in *Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 7 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1897), 213 [Gebote, IV]; Luther, "Betbüchlein (1522)," in *Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 10/II (Weimar: Böhlau, 1907), 386 [Gebote, IV]; Luther, "Die erste Reihe der Katechismuspredigten: 4. Praeceptum (20. Mai 1528)," in *Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 30/I (Weimar: Böhlau, 1910), 6-7.

<sup>45</sup> "Kurze Auslegung der Zehn Gebote," in *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*, vol. 1, ed. Cohrs (Berlin: Hofmann, 1900), 238 [IV]; Johann Bader, "Gesprächbüchlein," in *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche*, vol. 1, 275-76 [Das 4. Gebot]; Johann Agricola, "Elementa pietatis congesta," in *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*, vol. 2, ed. Cohrs (Berlin: Hofmann, 1900), 27-30 [Mandatum quartum]; Konrad Sam, "Christliche Unterweisung," in *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*, vol. 3, ed. Cohrs (Berlin: Hofmann, 1901), 119-21 [Gebote, IV, § 105-108]; Otto Braunfels, "Catechesis," in *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche*, vol. 3, 342 [Quartum praeceptum]; Christoph Hegendorfer, "Institutio," in *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche*, vol. 3, 367 [Lex IV].

<sup>46</sup> See the footnote no. 36 in the present paper.

instruments for lending stability to the society. As a matter of fact, Melanchthon observed that without inferiors there would be no superiors and therefore he claimed that both were God's instruments of social harmony. From Melanchthon's perspective, Christians praying "your will be done on earth as it is in heaven" hoped for God's action in the world which would come true through God's institutions of mundane life and through God's representatives in the world. While preaching on the third petition, Melanchthon<sup>47</sup> remarked that believers implored God to "let people find and practise their vocation", "let people be what they were called to be in mundane life", "let different stations in life flourish and prosper".

## VI. Fourth Petition

To understand how the Reformation altered a traditional approach to the fourth petition of the Lord's Prayer, it is necessary to analyse the origin of that petition and the history of its reception. The legacy of ancient Jewish prayers contained a petition "let me eat [my] allotted bread"<sup>48</sup> which was based on Proverbs 30:8. The Septuagint translated this part of Proverbs 30:8 as follows: "[...] grant me whatever is needed and sufficient" (σύνταξόν [...] μοι τὰ δέοντα καὶ τὰ ἀντάρκη).<sup>49</sup> Aquila's version rendered the Hebrew original literally and mentioned "my apportioned bread" (ἄρτον ἀκριβασμῶν μου), while Symmachus' revision stated: "appoint an adequate livelihood for me" (διάταξον

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<sup>47</sup> Melanchthon, "Dominica vocem iucunditatis (Evangelium Ioannis 16)," 836. This iconic exposition was adopted by the Heidelberg Catechism. *The Heidelberg Catechism in German, Latin and English with an Historical Introduction* (New York: Scribner, 1863), 270 [§ 124].

<sup>48</sup> "מסכת ביצה," in תלמוד בבלי, vol. 6 (Warsaw: Orgelbrand, 1860), 16r [No. 16a].

<sup>49</sup> Henry Barclay Swete, ed., *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), 464 [Proverbs 30:8 /LXX 24:31/].

μοι δίαυταν ικανήν).<sup>50</sup> In the Targum<sup>51</sup> this piece of Proverbs 30:8 was translated thus: "Give me and nourish me with the bread which is sufficient for me". In the Jewish context the LORD was depicted as the One who was constantly bringing forth bread from the earth in order to feed his children and this bread extended to all tangible provision indispensable to human life in the world.<sup>52</sup>

Many Christian theologians in antiquity (Tertullian,<sup>53</sup> Origen,<sup>54</sup> Cyprian of Carthage,<sup>55</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem,<sup>56</sup> Ambrose,<sup>57</sup> Maximus the Confessor,<sup>58</sup> John of Damascus<sup>59</sup>) and in the Middle Ages (Walafrid Strabo,<sup>60</sup> Theodoricus Paderbrunnensis,<sup>61</sup> Bruno of Segni,<sup>62</sup> Theophylact of Ohrid,<sup>63</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux,<sup>64</sup> Anselm of Laon,<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Frederick Field, ed., *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt: Sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875), 371 [Proverbs 30:8].

