A TEXT-BOOK
OF
CHURCH HISTORY.

BY DR. JOHN C. L. GIESELER.

Translated and Edited

By Henry B. Smith,
Professor in the Union Theological Seminary, New York.

VOL. IV.—A.D. 1517-1648.

THE REFORMATION AND ITS RESULTS TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Only three sections of the present volume of Gieseler's Church History have ever before been published in an English translation. These were contained in the Fifth Volume of the Edinburgh edition, and are here given in a revised version, extending to page 122 of this volume. The history of the Reformation, in its general as well as in its religious bearings, was one of the favorite objects of Dr. Gieseler’s indefatigable researches. In no part of his great work is he more thorough; in none is the value of his labors more generally recognized. Dr. Redepenning, the editor of the later volumes, says “that the crown of his labors in church history is found in his exposition of the doctrinal development in the period of the Reformation to the Peace of Westphalia.” Certainly in no part of his work does he add more to the desiderata of our English literature. Neander’s history does not reach to the Reformation; our popular histories of the Reformation do not introduce us to the sources. Though the account of the English and Scotch Reformation is comparatively meagre, yet this can easily be supplied from other accessible works.

The present volume contains the whole history of the Reformation to the Peace of Westphalia. The history of the Roman Catholic Church during the same period will be given in the Fifth Volume, which will also comprise the history of the whole Church from 1648 to the present times, as published by Redepenning from Dr. Gieseler's notes.

Apart from its precise and condensed statement of facts and results, the chief value of this work to the student is perhaps to be
INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

found in its accurate citations from the original authorities. To retain this characteristic even in the translation seemed to be indispensable. But as many of the notes are in German, and as the bulk of the volume would be too much enlarged by giving both the German and a translation, the plan has been adopted of inclosing in brackets a condensed statement of the main points, which may prove sufficient for the general reader.

As to the value of this history, the verdict is unanimous among all German, English, and American scholars, of every ecclesiastical denomination. It is an indispensable help and guide to all interested in such investigations. It is so thorough and exact, that it is itself an authority. It is so impartial, that even when we differ from its judgments it gives us the data by which we may fortify our dissent. And it fosters in every student the love of historic truth and the spirit of Christian charity.

H. B. S.

Union Theological Seminary,

New York, February 25, 1861.
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I. Sources for the History of both Countries: Jo. Sleidan (his family name was Philippson of Sleida in the county of Manderscheid, Professor of Law at Strasbourg, † 1556) De Statu Religionis et Reipublicae, Carolo V. Caesare, Commentarii. Libb. xxvi. Argentor. 1555. fol.¹; best edition, multis annotationibus illustrata a Chr. Car. Am-Ende. Francof. ad M. 1785. P. iii. 8; in French, with notes by P. F. le Courayer, à la Haye. 1767. 3 vol. 4; in German with the notes of Courayer and others, original documents and a preface by J. S. Semler (by F. A. Stroth). Halle, 1771. 4 Bde. 8. [An English translation of this work, by Bohn, was published at London, 1689.]


21. in 12.


Hostile to the Reformation: Jo. Cochlaei (Canon successively at Frankfort, Mayence, Vienna, Breslau, † 1552) Commentaria de Actis-et Scriptis Mart. Lutheri, chronographice ex ordine ab anno Dom. 1517 usque ad annum 1547 inclusive fideliter conscripta. Mogunt. 1549. fol., also Paris, 1565, Colon. 1568. 8.

Original Documents: Val. E. Lüscher vollständige Reformations-Acta und Documenta. 3 tomi (for the years 1517-1519). Leipz. 1720-29. 4.—Documente zur Reformations-historie, in German, in Walch's edition of Luther's Works, Th. 15-17.

RISE OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND. 11


Essai sur l'esprit et l'influence de la Reformation de Luther par Ch. Villers. Paris, 1804 ; translated into German by K. F. Kramer, with a Preface and several Treatises by Henke, 2 Abtheil (2te Aufl. Hamburg, 1828. 8). [Translated into English by S. Miller, 12. Phil. 1833.]

III. Upon the History of the Reformation in Switzerland. Accounts by contemporary writers: (1.) By Reformers: Bernh. Weiss (burgher of Zurich, perished at Cappel, 1531) Kurze Beschreibung der Glaubensanderung im Schweizerlande (in Fussli's Beyträg. iv. 32). Valerius Anshelm (physician and historian of Bern) Berner Chronik bis 1526 (published by Stierlin and Wyss. Bern, 1825-38. 8. 6 Bde.) from volume 5, s. 368 on. Henry Bullinger (Antistes of the Church of Zurich, † 1556) Reformationsgeschichte (to 1532), published by J. J. Hottinger and H. H. Vögel. 3 Bde. Frauenfeld, 1838-40. large 8. (2.) By Catholics: Joh. Salat (clerk of the court at Lucerne) Beschreibung von Anfang u. Ursprung Luther. u. Zwinglischen Secten v. 1516-1535 (extant in manuscript, partitain throughout, and full of calumnies; see Fussli's Beyträg. ii. 81. Schuler as above, s. xxiv. 46). Valentin Tschudi (Pastor in Gralusr, † 1555) Kurze Histor. Beschreibung der im Kriegs- u. Friedenszeiten verloffenen Sachen u. Handeln zu Gralusr u. in einer Eidgenossenschaft, down to 1522, very impartial (in manuscript ; see Egidius Tschudi's Leben u. Schriften von Hl. Fuchs. St. Gallen, 1865. Th. 2. s. 33 ; Schuler as above, s. xxiv. 46). Egidius Tschudi (magistrate at Gralusr, † 1572) Chronik. The part which relates to this period, extant only in manuscript, is a rich collection of original documents (see Bd. Fuchs. u. s. Th. 2. s. 89).

per modum dialogi, ab Osvaldo Myconio congesta, which is printed in the above work.


Melanchthon. Als Praeceptor Germaniae, A. H. Niemeyer, Hal. 1817; Facius, 1882; Galle, Charakteristik Melanchthons, Halle, 2te Aufl. 1845; Matthes, Altenb. 1841; Melanchthon's Leben und Wirken, Altenb. 1841; C. F. Ledderhose, Life of Mel. from Germany, by G. F. Krotel, New York, 1854; Life by Dr. Cox, Lond. 1815, Bost. 1835. Calvin. Beza's Life of C., translated by Gibson, Phil. 1836; Life by Waterman,
§ 1. INTRODUCTION.


Under the superintendence of Prof. Hagenbach there is now in the course of publication a series of volumes on the Lives and Writings of the Founders of the Reformed Church: the first, on Zwingle, is by Christoffel; the second, by Hagenbach, will be on Oecolampadius and Myconius; the others are, Capito and Bucer, by Baum; Calvin, by Stähelin; Bullinger and Leo Jud, by Pestafossi; Beza, by Baum; Peter Martyr, by Schmidt; Olevianus and Ursinus, by Südhoff; Farel, Viret, etc., by other authors.


§ 1. HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY TILL 1524.


The corruption of the Church, and the necessity of a Reformation, had been long felt and strongly urged, though understood and stated with very different degrees of precision. The people were made indignant by the immorality of the clergy, complained of ec-
clesiastical oppression, suspected many a pious deception, and felt the emptiness of what the Church offered them in the name of religion. Princes and bishops saw that their rights were contemned by the Papacy, and that manifold disorders had crept into the Church; and they desired an abolition of these evils by a Reformation in Head and Members. A few persons of deeper penetration saw that the real ground of the corruption was in the perversion of doctrine by means of human ordinances, and hence wished to have the doctrines brought back to their proper Biblical basis.

The Papacy repelled all these various demands, for it feared that every concession would be a confession of past errors, and that its power would thus be undermined. After it had overcome the violent pressure of the secular and ecclesiastical aristocracy, in the fifteenth century, for a reform in head and members, it was able so to turn against each other the different powers that were hostile to itself that they were mutually held in check. But its firmest hold was still upon the common people; for although popular enthusiasm for the Church had long since vanished, and though there was no lack of discontent on many points, yet the masses still quieted their religious needs by the mechanical system of the Church. The Pope was to them not only the centre of the Church, out of which there could be no salvation, but also the highest possessor of all those ecclesiastical rewards and penalties which would be perpetuated in the world to come. Hence, a struggle against the papacy, carried to extremities, still threatened such an arousing of the masses as might well inspire terror even among the strongest.