<sup>51</sup> "Targum," in *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, vol. 3, ed. Brian Walton (London: Roycroft, 1656), 390 [Proverbs 30:8].

<sup>52</sup> "סרד עבודת ישראל," סרד קדוש לסעודת שחרית בשבת, 35r [No. 35a].

<sup>53</sup> Tertullianus, "Liber de Oratione," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 1, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1844), 1160-62 [VI].

<sup>54</sup> Origenes, "Libellus de oratione," 505-22 [§ 27].

<sup>55</sup> Cyprianus Carthaginensis, "Liber de Oratione Dominica," 531-34 [XVIII-XXI].

<sup>56</sup> Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus, "Catechesis XXIII: Mystagogica V," 1119-20 [XV].

<sup>57</sup> Ambrosius, "De fide," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 16, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1845), 614 [III, XV, § 127].

<sup>58</sup> Maximus Abbas, "Orationis Dominicae expositio," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Graeca*, vol. 90, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1865), 895-900 [III-IV].

<sup>59</sup> Joannes Damascenus, "De fide orthodoxa," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Graeca*, vol. 94, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1864), 1151-52 [IV, XIII].

<sup>60</sup> Walafridus Strabus, "Glossa ordinaria," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 114, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1879), 101-2 [Matthew 6:11].

<sup>61</sup> Theodoricus Paderbrunnensis, "Commentatio in Orationem Dominicam," 337-38 [V].

<sup>62</sup> Bruno Astensis, "Commentaria in Matthaem," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 165, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1854), 117 [I, XV (Matthew 6:11)].

<sup>63</sup> Theophylactus de Achrida, "Enarratio in Evangelium Matthaiei," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Graeca*, vol. 123, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1864), 205-6 [Matthew 6:11].

<sup>64</sup> Bernardus Claraevallensis, "Expositio in Orationem Dominicam," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 184, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1879), 814 [§ 4].

<sup>65</sup> Anselmus Laudunensis, "Enarrationes in Matthaem," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 162, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1889), 1306-09 [Matthew 6:11].

Nicholas of Lyra,<sup>66</sup> Denis the Carthusian<sup>67</sup>) could not accept that the bread mentioned in the fourth petition might denote bread or the tangible provision but rather they insisted that the bread in question must actually refer to the spiritual bread signifying either God's Word or Jesus (as the bread of life or as present in the Lord's Supper).

The idea, that the bread referred to in the Lord's Prayer could denote tangible sustenance, was opposed by most of the church fathers who, being influenced by ancient Greek philosophy and culture, felt contempt for the corporeal and material dimension of the universe, particularly, of human life. Subsequently, the mediaeval church, which continued to promote the patristic ideal of an escape from the world and from the world's institutions, spiritualised the meaning of the fourth petition further.

Some ancient (Jerome,<sup>68</sup> Chrysostom,<sup>69</sup> Augustine,<sup>70</sup> Cyril of Alexandria<sup>71</sup>) and mediaeval (Bede,<sup>72</sup> Paschasius Radbertus,<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Nicolaus de Lyra, Paul of Burgos and Matthias Döring, *Biblia sacra cum glossis interlineari et ordinaria*, vol. 5 (Lyon: Vincent, 1545), 25r (n. "f") [Matthew 6:11].

<sup>67</sup> Dionysius Carthusianus, "In Evangelium secundum Matthaeum enarratio," in *In quatuor Evangelistas enarrationes* (Cologne: Gennep, 1538), 24v [XIII (Matthew 6:11)].

<sup>68</sup> Hieronymus Stridonensis, "Commentaria in Evangelium S. Matthaei," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 26, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1845), 43 [Matthew 6:11].

<sup>69</sup> Joannes Chrysostomus, "In Matthaeum homilia XIX," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Graeca*, vol. 57, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1862), 279-80 [§ 5 (Matthew 6:11)].

<sup>70</sup> Augustinus Hipponensis, "De sermone Domini in monte libri II," 1279-1281 [II, VII, § 25-27]; Augustinus, "Sermo LVI," 380-81 [VI, § 9-10]; Augustinus, "Sermo LVII," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 38, 389-390 [VII, § 7]; Augustinus, "Sermo LVIII," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 38, 394-95 [IV, § 5]; Augustinus, "Sermo LIX," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 38, 401 [III, § 6]; Augustinus, "Contra duas Epistolas Pelagianorum ad Bonifacium libri IV," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 44, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1865), 628 [IV, IX, § 26]; Augustinus, "De dono perseverantiae liber," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 45, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1865), 998 [IV, § 7].

<sup>71</sup> Cyrillus Alexandrinus, "Commentarius in Lucam," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Graeca*, vol. 72, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1864), 691-94 [Luke 11:3].

<sup>72</sup> Beda Venerabilis, "Expositio in Evangelium Matthaei," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 92, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1862), 32-33 [Matthew 6:11].

<sup>73</sup> Paschasius Radbertus, "Expositio in Matthaeum," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 120, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1852), 290-94 [Matthew 6:11].



Rabanus Maurus,<sup>74</sup> Christian of Stavelot,<sup>75</sup> Euthymios Zigabenos,<sup>76</sup> Peter Abelard,<sup>77</sup> Jocelin of Soissons,<sup>78</sup> Hugh of Amiens,<sup>79</sup> Hugh of Saint-Cher,<sup>80</sup> Bonaventure,<sup>81</sup> Thomas Aquinas<sup>82</sup>) Christian theologians conceded that in the Lord's Prayer the bread might denote both physical sustenance for human body and spiritual sustenance for human soul, giving prominence, preference and precedence to the intangible signification over the tangible one. Despite the fact that a Greek adjective ἐπιούσιος modifying the bread in the Lord's Prayer presented a lexical challenge to some church fathers,<sup>83</sup> it did not determine the ancient and mediaeval interpretation of the bread in the fourth petition for two reasons.

Firstly, the Byzantine lexicon called Suda,<sup>84</sup> which was a repository of the ancient Greek lexicography, elucidated ἐπιούσιος, supplying a perfect definition. Secondly, Codex Amiatinus,<sup>85</sup> one of

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<sup>74</sup> Rabanus Maurus, "Commentariorum in Matthaeum libri octo ad Haistulphum," 819-20 [Matthew 6:11].

<sup>75</sup> Christianus Druthmarus, "Expositio in Evangelium Matthaei," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 106, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1864), 1314 [XII].

<sup>76</sup> Euthymius Zigabenus, "Expositio in Matthaeum," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Graeca*, vol. 129, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1864), 237-38 [Matthew 6:11].

<sup>77</sup> Petrus Abaelardus, "Expositio Orationis Dominicae," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 178, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1855), 614-615 [IV].

<sup>78</sup> Joslenus Suessionensis, "Expositio in Symbolum et in Orationem Dominicam," in *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*, vol. 186, ed. Migne (Paris: Migne, 1854), 1493-94 [De Oratione Dominica, IX (Quarta petitio)].

<sup>79</sup> Hugo Ambianensis, "De fide catholica et Oratione Dominica," 1333 [§ 6].

<sup>80</sup> Hugo de Sancto Charo, "Evangelium secundum Lucam," in *Opera omnia in universum Vetus et Novum Testamentum*, vol. 6 (Venice: Pezzana, 1703), 199r [Luke 11:3].

<sup>81</sup> Bonaventura, "Commentarius in Evangelium S. Lucae," in *Opera omnia*, vol. 7 (Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1895), 280-81 [§ 13-14 (Luke 11:3)]; Bonaventura, "Expositio Orationis Dominicae," in *Opera omnia*, vol. 7, 654 [§ 9 (Matthew 6:11)].

<sup>82</sup> Thomas Aquinas, "Expositio Orationis Dominicae," in *Opera omnia*, vol. 27, ed. Stanislaus Eduard Frette (Paris: Vives, 1875), 191-93 [IV].

<sup>83</sup> Origenes, "Libellus de oratione," 509-10 [§ 27].

<sup>84</sup> Ludolph Küster, ed. and trans., *Suda lexicon: Graece et Latine*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Typis Academicis, 1705), 823 [s. v. πούσιος ἄρτος]: "Ἐπιούσιος ἄρτος. ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἡμῶν ἀμύζων. ἢ ὁ καθημερινός".