The time, however, could no longer be distant when the nations would be compelled to free themselves from the insnaring influence of Rome; for the revival of thought and learning, begun with giant strides, must gradually penetrate the popular mind. But here a new danger threatened. Philosophical culture could not be directly diffused among the people; but only its most general and intelligible results. These results, however, without a knowledge of their grounds and reasons, could only generate a spirit disposed to deny every thing, and which would be likely to attack not merely ecclesiastical abuses, but even religious truth itself. In opposition to this negative spirit a fanatical enthusiasm would naturally be
Only a well-timed and genuine reformation, overthrowing error by the quickening influence of truth in the hearts of the people, could at the same time break in pieces the traditional yoke of spiritual bondage and shield from the impending perils. Those elementary principles of morality and religion which are near to every heart, and the contrast between them and the existing ecclesiasticism, must be brought to distinct consciousness among the people; and then enthusiasm for the newly-discovered truth would be kindled at the same time with hostility to the long-endured deception. From the nature of the case such intelligent and quickening influences could make their way to the heart only by degrees. The whole truth, suddenly presented, would have blinded and not enlightened. Accordingly, no Reformation could hope for success which did not begin with opposition to those errors and abuses that could be directly demonstrated to all that have moral and religious feelings, and then advance step by step from truth to truth, so that the people might follow with conviction and enthusiasm. Hence, it would be a great advantage if the Reformer himself had advanced only by slow degrees in his own perception of the truth, so that he might always be in a condition to proclaim all the truth known by himself, without weakening the effect of his enthusiastic influence upon the people, by calculating how much should be given to them. For only enthusiasm can rouse enthusiasm: without this no one could hope to succeed in opposition to the formidable colossus of the Papacy. Only an enthusiastic—

Luther's advice to the elector John during the diet at Spires in April, 1529 (Luther's Letters, by de Wette, iii. 489): "Since such abuses were so insufferably many and great, and were not changed by those who ought in justice to have done it, they began to fall down of themselves everywhere in German lands, and the clergy to be despised on account of them. But when, besides this, unskilful writers tried to defend and retain them, and yet could not bring forward anything righteous, they made the evil so much the worse that the clergy were everywhere held to be unlearned, incapable, and even hurtful people, and their cause and defense derided. This falling down and perishing of abuses was already in full sweep in many parts before Luther's doctrine came; for all the world was so tired of the abuses of the clergy and hostile to them, that it was to be feared that there would be a lamentable perdition in the German land if Luther's doctrine did not come into it, so that the people might be instructed in the faith of Christ and obedience to the authorities. For they would not endure the abuses any longer, and would have a change right off, if the clergy would not yield or stop, so that there should be no resistance. It would have been a disorderly, stormy, and perilous mutation or change (as the Munzer began it) if a steadfast doctrine had not come in between, and without doubt all religion would have fallen to pieces, and Christians become pure Epicureans."
ic, world-despising piety could give adequate courage and strength to the man who was to enkindle such a movement; but clear insight and thorough knowledge would be necessary to guard his enthusiasm from fanaticism, and to give internal steadfastness and permanence to his work.

Martin Luther, born at Eisleben on the 10th of November, 1483, became, in consequence of peculiar providences, a monk in the monastery of the Augustine Eremites at Erfurt (1505). He was early led to Augustinism and the study of the Bible by a profound


Audi'n Life, 2. 8., Paris, translated, Phil. 1841, is a collection of all the calumnies against the Reformer. Biographies of Luther in English, by Bower; J. E. Riddle, Lond. 1837; J. Scott, New York, 1833; Michelet's Life, translated from the French, New York, 1846; Life by Henry Worsley, 2. 8., Lond. 1866–67. Life of Luther by Dr. Sears, Phila. Archdeacon Hare's Defense of Luther against Sir Win. Hamilton, in the Notes to his Mission of the Comforter, and separately, 1855.]

CHAP. I.—GERMAN REFORMATION. § 1. INTRODUCTION.

religious spirit, which could not be satisfied by the mechanical system of the Church. Transferred in 1508 to the Augustine cloister at Wittenberg, he devoted himself, in the newly-founded University (1502), first as bachelor, from 1512 as doctor, with special zeal to promote the study of the Bible. He met with


* Helanchthon continues, p. 11: Eo autem tempore quia reverendus vir Staupicius (John of Staupitz, Provincial of the Augustines, and Professor at Wittenberg), qui ex ordine Academiae Wittenbergensis adverberat, studium theologicum in recenti Academia excitare cupiebat cum ingenio et eruditionem Lutheri considerasset, traductum eum Wittenbercum anno MDVIII, cum jam aere et annum vicecinimum sextum. Hic inter quotidiana exercitias scholae et sermonum magis etiam lucere ejus ingenium coepit. Cumque eum attente audierant viri sapientes, Doctor Martinus Mellerstadianus et ali, saepe dixit Mellerstadianus, tantam esse vim ingeni in hoc viro, ut plane praesagiret, mutatum esse vulgare doctrinae genus, quod tunc in scholis unicum tradebatur. Hic primum Dialecticam et Physicam Aristotelis enarravit: interea tamen suum illud studium legendi-scripta theologica non omissit. On the 17th March, 1509, Luther wrote to John Braun at Eisnaech; see Luther's Letters, collected by de Wette, Th. 1. a. 6: Sum itaque nunc jubente vel permittente Deo Wittenbergae. Quod si statum meus nosse desideres, bene habeo Dei gratia, nisi quod violentum est studium maxime philosophiae, quam ego ab initio libentissime mutarum theologia, ea inquam theologia, quae nucleum nucis et medullam tritici et medullam ossium scrutinat. However, even then he gave himself up to theological studies. He is enrolled under the Rector Nicol. Viridimontanus, ann. 1508, thus: Fr. Martinus Luder de Mansfeld, admissus mox 1509 d. 9 Mart. Baccalaureus tanquam ad Biblia; see Sennerti Athen. Vitemberg. p. 57.

* Luther's oath taking his Doctor's degree is in the Liber Decanorum Facult. theol. Acad. Vitebergenesis, ed. C. E. Forstemann. Lips. 1838. 8. p. 146. Luther's glosses on the alleged Imperial edict of 1561 (Walch's edition of his Works, Thell. xvi. s. 2061): "But I, Doctor Martin, am thereto called and forced, that I must become Doctor without my thanks from pure obedience: then I had to take the Doctor's office, and swear and vow by my best beloved Holy Scripture, to preach and teach it truly and purely. In such teaching the Papacy fell in my way, and would keep me from it; thereupon matters have gone with it as we all see, and shall go on worse and worse, and it shall not be able to resist me." Mathesius, a. 17: "With this regular and public call, made to him by an established University, in the name and by the order of his High Imperial Majesty and of the See of Rome, after the counsel and decree of his preceptors and legal clerical superiors, and by the gracious promotion and authority of his elector and liege lord, and also by his solemn oath which he made to God, to the Holy Scriptures, and to the University of Wittenberg, Luther did often comfort and support himself in great straits and struggles, when the devil and the world would have made him anxious and fearful as to who had commanded him, and how he was to answer for it, that he had started such a commotion in the whole of Christendom. Then, I say, he would recall and comfort himself with his orderly doctorate and public calling and solemn oath, on account of which he had continued on unterrified in his (truly God's) cause in the name of Christ with honor and much acceptance, and with the help of God honestly carried it forward."
great success as a teacher. By him and like-minded fellow-laborers the theological studies of Wittenberg were turned from Aristotle and the schoolmen to Augustine and the Holy Scriptures. Rejecting the whole system of holiness by works, he made the doctrine that man's salvation is only through faith in Christ to be his living centre. Such a practical and scriptural tendency had