<sup>85</sup> Konstantin Tischendorf, ed., *Codex Amiatinus: Novum Testamentum Latine interprete Hieronymo* (Leipzig: Avenarius and Mendelssohn, 1854), 119 [Luke 11:3].

the earliest complete codices of the Vulgate, explicated ἐπιούσιος in Luke 11:3 as "daily" (cotidianus) albeit in Matthew 6:11 ἐπιούσιος was rendered by means of an idiosyncratic Latin adjective "supersubstantialis".<sup>86</sup> Therefore, an accurate meaning of ἐπιούσιος was accessible to both Greek and Latin church fathers.

Explaining the fourth petition, Melanchthon<sup>87</sup> criticised the tendency to interpret the bread in spiritual (i. e. intangible) terms which he attributed to the ancient and mediaeval church. In his opinion, most of the ancient and mediaeval Christian theologians did not allow the bread to be the bread in the Lord's Prayer and thus belittled God's tangible provision which was symbolised by the daily, material bread. Similarly, Melanchthon<sup>88</sup> accused the Radical Reformation of infringing upon the status of the world and of impairing the magnificent instruments established by God to bless human beings and to preserve them as the community.

Melanchthon's interpretation of the bread in the Lord's Prayer was far from being allegorical because he fully acknowledged that the daily bread referred to the physical bread, which was to be devoured, in the same way as one's mother and father mentioned in the fourth commandment denoted one's biological or foster parents. Consequently, Melanchthon enquired who else acted as parents in the community,

<sup>86</sup> Tischendorf, ed., *Codex Amiatinus*, 22 [Matthew 6:11].

<sup>87</sup> Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Secunda eorum aetas)," 541 [De oratione, IV]; Melanchthon, *Loci communes das ist die vornehmsten Artikel Christlicher Lehre*, 290r [Vom Gebet, IV]; Melanchthon, "Loci Theologici Germanice (Tertia eorum aetas)," 575 [Vom Gebet, IV]; Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," 970-71 [XIX (De invocatione Dei seu de precatatione)]; Melanchthon, "Loci theologici (Tertia eorum aetas)," 975-76 [XIX (De invocatione Dei seu de precatatione), IV]; Melanchthon, "Paraphrasis Dominicae Orationis (1526)," 59 [IV]; Melanchthon, "Kurze Auslegung des Vaterunsers (1527)," 76-77 [IV]; Melanchthon, "Kurze Auslegung des Vaterunsers (1547)," 338 [IV]; Melanchthon, "Die zehn Gebote, der Glaube, das Vaterunser (1549)," 368 [Das Vaterunser, IV]; Melanchthon, "Conciones explicantes Evangelium Matthaei," 648-656 [Matthew 6:11]; Melanchthon, "Dominica Sexagesimae (Evangelium Matthaei 13)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 14, 223; Melanchthon, "Dominica VII post Trinitatis (Evangelium Marci 7)," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 14, 333-38.

<sup>88</sup> Melanchthon, "Enarratio Epistolae Prioris ad Timotheum," 1359-61 [1 Timothy 4:4]; Melanchthon, "Dominica vocem iucunditatis (Evangelium Ioannis 16)," 836-47.

which he construed as the extended family, and what kind of provision was meant by the bread with which God supplied his children on a daily basis. Accordingly, Melanchthon reasoned that every relationship of authority, submission, dependence and responsibility occurring in the society stemmed from the relationship between children and parents as defined in the fourth commandment, and he argued that the physical bread evoked in the fourth petition was the picture of God's comprehensive tangible provision for humankind.

To illustrate God's all-embracing coverage and fulfilment of human tangible needs, which the ancient and mediaeval church, for the most part, regarded as unworthy of Christian hope, Melanchthon<sup>89</sup> listed and described different domains in which God's care was lavished upon his creatures in tangible terms. In his view, God was the One who continued to create and to impart his tangible gifts for the benefit of his creatures. From Melanchthon's perspective, all those domains were God's marvellous works serving human race. A long list compiled by Melanchthon included both God's instruments for eliciting his gifts and the divine gifts themselves. This list could be recapitulated and categorised according to domain as follows:

1. life of the individual (all kinds of physical sustenance, whatever is needed by human body, whatever supports and facilitates human life, all sorts of opportunities in life, good health and reputation, various achievements, education as the acquisition of knowledge and skills, pursuit of wisdom, different stations in life, finding one's niche, ability to work and learn, diligence, aspirations, domicile, long and good life, marriage, family)

2. life of the community (peace, education in terms of socialisation, civil authorities, civil service, rule of law, protection by law, law enforcement, social order and tranquillity, civil liberties, integrity of the public service, all kinds of assistance, aid and support, hospitality, courtesy, a sense of courage, innovations, inventions, good communication)

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<sup>89</sup> See the footnote no. 87 in the present paper.

3. economic life (sound and expanding economy, jobs, possessions, rich harvest, fertile land, business transactions<sup>90</sup>).

Given that God created human beings as both corporeal and spiritual beings, Melanchthon<sup>91</sup> avowed that both dimensions of human existence deserved equal reverence and God indeed gave both of them his undivided attention. Furthermore, Melanchthon realised that since humans were created as multifunctional beings, each individual would be engaged simultaneously in different stations in life, serving as a son or a daughter, as a father or a mother, as an employer or an employee, as a policymaker or a commoner etc. Therefore, it is legitimate to define the concept of vocation in Melanchthon's theology as a task, responsibility or relationship to which God called human beings in mundane life and which God invested with profound and imperishable significance underpinning the world as God's perfect design and making the universe God's blueprint meaningful to his creatures.

Denouncing any encroachments on the dignity of the world and humankind as God's creation, the Reformation of the 16th century rediscovered and reinstated a sense of obligation to be engaged in the world cum its phenomena. In fact, ancient Greek philosophy realised that the pursuit of wisdom (φιλοσοφείν) was propelled by human attitude simultaneously enchanted and challenged (θαυμάζειν) by the world.<sup>92</sup> Therefore, the work of the Reformation paid equal attention to the intangible and the tangible not only in principle but also in practice.

For instance, an examination of legal instruments<sup>93</sup> by virtue of which the Reformation ideas were received, enacted and implemented

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<sup>90</sup> Melanchthon, "De contractibus," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 16, 495-96.

<sup>91</sup> See the footnote no. 87 in the present paper.

<sup>92</sup> Plato, "Theaetetus," in *Opera*, vol. 1, ed. John Burnet (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 274-75 [No. 155d]; Aristoteles, "Τὰ μετὰ τὰ φυσικά (Α)," in *Aristoteles Graece ex recensione Immanuelis Bekkeri*, vol. 2, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Berlin: Reimer, 1831), 982 [No. 982/2, 10-20].

<sup>93</sup> *Diplomatarium Islandicum: Íslenzkt fornréfasafn*, vol. 10 (Reykjavík: Félagsprentsmiðju, 1911-1921), 117-328 [§ 95, Ordinanzial].

in Iceland<sup>94</sup> proved that equal emphasis was put on the renewal of religious life and on the education reform.<sup>95</sup> Actually, educational aims defined by the Reformation were comprehensive and they were focused not only on the religious sphere but also on all branches of knowledge and all kinds of skills which might be useful in the life of community and with which human beings could be equipped to serve the neighbour. Thus, within the Reformation framework of the education the constant quest for the truth and the practical application (utility) were inextricably intertwined with one another.<sup>96</sup>

Reformation theology as exemplified by Melanchthon came to the defence of mundane life which was sidelined, disowned or even despised in ancient and mediaeval Christianity. The Reformers of the 16th century were confident that the world's splendour would not fade away because it reflected the glory of its Creator. Luther gradually distanced himself from the interpretation of the fourth petition which was widespread in the ancient and mediaeval church. Commenting

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<sup>94</sup> Due to its isolation, its unilateral cultural dependence and its limited population in the 16th century, Iceland appears to be a representative case.