At Wittenberg an aversion to scholasticism was avowed from the very first. Thus Martin Polichius of Mellerstadt, who had been active in the foundation of the University, and then lectured there himself, declared the subtilities of the schoolmen to be unprofitable; and, on the other hand, insisted on the importance of philology for theology; on this point he got into a controversy with Wimpina at Leipsic, in 1508: see Löschner's Reformationsacta, t. 87. Melanchthon, in Vita Lutheri, p. 12: Postea (after he was made Doctor) enarrare Epistolam ad Romanos coepit, deinde Psalmo. Haec scripta sic illustravit, ut post longam et obscuram noctem nova doctrina lux oriri videretur omnium piorum et prudentum judicio. Hic monstravit legis et Evangelii discrimen: hic refutavit errorem, qui tunc in scholis et concionibus regnabat, qui docet, mereri homines remissionem peccatorum propriis operibus, et homines coram Deo justi esse disciplina, ut Pharisaee docuerunt. Revocavit igitur Lutherus hominum mentes ad filium Dei, et, ut Baptista, monstravit agnum Dei, qui talit peccata nostra, ostendit gratis propter filium Dei remitti peccata, et quidem oportere id beneficiun fide accipi. Illustravit et caeteras partes doctrinae ecclesiasticae. Characteristic remains of Luther's writings in this period are extant; in two letters to Spalatin, of 1510 and 1514 (de Wette Th. 1. s. 7 and 18), he declares decidedly in favor of Beuchlin against the divines of Cologne. There are also Letters to John Lange, prior of the Augustines at Erfurt, 8th Feb. 1516 (de Wette, i. s. 15): Mitto has literas, mi Pater, ad eximium D. Jodocum Isencccem, plenas — blasphemiarn eum et maledictionum contra Aristotelem, Porphyriam, Sententiariorum, perdita scilicet studia nostror saecului. — Nihil ita ardet animus, quam his trionem illum, qui tam vere graea larva Ecclesiam iusit, multis revelare, ignominiamque ejus cunctis ostendere, si otium esset. Habeo in manibus commentariolos in primum Physicorum, qui fabulam Aristaei denuo agere statui, in meum istum Protes, ilussum varierum ingeniorum, ita ut nisi caro fuisse Aristoteles, vea diabolum eum fusisse non puderet asseree. Pars crucis meas vel maximam est, quod videre cogor, fratum optimam ingenia bonis studis nata in istis coenis vitam agere et operam perdere: nec cessant Universitates bonos libros cremare et damnare, rursus malos dictare, imo somnarc. To George Spenlein, Augustinian at Memmingen, 7th Apr. 1516 (ibid. s. 17): Fer vet nostra sectae tentatio praesumptionis in multis, et ies praezipicte, qui justi et boni esse omnibus viribus studere: ignorantes justitiam Dei, quae in Christo est nobis effussisse et gratia donata, quasut in se ipsas tam diu operari bene, donec habeant fiduciaiam standi coram Deo, velit virtutibus et meritis ornari, quod est impossibile fieri. Fuisti tu apud nos in hac opinione, imo errore, fui et ego: sed et nunc quoque pugno contra ipsum errorem, sed nondum expugnavi. Igitur, mi dulcis frater, discite Christum et hunc crucifixum, discite e constant et de sine desideras dicere eis: "tu, Domine Jesu, es justitia mea, ego autem sum peccatum tuum; tu assumisti meum, et dedisti mihi tuum: assumisti quod non eras, et dedisti mihi quod non eras." Cave ne aliquando ad tantam puritatem aspirare, ut peccator tibivideri nolli, imo esse. Christus enim non nisi in peccatoribus habitat. — Non nisi in illo, per fiduciam desiderationem tuui et operum taurum, pacem invenires. Compare the Sermon against the Opinion and Imagination of the Holiness and Merit of Good Works, and another Sermon upon those Great Sins and Crimes which are the consequence of such an imaginary holiness, preached on the 10th and 11th Sundays after Trinity, 1516, in Walch's Ed. Th. 10, s. 1546 ff. Among the theses—De Viribus et Voluntate Hominis sine Gratia contra doctrinas Sophistarum, which Bartholom. Bernhardi maintained In 1516, Luther presiding at the disputation,
often before existed in the Church in silence and quietness. So

(given best in Löschers Reformationsacta, Th. i. s. 325 ff.) are the following: Homo, Dei gratia exclusa, praecepta ejus servare nequaquam potest, neque se vel de congruo, vel de condigno ad gratiam Dei praeparare, sed necessario sub peccato manet. — Voluntas hominis sine gratia non est libera, sed serva, licet non invita. — Homo, quando facit, quod in se est, peccat, cum nec velle, aut cogitare ex se ipso possit. — Cum justitia fidelium sit in Deo abscondita, peccatum vero eorum manifestum in se ipsis, verum est non nisi justos damnari, atque meretrices et peccatores salvari (viz. as is shown by the explanations which follow, justos h. e. albi nihil imputantes peccati, justos in malis suis damnari; meretrices, vel alii reputantes peccata, in oculis suis meretrices et peccatores, Deo tamen sentientem suam impietatem, atque pro hac remittenda tempore opportuno orantes, in eundem, non se ipso, sperantes, salvari). — Cum credenti omnia sunt possibilis auctore Christo, superstitiosum est, humano arbitrio alii sanctis alia deputari auxilia. With regard to these theses, Luther writes to John Lange, 1516 (de Wette, i. 33), and relates, among other things: Ego sane gravius offendi omnes, quod negavi librum de vera et falsa poenitentia esse b. Augustini (compare vol. ii. p. 511, Note 4). Est enim insulsissimus et ineptissimus, et nihil ab Augustini eruditione et sensu remotus. Quod enim Gratiarum et Magister sententiarum plurima ex illo cepivit, et conscientiarum non medicinam, sed carnificinam confauerint, sciebam. At illos implacabiliter offendi, praecipue Doctorem Carlstadium, quod haec scienae negare audem. He assailed the schoolmen still more openly in the theses in defense of Augustinianism (of the 4th Sept. 1517; see Cyprian, in Tentzel's Bericht vom. Anf. und ersten Fortgange der Reform. s. 279); cf. the Jena edition of his Latin works, i. p. 9; Löschers Reformationsacta, i. s. 539. E. g. I.Dicere, quod Augustinus contra haereticos excessive loquatur, est dicere, Augustinum efubeque mentitum esse. Contra dictum commune (compare above vol. i. p. 827, Note 4). IV. Veritas itaque est, quod homo arbor mala factus, non potest nisi malum velle et facere. V. Falsitas est, quod appetitus liber potest in utrumque oppositum: imo nec liber sed captivus est. Contra communem. VI. Falsitas est, quod voluntas possit se conformare dictamin recto naturaliter. Contra Scotum et Gabrielem (Biell.). XXIX. Optima et infallibilia ad grations praeparatia et unica dispositio est aeterna Dei electio et praedestination. XXX. Ex parte autem hominis nihil nisi indispositio, imo rebellio gratiae gratiam praecessit. XLI. Tota fere Aristotelis ethica pessima gratiae inimica. Contra Scholasticos. XLIII. Error est dicere: sine Aristotelis non fit theologus. Contra dictum commune. XLIV. Imo theologus non fit, nisi id fiat sine Aristotelis. LXII. Dubium est vehemens, an sententia Aristotelis sit apud Latinos. LXXVII. Omne opus legis sine gratia Dei foris apparat bonum, sed intus est peccatum. Contra Scholasticos. In conclusion: In his nihil dicere volumus, nec dixisse nos credimus, quod sit non catholicae Ecclesiae, et catholici doctoribus consentaneum. Thus Luther could not be altogether satisfied with Erasmus. He writes to Spalatin the 19th Oct. 1516 (de Wette, i. 39): Quae me in Erasmo, homine erudissimo, movent, haec sunt, quod in Apostolo interpretando justitiam operum, seu legis, seu propriam (ita enim appellat Apostolus) intelligit ceremoniales illas et figurales observantias: deinde de peccato originali (quo utique admittit) non plane velit Apostolum loqui cap. V. ad Romanos. — Ego sane in hoc dissentire ab Erasmo non dubito, quod Augustinum in scripturis interpretandus tantum posthabeo Hieronymum, quantum ipse Augustinum in omnibus Hieronymus posthabet. Non quod professionis mens studio ad b. Augustinum probandum trahar, qui apud me, antequam in libros ejus incidisset, ne tantillium quidem favoris habuist: sed quod video b. Hieronymum velut sedita opera ad historicos sensus incedere. To John Lange, 1st March, 1517 (de Wette, i. 52): Erasrum nostrum lego, et indies decrescit mihi animus erga eum: placet quidem, quod tam religiosos quam sacerdotes non minus constantem quam erudite arguit et damnat inveretatas hujus et veteronae inscriptae: sed timeo, ne Christum et gratiam Dei non satis promoveat, in qua multo est quam Stapulenses ignorantior: humana praevalent in eo plus quam divina. — Video, quod non ideo quisquam sit Christianus vere sapiens, quia Graecus sit et Hobae-
long as it was not directly assailed in its inmost sanctuary, and could hold fast to an ideal church instead of the real, it also overlooked the defects of the latter, or excused them on the ground of human imperfection. Thus Luther also held fast to the Church, us, quando et b. Hieronymus quinque linguis monoglosson Augustinum non adaequavit, licet Erasmo aliter sit longe visum. Sed alius est judicium ejus, qui arbitrio hominis non nihil tribuit, alius ejus, qui praeter gratiam nihil novit. In contrast with this, he turned to the Mystics. In 1516 he edited the Deutsche Theologie, and says in the preface (Löschers Reformationsacta, i. 800): "This noble little book, poor and unadorned as it is in words and human wisdom, is therefore all the more rich and beyond price in skill and divine wisdom. And, still to boast my old folly, I have not come across a book, next to the Scriptures and St. Austin, from which I have learned and shall learn more about God, Christ, man, and all things. And now I have just found out that it is true that certain very learned theologians among us Wittenbergians talk abusively about it, as though we had got hold of some new thing, just as if there had not been people before us and elsewhere. There have indeed been such, but God's anger on account of our sins has not let us be worthy to see or hear them. For it is clear as day that such matters have not been treated of in the Universities for a long time, and so it has come to pass that God's Word has not only been put under the bench, but well-nigh perished from dust and moths." He held that this work was an extract from Tauler, and accordingly sent it to Spalatin, on the 11th Dec., 1516, with the words (de Wette, i. 46): Sì te delectat purum, solidam, antiquae simillimam theologiam legere, in germanica lingua effusam: sermones Johannis Tauleri, praedicatoriae professionis, tibi comparare potes, cujus totius velut epitomen ecce hic tibi mitto. Neque enim ego vel in latina, vel in nostra lingua theologiam vidi salubriorem vel cum Evangelio consonantiorum. His colleague Carlstadt entirely agreed with him. He, too, brought forward, on the 18th of April, 1417, 152 theses in defense of Augustinianism (see his letter to Spalatin, in Löschers Reformationsacten, i. 846), about which Luther wrote on the 6th May, 1517, to Christ. Scheurl, a jurist at Nuremberg (de Wette, i. 56): Sunt, nisi fallor, haec jam non Ciceronis paradoxa, sed Carolstadii nostri, imo sancti Augustini, Ciceronianis tanto mirabiliora et digniora, quanto Augustinus, imo Christus, Cicerone dignior est. Arguent autem ista paradoxa omnium eorum vel negligentiam, vel ignorantiam, quibuscunque fuerint visa magis paradoxa quam orthodoxa: ne dicam de illis, qui ea potius casodoxa impudenti terneritate judicabant, quoniam nec Augustinum, nec Paulum legunt, aut, intersum legunt, ut non intelligent, seques et alios secum negligent.---Benedictus Deus, qui rursum jubet de tenebris splendescerum lumen!---Luther, too, could write to John Lange, 18th May, 1517 (de Wette, i. 57): Theologia nostra et s. Augustinus prospere procedunt et regnant in nostra Universitale Deo operante: Aristoteles descendit paulatim, inclinatus ad ruinam prope futuram sempiternam: mihi fastidiantur lectiones sententiariae, nec est, ut quis ab aliquibus operare possit, nisi theologiam hanc, id est bibilam, aut s. Augustinum, aliumque ecclesiasticum auctoritatis doctorem valit profitari. 7 Luther's journey to Rome, which he made in 1510, on business relating to his order, is remarkable in this respect (see Bzovius, Ann. 1517, no. 7). Here he met, among the clergy, with the most undisguised infidelity, of which he relates remarkable instances in his work on the Winkelmesse (Walch, xix. 1609); in Mathesius, p. 15. Yet his confidence in the Church was not thereby shaken; see his Appendix to the Commentary on the 117th Psalm (Walch, v. 1646): "I, too, at Rome, was like a dead saint, running through all the churches and crypts, believing all the lies that were told, with all their stench. I also offered one mass or ten of them at Rome, and was, besides, very sorry that my father and mother were still living. For I should have been very glad to have released them from purgatory with my masses and other excellent works and prayers." Later, indeed, this experience was very important to him, and he often said at his ta-
without suspecting the fundamental difference between his point of view and the ecclesiastical; but at the same time his inward religious life and faith became as firm as a rock; and thus he was prepared, counting all outward things as naught, to encounter every danger and every onset in the service of that gracious truth, which he had to know.