<sup>95</sup> The Reformation emphasis on the work of education is evident from numerous Protestant school ordinances which, as far as German-speaking territories are concerned, can be found in a series titled *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*. Karl Kehrbach et al., ed., *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica: Schulordnungen, Schulbücher und pädagogische Miscellaneen aus den Landen Deutscher Zunge*, vol. 1-62 (Berlin: Hofmann and Weidmann, 1886-1938). In some Protestant territories, for instances, in Sweden, a special section on the school system was an integral part of all 16th- and 17th-century church orders, indicating that the education reform was indivisible from the religious reform. "Den Svenska Kyrkoordningen (1571)," in *Kyrko-ordningar och förslag dertill före 1686*, vol. 1 (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1872), 156-74 [§ 28-29]; "Nova ordinantia ecclesiastica (1575)," in *Kyrko-ordningar och förslag dertill före 1686*, vol. 1, 346-48 [XIX]; "Förslag till Kyrko-ordning från konung Gustaf II Adolfs regeringstid," in *Kyrko-ordningar och förslag dertill före 1686*, vol. 1, 548-55 [XX, Om scholer]; See also: Reinhold Vormbaum, ed., *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1860). Furthermore, the educational policy of Danzig or Thorn is noteworthy. Valentin Schreck, ed., *Leges officia docentium ac discentium in schola Mariana Dantisci complectentes: Statuta und Satzung vom Amt der Lehrer und Schüler in der Danziger Pfarrschulen zu Sankt Marien* (Danzig: Rhode, 1592). *Leges Gymnasii Gedanensis* (Danzig: Rhetius, 1655). "Leges ac instituta Scholae Thoruniensis," in *Najdawniejsze ustawy Gimnazjum Torunskiego*, ed. Stanislaw Tync (Thorn: Buszczyński, 1925), 20-21.

<sup>96</sup> *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, vol. 10, 261; *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, 283-87.

upon the Lord's Prayer in 1519,<sup>97</sup> 1520,<sup>98</sup> 1522<sup>99</sup> and 1528,<sup>100</sup> Luther asserted that the bread referred both to the spiritual sustenance (identified either as God's Word or as Jesus himself) and to the tangible provision.<sup>101</sup> The iconic interpretation of the bread as a constant provision of whatever human beings would need in tangible terms was commonly adopted in the early Reformation catechisms<sup>102</sup> and in Luther's Small and Large Catechisms (1529).

## VII. Conclusion

What Melancthon accomplished was not of minor importance because he retrieved and vindicated the status of the world as God's creation and of mundane life - as God's perfect design for humankind, while expounding the Lord's Prayer and enunciating the Reformation concept of hope. For Melancthon, a sense of hope eventuating from

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<sup>97</sup> Luther, "Auslegung Deutsch des Vaterunser für die einfältigen Laien (1519)," in *Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 2 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1884), 105-16 [IV]; Luther, "Eine kurze Form das Paternoster zu verstehen und zu beten (1519)," in *Werke*, vol. 6, 15-16 [IV].

<sup>98</sup> Luther, "Eine kurze Form des Vaterunser (1520)," 225-26 [Vaterunser, IV].

<sup>99</sup> Luther, "Betbüchlein (1522)," 401-3 [Vaterunser, IV]. In another exposition of the Lord's Prayer contained in *Betbüchlein* God's provision of tangible gifts for mundane life was brought to the fore. Idem, "Betbüchlein (1522)," 457 [Ein kurzer Begriff des Vaterunders, IV].

<sup>100</sup> Luther, "Die erste Reihe der Katechismuspredigten: Pater noster (Lunae post Exaudi, 25. Mai 1528)," in *Werke*, vol. 30/I, 14-15 [IV].

<sup>101</sup> The twofold signification was also propounded by Reformation theologians such as Petrus Schultz, Otto Braunfels or Johann Zwick. Petrus Schultz, "Ein Büchlein auf Frage und Antwort," in *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche*, vol. 2, 222-23 [Vaterunser, IV, § 137-142]; Braunfels, "Catechesis," 344 [Orationis Dominicae Paraphrasis, IV]. Johann Zwick, "Katechetische Schfiten," in *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche vor Luthers Enchiridion*, vol. 4, ed. Cohrs (Berlin: Hofmann, 1902), 70 [Vaterunser, IV (Die 5. Frage)].

<sup>102</sup> "Kurze Auslegung des Vaterunser," in *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche*, vol. 1, 239-240 [IV]; Agricola, "Elementa pietatis congesta," 41-42 [Precatio quarta]; Agricola, "Hundertdreissig gemeine Fragstücke," in *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche*, vol. 2, 292 [Vaterunser, IV, § 110]; Wolfgang Capito, "De pueris instituendis ecclesiae Argentinensis isagoge," in *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche*, vol. 2, 185 [Pater noster, IV]; Andreas Althamer, "Katechismus," in *Die Evangelischen Katechismusversuche*, vol. 2, 27-28 [Vaterunser, IV, § 55]; Sam, "Christliche Unterweisung," 114-15 [Vaterunser, IV, § 86].

the Christian message appertained both to the tangible and to the intangible, acting as a bridge between the invisible and the visible given that both were complementary dimensions of God's creation. Melanchthon<sup>103</sup> could not condone any assault on the tangible sphere and he disapproved of "those, who were beguiled by the devil, and who peddled a new type of sanctity, leaving the earth and flying away from the bonds of mundane and communal life".