At this time the Dominican, John Tetzel, a sub-commissary of the elector Albert of Mayence, began to proclaim the Indulgence issued by the Pope to promote the building of the Church of St. Peter's. This indulgence was prohibited in the Saxon territory,
but Tetzel preached in the border lands, and offered it for sale with unheard-of exaggerations and incredible shamelessness in Jüterbok and Zerbst, near Wittenberg. Luther soon detected, in the

were to work in behalf of the indulgence; fragments of this may be seen in Löschler's Reformatio acten, i. 414. The subjoined sermons, which he gave the parochial clergy as patterns, are examples of his style of preaching, e.g., p. 418: Caplatis literas salvi conductus a vicario Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quibus mediantibus poteritis animam a manibus inimicorum liberare, et ad felicia regna, mediante contritione confessioneque, tutam et securam sine aliqua poena purgatorii perducere. Sciant, quod in his literis impressa et sculpta sunt omnia ministeria Christi passionis ibi extenti. Animadvertant, quod pro quolibet peccato mortali oportet per septem annos post confessionem et contritionem poenitire, vel in hac vita vel purgatorio: quod peccata mortalisa committuntur in die, quod in hebdomada, quod in mense, quod in anno, quod toto tempore vitae? Fere infinita sunt, et infinitam poenam habent subire in ardentibus poenarum purgatorii. Et cum his literis confessionalibus poteritis semel in vita, in omnibus casibus, quatuor exceptis sedi apostolicalae reservatis, habere plenarium omnium poenarum usque ad dieum, deinde toto tempore vitae poteritis, quandocunque vultis confiteri, in casibus Papae non reservatis, etiam habere similem remissionem, et postea in articulo mortis plenarium omnium poenarum et peccatorum indulgentiam, et habere participationem omnium bonorum spiritualium, quae sunt in militante Ecclesia et in membris ejus. Nonne cognoscitis, quod si contingat aliquem ire Romam, vel ad alias periculosas partes, mittant pecunias suas in banco, et ille pro quolibet centum dat quinque aut sex aut decem, ut Romae vel alibi cum literis dicti banci securas habeat: et vos non vultis pro quarta parte forei recipere has literas, quam virtutem non pecunias, sed animam divinam et immortalem tutam et securam ducere ad patriam Paradisi?

11 Luther speaks of this in the Praefatio quoted in note 8, more at length in his work against Hans Wurst, 1541 (Walch's Edition, xvii., 1703): "It came to pass in the year when they wrote 17, that a preaching friar, John Tetzel by name, a boisterous fellow, whom Duke Frederick had formerly saved from being drowned in a sack at Innspruck, for Maximilian had condemned him to be drowned in the Inn (for his great virtue's sake, you may well believe). And Duke Frederick let him be reminded of this when he began to plague us so at Wittenberg; he, too, freely confessed it. This same Tetzel now carried the indulgence about, and sold grace for gold, as dear or cheap as he could, with all his might. At that time I was a preacher just here in the cloister, and a young Doctor right from the forge, glowing and cheerful in the Holy Scriptures. When now much people ran out from Wittenberg to Jüterbok and Zerbst, etc., and I (so true as my Lord Jesus has redeemed me) did not know what this indulgence was, nor did anybody else; then I began to preach gently, that they might do much better—that there was a more sure way of being saved than by the indulgence. I had already preached just so, here at the castle, against the indulgence, and so got poor favor with Duke Frederick; for his charitable foundation here was very dear to him" (it possessed, in fact, a liberal indulgence). "Now, to come to the right causes of the Lutheran teaching, I let every thing go on as it went. In the mean while it came to me that this Tetzel had been preaching abominable and terrible articles, of which I will now mention some, viz.: That he had such grace and power from the Pope, that even if one were to deflower and impregnate the Holy Virgin Mary herself, the mother of God, he could forgive it, if the same would but put in the chest what was meet (see Lutheri Thesee, 75). Item; that the red cross of indulgence, with the Pope's arms, set up in the church, was as powerful as the cross of Christ (Thes. 79). Item; if St. Peter were now here he would not have greater grace or power than he himself had (Thes. 77). Item; he would not change places in heaven with St. Peter; for he had saved more souls with the indulgence than St. Peter with his sermons. Item; when any body put gold into the chest for a soul in purgatory, as soon as the penny fell to the bottom and clinked the soul immediately
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confessional, the pernicious results that ensued; he first preached against the indulgence; then on the 31st of October, 1517, he affixed to the door of the castle church ninety-five theses against this traffic, and sent them to the neighboring bishops with a

goes up to heaven (Thes. 27). Item: the grace of the indulgence was the very grace by which man is reconciled with God (Thes. 33). Item: it was not necessary to have sorrow nor suffering nor penance for sin, if one bought the indulgence or the letters of indulgence (this is to be limited, according to Thes. 35); and he also trafficked for future sins. He drove the whole thing at a horrible rate; all was to be done by money. In his Letter to the Elector of Mayence, 31st Oct., 1517, Luther says that the propositions which he opposes in Theses 33 and 35 are found, word for word, in Tetzel’s printed Instructions (see De Wette, i. 69).

12 Earlier sermons by Luther on the subject, from manuscripts, see in Lösch, i. 729.

petition for the abolishment of the evil. Little acquainted with the worldly part of the church, he thought that to unmask and assail the imposture would be all that was necessary for its abolishment.

etiamsi quis per impossibile Dei genitricem violasset, est insanire. 76. Dictimus contra, quod veniae papaes nec minimum venialium peccatorum tollere possint, quoad culpam. 77. Quod dictur, nec si s. Petrus modo Papa esset; maiores gratias donare possit, est blasphemia in s. Petrum et Papam. 79. Dicimus contra, quod venia epapales nee minimum venialin inpeccatorum tollere possint, quoad culpam. 77. Quod dicitur, nee si s. Petrus modo Papa esset; maiores gratias donare possit, est blasphemia in s. Petrum et Papam.

erectam cruci Christi sequi, blasphemia est. 80. Rationem reddent Episcopi, Curat et theologi, qui tales sermones in populo spargi sinunt. 81. Facit haec licentiosam veniarrum praedicatio, ut nec reverentiam Papae facile sit, etiam doctis viris, redimere a calumniis aut certe argutis quaestionibus laicorum. 82. Scilicet, cur Papa non evacuat purgatorium propter sanctissimam caritatem, et summam animarum necessitatem, ut causam omnium justissimam, si infinitas animas redimit propter pecuniam furthestissimam ad structuram basilicae, ut causam levissimam? (as Abaelard held; see Vol. li. § 84, note 1, p. 515. Compare Summa Astesana. part iii. § 120, note 12, p. 167.)

He here declares that the common division of repentance into contrition, confession, and satisfaction "can hardly, or rather not at all, be found to be grounded in the Holy Scriptures, or in the old sacred Christian teachers;" "that it cannot be proved by any Scripture, that divine justice desires or demands suffering or satisfaction from the sinner, but only his hearty and true repentance and conversion, with the purpose, henceforward, to bear the cross of Christ, and to practice the above-named works (imposed, too, by no one).—Though the Christian Church were to-day to determine and declare that indulgence takes away more than the works of satisfaction, yet it were a thousand times better that no Christian man buy or desire the indulgence, but rather do the works and suffer the pain. — Indulgence is permitted for the sake of imperfect and lazy Christians, who will not exercise themselves boldly in good works, or are unwilling to suffer. For indulgence does not demand of any body to be better, but suffers or permits their imperfection. Hence men should not speak against indulgence; but nobody should speak for it."

Luther against Hans Wurst, u. s.: "Then I wrote a letter with the Propositiones to the bishop of Magdeburg, warned and prayed that he would put a stop to Tetzel and keep such untoward things from being preached, since great disgust might come from them; and that to do so was befitting him as an archbishop. This same letter I can now publish, but no reply was made to me. In like manner I also wrote to the bishop of Brandenburg, as my Ordinarius, in whom I had a very gracious bishop. Thereupon he answered me that I attacked the power of the church, and would make myself trouble; he advised me to let the matter go. I can very well think that both of them thought that the Pope would be much too mighty for such a poor beggar as myself." The Letter to Albert, Archbishop of Mayence and Magdeburg, of Oct. 31, 1517, is in De Wette, i. 67.
Although in his theses he only attacked the Thomist doctrine of indulgences, which had indeed of late become almost universal, and did not go beyond the positions of many of the scholastics; yet the theses at once excited the most marked attention, and roused especially the opposition of the Dominicans; for the spirit of this order had become peculiarly sensitive on account of some recent humiliations, and they now felt themselves injured in the persons of latorum (ita vocat indulgentiarium praedicatorum) immodestiam. Compare above, Vol. ii. § 84, Note 14, p. 520.

16 Luther against Hans Wurst: "Thus my Propositions against Tetzel went forth.—In fourteen days they ran straight through Germany; for all the world was complaining of the indulgence, especially Tetzel's articles. And since all the bishops and doctors kept still and no one would bell the cats (for the heresy-masters of the Preaching Order had driven all the world to terror by their fires, and Tetzel himself had also non-plussed some priests who had resisted his shameless preaching), then Luther began to be proclaimed as a doctor—that at last one had come who would lay hold of the matter. This fame I did not like, for (as I have said) I did not myself know what this indulgence was, and the song might get pitched too high for my voice."

17 Particularly by the fate of Savonarola (Vol. iii. § 153, Note 5, p. 455–9), the events at Bern (ibid. § 145, Note 20, p. 389), and by the still-surviving controversy with Reuchlin (§ 154, Note 26 sq., p. 488). On account of the constant jealousy of the Mendicant Orders against each other, evil-minded or remote persons would be very likely to conjecture that such jealousy was the source of Luther's theses. Thus Jerome Emser, in the work, A Venatione Aegocerotis Assertio, Nov. 1519. 4., in Löcher's Reformationsacten, iii. 707, says: Quid si ipse quoque eudes fam, incipiamque divinare, puerum hunc (the Theses)—alium habuisse patrem: quod nihil scilicet quasæti ex indulgentiis tibi aut tuis etiam accesserit, quod Tecellio ac suis potius, quam que tuae fariæe hominibus negoti um datum sit? Hac enim non vane imaginor, sed suspicior est istius tu mihi ansam praestitisti, qui mihi ubi in Cancellaria Principis Eccichium, Carolo stadiam ac te, semolis arbitra, obsecrassem, ut propter homen Dei abstinenceis a conviciis et parvarum officiis, respondisset, satis theologice, causam hanc neque propter Deum esse coepitam, neque propter Deum finiri oportere. This expression of Luther's, often misused by the Catholics, evidently refers to the Leipsic disputation, as Luther always said that that was occasioned by Eck's desire for fame.—Alphonsus Valdesius also suggests this jealousy of the Order in his letter to Peter Martyr, dd. Brussels, 31st Aug. 1520 (Petri Martyris Epistolae. Amstelod., 1670. p. 380): prosiliit monachus Augustini, cui nomen Martinus Lutherus Saxo, et hujus tragoediae auctor, et Dominici fortasius invidia motus, nonnullus articulos typis excusos emisit, caet. The conjecture was soon repeated as a certainty by Luther's enemies; see Joh. Fabri, Christl. Unterrichtung über etliche Puncten der Visitation, Dresden, 1528. 4., Kap. 2, where, addressing Luther, he says that he had issued these Theses "because thou wast not made a commissioner of the indulgences."—Cochlaus at last, in 1549, makes out of the following story (Vita Lutheri, ann. 1517). The Elector Albert had first wished to employ the Augustinian monks to preach the indulgence, nisi Jo. Tetzelius frater Ordinis Praedicatorum magis idoneus quisbudesam visus fuisse. —Id vero quam aegerrime tulerunt fratres Augustiniani, in primis Joannes Staupitius,—et Martinus Lutherus,—valuit praepit swi gregis sui ariete. —Principi (Frederick the Wise) familiariss insinuavit te Staupitius, insistillans ejus pectori frequentes indulgentiarum abusus, et quaestorium atque commissarium scandala, quod illi per arvatim veniarum et gratiarum pretextum expilarent Germaniam, et quaserent quae sua sunt, non qua Jesu Christi. Lutherus vero ardentioris naturae, magisque injuriarum impatientes, arrecto calamo—scripsit, caet. This was after-
St. Thomas and Tetzel both at once. Tetzel immediately assailed Luther with counter theses, for the defense of which he obtained the degree of doctor at Frankfort on the Oder. Sylvester Prie-ward often repeated by many Catholic authors. On the other hand, Pallavicini, Hist. Conc. Trid. lib. i. c. 3, bears witness that it was not to the Augustines, but to the Minorites, that the vendering of this indulgence was first intrusted; and in harmony with this Fred. Myconius relates, in his History of the Reformation, p. 16 sq., that the Pope had first appointed the Archbishop of Mayence and the guardian of the monastery of bare-footed friars at Mayence, as chief commissioners of the indulgence: "but the guardian and the barefoot Order had no liking for the affair," partly because the indulgence was already held in contempt by the people in consequence of Tetzel's coarse proceedings, partly because the friars thought they had enough to do in begging their own bread. On this account a convention of Franciscans was held at Weimar, where Myconius was then parish priest, to consult upon measures for getting rid of the commission, and the guardian contrived to manage so that the Archbishop of Mayence undertook it alone. Hence it is evident that at that time the traffic in indulgences could not well be an object of rivalry for two monastic orders. At the same time with this falsehood sprung up another, of which Luther makes mention in his letter to Spalatin, 16th Febr., 1518 (de Wette, i. 92): Principis nostri illustissimi esse totum, quod ego ago, tamquam inductus ab eo ad invidiam Archiepiscopi Magdeburgensis; Duke Henry, in his rejoinder to the Elector of Saxony, 1540, repeats this (Walch's edition of Luther's works, xvii. 1623); see, in reply, Luther against Hans Wurst (ibid. 1701 ff.). It is evident that a vulgar feeling of hostility tried very early to hunt up low motives for Luther's cause: one conjectured this, another that; and it was only after some time that the conjecture dared present itself as a certainty. On the other hand, one of Luther's most zealous foes, Laurentius Surius, Carthusian at Cologne, 1578, testifies, in his Comm. Rerum suo Tempore in Orbe gestarum, ad ann. 1517: In ipsis hujus tragediae initii visus est Lutherus etiam plerisque viris gravibus et eruditis non pessimis elo mo- veri, planeque nihil spectare alius, quam Ecclesiae reformationem, cujus quidam de- formes abusus non parum male habebant bonos omnes.