The concept of Gospel defined as the embodiment of the covenant of grace could be viewed as the instrument for empowering human beings to mundane life and for making various stations in life meaningful.<sup>104</sup> Thus, the Gospel might be construed not only as a piece of information but also as a means of transforming and actualising human lives. Therefore, the Gospel could be thought of as restoring human sight and allowing human beings to perceive the universe as God's creation, to embrace the world as God's perfect design endowed with life. Consequently, it is widely assumed that there might be an interface between the concept of creation and the concept of Gospel in the sense that daily life could enable and enrich human experience of Gospel, while the Gospel could engage believers in the service to the neighbour, empower human beings to serve in the world and allow them to take mundane life at face value and to treasure it in its own right.<sup>105</sup> This way, the vertical dimension engendered by Christian faith might be integrated into the horizontal one which is shared by all human beings.

Finally, Melanchthon's sedulous attention to the mundane sphere and to the vocation of human beings as creatures embedded in the life of community resembles accomplishments of his Chinese contemporary,

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<sup>103</sup> Melanchthon, "Enarratio Epistolae Prioris ad Timotheum," 1361 [1 Timothy 4:4].

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Richard Eugene Carter, *A Lutheran Doctrine of Vocation in the Ibdio Context* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1991), passim; Carter, "Uncross Your Legs," *Forum Letter* 46, no. 5 (2017): 4-7.

<sup>105</sup> Melanchthon, "In Politica Aristotelis," 421-22; Melanchthon, "Enarratio Epistolae Prioris ad Timotheum," 1359-61 [1 Timothy 4:4]; Melanchthon, "Propositiones," in *Opera quae supersunt omnia (Corpus Reformatorum)*, vol. 12, ed. Bretschneider (Halle: Schwetschke, 1844), 699 [VII (De perfectione christiana)].

Wang Yangming (王陽明),<sup>106</sup> who developed the Neo-Confucian school of heart-mind (心學) and who stressed the unity of knowledge and action (知行合一) according to which knowledge should initiate action and evolve into action.<sup>107</sup> Thus, to know (知) and to act (行) ought to be interrelated (合一) so that human benevolence towards the neighbour (仁) could be practised and moral cultivation (修身) would be pursued in defiance of any possible isolationism or self-centredness (私欲).

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<sup>106</sup> He was also called 王守仁.

<sup>107</sup> Wang Yangming, "傳習錄," in 王文成全書 (欽定四庫全書薈要), vol. 1 ([Beijing]: [s. n.], [1773-1784]), 5v-10v [I, (5-6)].



## ABSTRACT

The present paper examines the Reformation concept of hope in Melanchthon's exposition of the Lord's Prayer. The 16th-century Reformation changed the concept of hope, which was prevailing in ancient and mediaeval Christianity, and thus paved the way for a new understanding of hope within the framework of emergent Protestant theology. Melanchthon's concept of hope was anchored not only to the intangible but also to the tangible in which God's presence and action were duly recognised and affirmed. Consequently, in Melanchthon's exposition of the Lord's Prayer the concept of hope was not reduced to a mere eschatological or spiritual reference, which was typical of Christian theology practised in antiquity and in the Middle Ages, but rather extended God's operation to the world in its entirety, to human society, corporeality and rationality as well as to mundane life.

## 撮 要

本文研究墨蘭頓 (Melanchthon) 在宗教改革時期，在主禱文裏闡述有關盼望的概念。十六世紀的宗教改革改變了基督教自早期及中世紀有關盼望的概念，因此也在當時冒起的新教神學框架裏，為盼望開闢了一條新的道路。墨蘭頓認為盼望是無形的，但同時也是有形的——能見於神的同在和行動中。因此，在墨蘭頓對主禱文的闡釋中，盼望並沒有被約化為只是一種終末或靈性的參考（典型的早期和中世紀基督教神學），而是更全面地延展了上帝對世界的管理，延展至人類社會、物質存在、理性，以及地上的生活。