18 There are two Disputationes, one for the degree of licentiate, the other for that of doctor, both were printed as early as 1517, and in fact were composed by Conr. Wim-pina (see Lösch, ii. 8), in Lösch, i. 503 ff. The theory of indulgence laid down in Disp. i. starts from the position that the Satisfactio is a necessary part of repentance. Thes. 5: Hac et satisfactio (cum Deus delictum abaque ultiione non patiatur) per poenam fit, vel aequivalent in acceptione divina: 6. quae vel a Presbyteris imponitur, arbitrio vel canone, vel nonnumquam a justitia divina exiguitur hic vel in purgatorio dissolvenda. 11. Hanc poenam ob peccata contrita et confessae imposat potest Papa per indulgen-tias penitus relaxare, 12. sive haec sit ab eo, vel sacerdotis arbitrio, vel canone imposita, vel etiam justitia divina exigenda; cui contradicere est errare. 13. Sed licet per indul-gentias omnia poena in dispositis remittatur, quae est pro peccatis debita, ut eorum est vindicativa: 14. errat tamen, qui ob id toli putet poenam, quae est medicativa et prae-servativa, cum contra hanc Jubileum non ordinetur. The deep-rooted immorality of the system of penance at this period is unveiled in Thes. 80: minimas contritio, quae potest in fine vitae contingere, 51. sufficient ad peccatorem remissionem, ac poenae aeternae in temporalem mutationem. Here also Tetzel defends many of his obnoxious statements; thus 64: Non esse Christianarum dogma, quod redempturi pro amica confessionialia vel purgandis Jubileum, possint haec facere absque contritione, error: and, 99-101, even the shameless assertion—si quis per impossibile Dei genitricem semper virginem violas-set. Disp. ii. On the power of the Pope, Thes. 3: Docendi sunt Christiani, quod Pope jurisdictiosis auctoritate superior tota universali Ecclesia et Concilio, quodque statutis suis humiliter sit obediendum. 4. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod Papa ea, quae fidei sunt, solus habet determinare, quoque sacrae scripturae sensus ipsae auctoritative, et...
CHAP. I.—GERMAN REFORMATION. § 1. 1518.

rias, magister sancti palatii at Rome, wrote against him with equal violence. 19 Dr. John Eck, vice-chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt, united himself with them, and wrote Obelisci against Luther’s Theses. 20 The matter and the manner of these attacks could not discourage a Luther; they only enkindled in him a noble indignation against the hypocritical lies which were conjured up in defense of the soul-destroying imposture. 21 Just in propor-
tion as he saw that his enemies could only bring against him an exclusive human authority, it also became clear to him that the real source of the corruption was in the intermingling of human opinions with divine truth; and thus he was led to enforce the principle, that only the Holy Scriptures offer a firm foundation to faith, and that the doctrine and state of the Church must be judged by them alone.22  

The Dominicans accused him in

§ 272: Quod autem dixi: sunt utiles, intelligo, non ominibus, imo vederi homini et ster-
tentibus operariis, eo quod melius sit, illis eas remitti poenas, quam ut ferrent invite.
Concl. 50. l. c. indulgentiae est vilissimum bonum omnium bonorum Ecclesiae, nec nisi
vilissimis Ecclesiae donandum, deinde nec meritorium, nec utile, sed plerumque nocen-
tissimum, si non sint timorati. Against the doctrine of the Thesaurus, Concl. 58, e. g.
p. 276: nullus Sanctorum in hac vita sufficienter impetravit mandata Dei, ergo nihil prors-
sus fecerat superabundans, quare nec ad indulgentias aliquid distribuendum relique-
runt. Concl. 26, p. 240: Procedit ejus somnium ex laboriosa ills et inutili arte confestit,
imo desperandi et perdendi operibus, quas hucusque docit sumus arenam numerare, i. e.
singula peccata discutere, colligere, atque ponderare ad faciendam contritionem. Quod
cum fecerimus, fit ut refricemus vel concupiscientias vel odia, præteritorum memoria, et
dum conterimur de præteritis, nove peccamus; aut certe si finit optimá contritio, et tan-
tummodo violenta, tristis, mereque factitias, de met poenarum simulata duntaxat. Sic
enim docemur peccata contiberti, i. e. ad impossibile, vel ad pejus, conari. Cum vera con-
tritio sit incipienda a benignitate et beneficíi Dei, præserint a vulneribus Christi, ut
homo ad sui ingratitudeinum primo veniat ex intuitu divinæ bonitatis, et ex ills in odi-
sui ac amorem benignitatis Dei. Concl. 7, p. 199: Theologi recentiores—Sacramen-
tum poenitentiae sic tractant et docent, ut populus discat, per suas contritiones et satis-
factiones confide, se peccata sua posse delere. Quae vanissima præsumptio nihil aliud
potest efficere, quam cum cum haemorrhoissa Evangelica, consumpta in medicos tota sub-
stantia, pejus et pejus habeant. Fides primo in Christum, gratuina remissionis largi-
torem, docenda erat, et desperatio propriae contritionis et satisfactiones persuadenda, ut
sic fiducia et gaudia cordis de misericordia Christi firmata, tandem hilariter et peccat-
um, et conterentur, et satisfacerent. Concl. 42, p. 268: Si populus docetur propter
poenarum evasionem ofiremure (ad fabricam Ecc. s. Petri),—tunc clarum est, quod
non propter Deum contribuunt, et erti timor poenarum, seu poena idolum eorum, cui sic
sacriçant. Concl. 62, p. 288: Satis cognitum re est Evangelium Dei in multa parte
Ecclesiae: ideo paulo latius de illo dicendum, nihil enim reliquit in mundo Christus præter
solum Evangelium. —Est autem Evangelium secundum Apostolum Rom. I. sermo de filio
Dei incarnato, nobis sine mentis in salutem et pacem donato. Est verbum salutis, ver-
bm gratiae, verbum pacis, verbum salutis, verbum gratiae, verbum solatii, verbum gân-
bis, vox sponae et sponae, verbum bonum, verbum pacis. —Lex vero est verbum perditionis, verbum irae, verbum tristissimæ, verbum doloris, vox judicis et rei, verbum inquietudinis, verbum maledicti. Nam secundum
Apostolum lex est virtus peccati, et lex iram operatur. Est lex mortis. Ex lege enim
nihil habemus, nisi malam conscientiam, inquietum cor, pavidum pectus a facie pecca-
torum nostrorum, quae lex ostendit, nec tollit, nec nos tollere possimus. Sic itaque
captis, ac stritis, omnisque desperatis venit lux Evangelii et dicit: nolite timere:—
ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi, ecce qui solus implet legem pro vobis.—
Hoc suavissimum nuncium cum audierit conscientia peccatrix, reviviscit,—jam nec
mortem—formidat, neque infernum. Ideo qui poenas adhuc imber, nondum audierunt
Christum, nec vocem Evangelii, sed vocem potius Mosis. Ex hoc itaque Evangelio nasci-
tur vera gloria Dei, dum docemur, non nostri operibus, sed gratia misericordiae Dei in
Christo implenam legem et impleri; non operando sed credendo, non Deo aliquid offer-
sendo sed ex Christo Evangelium accipiendo et participando. He denied the secular power
as well as the infallibility of the Pope; see Concl. 80, p. 237: Id ego vehementer admiror,
quismam illum glossam invenerit primum, quod duo gladii significat unum spiritualem
(Non ut Apostolus vocat, scil. gladium Spiritus, verbum Dei), aliun materialem, ut sic
Pontificem utraque potestatem armatum nobis non patrem amabilem, sed quasi tyrannum
formidabilem facient, dum nihil nisi potestatem undique in eo videmus. On the other
hand, he still says, in Concl. 69, p. 229: Auctoritati papali in omnibus cum reverentia
credendum est. Qui enim potestatis resistit, resistit Dei ordinatio. He still believed
in purgatory also, Concl. 15, p. 215: Quae itaque, si ic, ne Pichardus hæreticus (the Bohe-
mian brethren) in me dixit videatur obtinuisse, purgatorium non esse, quia locum ejus
ignotum esse confiteor.—Mibi certissimum est, purgatorium esse. Lörcher, p. 304, is
wrong in thinking that as he wrote he advanced in knowledge, and that in Concl. 18, p.
FOURTH PERIOD.—DIV. I.—A.D. 1517-1648.

Rome. Leo X., who regarded the whole matter as a mere quarrel of monks, did indeed permit Luther to be summoned to respond; but, out of consideration for Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, whom he wished to gain over to his views in the approaching election of a King of Rome, he was easily induced to commission his cardinal legate Cajetan, at Augsburg, to bring the new heretic to submission. However, this legate, before whom Luther made his appearance at Augsburg, in October, 1518, was not able to subdue the humble monk either by kindness or by threats.

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225, he denies purgatory; he only says, that the reasons alleged by its adversaries for the statement, purgatorium non esse merendi locum, disproved all purgatory.—Concl. 89, p. 301: Ecclesiaindigetreformatione, quod non est uni hominis Pontificis, nec mul- torum Cardinalium officium, sicut probavit utrumque novissimum Concilium, sed totius orbis, imo solius Del. Tempus autem hujson reformationis novit solus ille, qui condidit tempora.


26 According to the account of the contemporary Matteo Bandello, Bishop of Agen (Novelle. Luca, 1554 ff. Th. 3, in the preface to the 25th Novelle), Leo at first replied to those who instigated him to more earnest proceedings against Luther, che Fra Martin fosse un bellissimo ingegno, e che coteste erano invide fratesche. On the other hand, so early as Nov. Febr., 1518, he wrote to Gabriel Venetus, when he appointed him to be Promagister Ord. Augustinianorum Erem. (see P. BembiEpistolae Nomine Leonis X. scriptae lib. xvi. no. 18, p. 379): Volo te eam curam suscipere, ut Martinum Lu- therm, tuae societatis sacerdotem, quem acire te existimo in Germania novas res mo- liri, nova dogmata nostris populis tradere, quibus utantur, ab incetno, si potes, revoces auctoritate ea, quam tibi prefectura dat.—Id si celeriter ficeris, non erit puto difficile modo natam flammam extinguere. Parva enim omnia atque surgentia paulum magnos vehemensque imptus non sustinent. Sin differes, et malum vires sumpserit, vereor ne, cum velimus adhibere incendio remedia, non possimus.

27 Reports of the proceedings at Augsburg may be found: 1. In Luther's letters written from Augsburg to Spalatin and Carlstadt, in de Wette, i. 142 ff. 2. More in detail in his letter to the Elector Frederick 19. Nov. ibid. 174. 3. His Acta apud Dom. Lega- tum Apostolicum Thom. Cajetanum Augustae, ann. 1518, in Octobri; usually called Acta Augustana, published in 1518 (as to three different editions of these, see Riederer's Ab- handlung, Stee Stick. s. 362), in T. i. Lat. Jen. fol. 185. 4. There is a longer report of the proceedings of Dr. Martin Luther with Thomas Cajetan (by Spalatin) in the first
Instead thereof, the monk appealed *a Papa non bene informato ad melius informandum*; and afterward, when the whole doctrine of indulgence, as it had been developed up to the present time, was confirmed by a bull from Rome, he issued an appeal from the Pope to a general council (at Wittenberg, 28th Nov., 1518). Sympathy with the bold champion had for a long time manifested itself only in tones of fear and warning: gradually some approving voices now dared to speak with boldness, especially among the humanists, and his colleagues and fellow-citizens at Witten-

part of the Jena edition of Luther's German works, fol. 108, b. ff. There is a collection of all the reports and acts in Luther's works by Walch, xv, 636 ff.


19 Of the 9th Nov. T. i. Jen. f. 203, b.; in Lösch, ii. 493. On the other hand, in Hottinger Hist. Eccl. saec. xvi. T. iii. p. 180, it bears the date Cal. Jan., 1518. Luther is not mentioned in it; it is only directed against the errors which had been spread abroad, *nonnullis Religiosis*, in Germany about the indulgence; that no one may be able in future to pretend—ignorantiam doctrinae Rom. Ecclesiae circa hujusmodi indulgentias—it takes the ground—Romunum Pontificem—potestate clauvium, quorum est aperire tollendo illius in Christifidelibus impedimenta, culpam scil. et poenam pro actualibus peccatis debitam, culpam quidem mediate sacramento poenientiæ, poenam vero temporalem pro actualibus peccatis secundum divinam justitiam debitam mediate ecclesiastica indulgentia, posse pro rationalibus causis concederi-sedem Christifidelibus,—ave in hac vita sint, sive in Purgatorio, indulgentias ex superabundantia meritorum Jesu Christi et Sanktorum, ac tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis—theaurum meritorum Jesu Christi et Sanktorum dispensare, per modum absolutionis indulgentias ipsum conferre, vel per modum suffragii illam transferre consueviisse. Ac propterea omnes tam vivos quam defunctos, qui veraciter omnes indulgentias hujusmodi consecuti fuerint, a tanta temporali poena secundum divinam justitiam pro peccatis suis actualibus debita librar, quanta concessae et acquisitae indulgentiae sequi;aeval.


31 Luther relates, in his commentary on Psalm cxviii. 9 (in Walch, v. 1719): "When I first assailed the indulgence, and all the world opened their eyes and began to imagine that it was done with too high a hand, my prior and sub-prior came to me, alarmed at the loud outcry, and were sore afraid, and prayed me not to bring shame on the Order; for the other Orders, especially the Preachers, were already leaping for joy, that they were not alone in disgrace, but that the Augustines also must now burn and bear reproach. Then I answered, dear Fathers, if this matter is not begun in God's name, it will quickly fall to the ground; but if it is begun in His name, leave it in His hands." Staupitz wrote from Salzburg to Luther, 14th Sept. 1518, when he was summoned to Augsburg (Lösch, ii. 445): quid hodie praeter crucem te maneant non video quiquam. In foribus, ni fallor, est sententia, ne quis inquisito Pontifice scrutetur Scripturas, ad inveniendum se quod utique Christus ut fieret iussit. Paucos habes patronos, et utinam non sint occulti propter metum adversariorum. Placet mihi, ut Vittembergam ad tempus deseras, meque accedas, ut simul vivamus moriamurque.

33 That the humanists were the natural allies of Luther, appears from the epistle of Erasmus to Luther, dd. 30 Maji, 1519, which also illustrates his own peculiar attitude toward the Reformation (Erasmii Epist. T. i. Ep. 427): *Nullo sermone consequi queam, quas tragodiae hic excitartin tu libelli: ne adhuc quidem ex animis istorum revelli potest falsissima suspicio, qua putant tuas lucubrationes meis auxiliis esse scriptas, meque hujus factionis, ut vocant, vexilliferum esse*. Existimabunt quidam sibi datam an-
FOURTH PERIOD.—DIV. I.—A.D. 1517-1648.

In the young Melancthon, who was gained for Wittenberg, qua et bonas literas opprimerent, quas capitaliter oderunt, velut offercturas majestatis theologicae, quam multi pluris faciunt quam Christum.—Habes in Anglia, qui de tuis scripta optime sentiant, et sunt hi maximi. Sunt et hic, quorum est existimis quidam, qui tuis favent. Ego me quod licet integrum servo, quo magis proxim bonis literis reflorescentibus. Et mihi videtur, plus profici civili modestia, quam impetu. Sic Christus orbum in suum ditionem perduxit; sic Paulus judicalem legem abrogavit, omnia trahens ad allegoriam. Magis expedit clamare in eos, qui Pontificum auctoritate abutuntur, quam in ipso Pontificibus: idem de Regibus faciundum censeo. Scholae non tam aspernandae sunt, quam ad studia magis sobria revocanda. De rebus receptibus, quam ut subito possint ex animis revelli, disputandum est argumentis densis et efficacibus potius quam asseverandum. Quorundam virulentas contentiones magis conduct quod contingere quam refellere. Utique cavendum, ne quid arroganter aut factiose loquatur, faciamus ut quid faciamus reflorescentibus. Et mihi videtur, plus profligis civilis, quam impetu. Sic Christus orbem suam ditionem perduxit; sic Paulus judicalem legem abrogavit, omnia trahens ad allegoriam. Magis expedit clamare in eos, qui Pontificum auctoritate abutuntur, quam in ipso Pontificibus: idem de Regibus faciundum censeo. In a letter of the 14th April, 1519, in which he dedicates his Vitae Caesarum to the elector Frederick the Wise, Erasmus also favors Luther in the interests of the humanists; see this letter in full, T. i. Jen. f. 211: Huic tam odioso negotio, praeeritum apud mulierculas et indocum plebeulum, miscuerunt homines callidi trium linguarum, eloquentiae, politoriciae literaturae mentionem, quasi aut Lutherus hic prassilis fideret, aut hic fontibus haereseas nasceretur. Lutherus mihi tam ignotus est, quam cui ignotissimus, et suscipit esse non quem, quasi favere amico. But still, he says, the question embraces theological opinions which had not yet been refuted, and for which he ought not to be pronounced a heretic and persecuted. Si quidquid in Scholis receptum est, oraculum haberi volunt, cur inter se Scholastic dissintiant?—Ad haec non raro dependeruntur damnare in recentium libros, quod in Augustino aut Gersoni non damnum: quasi veritas cum auctore mutetur. Eos, quique favent, sic legunt, ut omnia torquentes, nihilon excusent: quibus infusi sunt, sic legunt, ut nihilon calumniarentur. Caeterum, ut tuae Celsiusindis est, Christianam religionem pietate tuae protegere, ita prudentiae est, non committere, ut quisquam innocens, te justitiae praesides sub praetexta pietatis aliqumor impietati dedatur. Vult idem Leo Pontifex, cui nihil magis est cordi, quam ut tuta sit innocentia. Certae hic video libros illius ab optimis quibusque cupissim legi, quamquam mihi nonnulla vacavit evolvere. Frederick the Wise replied to this on the 14th of May (I. c. f. 212): Non damnari ab eruditis causam Lutheranam, et Doctoris Martini lucturationes ab optimis quibusque istic cupissim legi laetamur. Eoque magis, quod plerisque honorum et eruditorum in nostris quoque regionibus et Principibus, nundum externis, hominis tam vitam et mores, quam eruditionem miro consensu iantant. Quod enim hactenus in Saxonibus nostriis degit, non tam homini, quam causae dedimus. Nihil minus unquam comat, quam ut dignos praemis poena premere. Neque Deo omnipotente juvante committeremus, ut nostra culpa innocens quispiam sus quaerentium impietati dedatur.

32 Carlsstadt was the first to come forward in behalf of Luther; see Note 20. Luther wrote to Jodocus, professor at Erfurt, on the 19th May, 1518, in de Wette, i. 108: Scis ingenia eorum, qui apud nos sunt, puta Carlstadtii, Amsdorfii, D. Hieronymii (Scharf), D. Wolfsangi (Stehlen), utriusque Feldkirchen, denique D. Petri Lupini (Radhemius). At li omnes constantum mecum sentiunt, imo tota Universitas, excepto uno erme Licentiat Sebastiano. Sed et Princeps, et Episcopus ordinarius noster, deinde multe alii Praelati: et quiutquod sunt ingeniosi cives, jam uno ore dicunt, esse prius non novisse nec audirese Christum et Evangelium. The university also interceded for him on the 25th Sept., 1518, on account of his summons to Rome, in two letters, to the Pope and to the Pope's Chamberlain, Charles of Milititz. T. i. Jen. f. 183; in Loscher, ii. 384 ff.
berg in 1518; he found his truest helper in the great work, to which he was destined, without as yet himself suspecting it. By his luminous and edifying works he made the subject of controversy intelligible to a larger circle; by his moral and religious appeals, in the spirit of the Augustinian system, he was able to quicken the sense of inward piety, in opposition to the deadening doctrine of holiness by works; and thus he was constantly gaining the heart of the German people. Indignation against Roman imposture increased; universal attention and sympathy were directed toward the bold champion of the truth.

34 He entered upon his office on the 29th of August with an oration; see Lösch, ii. 387.
35 Luther writes about him, Praef. in T. i. Opp. 1545: Eodem anno jam M. Phil. Melanchthon a Principe Friderico vocatus huc fuerat ad docendas litteras graecas, haud dubie, ut haberem socium laboris in theologia. Nam quid operatus sit Dominus per hoc organum, non in literis tantum, sed in theologia, satistestanture jus operae, etiamsi trascatur Satan et omnes squamae ejus.
36 His Sermon on the Sacrament of Penance is especially remarkable (Nov., 1518); in Walch, x. 1464; in Lösch, ii. 512; Fortschritte, s. 515. "All is at once given in faith, which alone makes the sacraments effect what they signify, and every thing to be true which the priest says; for as thou believest so is it done to thee. Without this faith all absolution, all sacraments are vain; yea, they do more hurt than good."—S. 517: "Ninthly; it follows, besides, that in the sacrament of penance and the forgiveness of sins, a Pope, a bishop, does no more than the humblest priest; yea, where there is no priest, every Christian may do as much, though a woman or a child. For if any Christian can say to thee, God forgive thee thy sins in the name of Christ, etc., and if thou canst but seize the word with a firm faith, as though God spake it to thee, thou art in this faith certainly absolved."—S. 521: "In the sixteenth place; that no one may again accuse me of forbidding good works, I say, with all earnestness, that men should be penitent and sorrowful, should confess and do good works. But this I defend as much as I can, that we hold the faith to be the chief good in the sacrament, and the inheritance whereby we obtain God's grace; and, accordingly, that we are to do much good only for the glory of God and the welfare of our neighbors, and not because we rely upon it as sufficient to pay the debt of sin; for God gives his grace freely and gratis, and so we ought, in return, to serve him freely and gratis."—S. 524: "Accordingly there belong to auricular confession no sins but those which are publicly accounted mortal sins, and which weigh down and alarm the conscience at the time; for if we are to confess all sins we must confess at every instant, because we are never without sin in this life, even our good works are not pure and without sin."—"And even if one does not go to confession at all, it might still be useful for him often to hear of absolution and the work of God, for the sake of the same faith, that he may thus form a habit of believing in the forgiveness of sin."—S. 521: "The priest has enough signs and reasons for absolving, when he sees that absolution is earnestly desired from him."
FOURTH PERIOD.—DIV. I.—A.D. 1517–1648.

The Elector of Saxony was just now of too great importance to the Pope, in a political point of view, to be alienated from him for the sake of an insignificant monk. Leo X. sent to him his chamberlain, Charles of Miltitz, with the golden rose, to win him to his views in the election of the King of Rome, and to come to an understanding on the affair of Luther. Miltitz, upon his arrival in Germany (Dec., 1518), soon saw that nothing could here be effected by force; still less when, after the death of Maximilian I., the 12th Jan., 1519, the Elector of Saxony became Regent of the empire in Northern Germany. He accordingly tried to flatter Luther by kindness, and thus actually obtained, not indeed the desired recantation, but a promise to be silent if his opponents were silent, and an open declaration of obedience to the See of Rome.

Upon Miltitz's proceedings, see Loscher, ii. 552; iii. 6, 92; Walch, xv. 808.

Lutherus ad Jo. Sylvim, dd. 2. Febr., 1519 (de Wette, i. 216): Carolus de Miltitz missus ad Principem nostrum armatus plus 70 apostolicis Brevibus, in hoc scilicet datis, ut me vivum ac vinctum perducet in Hierusalem homicidam illam Romam: sed per viam a Domino prostratus, i.e. multitudine mihi faciendum territus, juxta quod curiosis simine ubique de mei opinione exploraverat, multavit violenter in benevolentiam falcissimae simulatam, agentes mecum multis sane verbis, ut pro honore Ecclesiae Romanae revocarem mea dicta. In the Praef. ad Opp. T. i. 1545, he states, that Miltitz had himself said to him: "Si haberem 25 millia armatorum, non confiderem te posse a me Romam perducil. Exploravi enim per totem iter animos hominum, quid de te sentirent: ecce ubi unum pro Papa stare inveni, tres pro contra Papam stabant."

At a personal interview at Altenburg in the first days of January, 1519, Miltitz and Luther came to an agreement, as the latter reports to the Elector (de Wette, i. 209): "In the first place, that there be a general inhibition laid upon both parties, and that they be both forbidden to preach, write, or act about these matters any further. Secondly, that the said Charles [of Miltitz] will shortly take occasion to write to the holy..."
Under existing circumstances Miltitz thought he might well be satisfied with such a result in this vexatious matter. At Leipsic he so sternly rebuked John Tetzel, the real author of the difficulty, for his shameless proceedings, that he died of chagrin. Luther made the promised declarations, and the whole matter seemed to be at an end.

Dr. Eck started it again. To close in triumph a controversy

Father, the Pope, about all matters, as he has found them; and then see to it that his papal holiness commission some learned bishop, perhaps, to look into the matter and point out the articles which are erroneous, and which I should revoke. And then, when I am taught the error, I should and will recant it willingly, and not weaken the honor and power of the holy Roman Church.” Besides this, Luther had proposed, in a somewhat earlier letter to the Elector (de Wette, i. s. 208): “In the next place, I would write to his holiness the Pope, submit in all humility, confess how I have been too hot and too sharp, yet did not mean to come too near to the holy Roman Church, but to show the reason why I, as a true child of the Church, had opposed the scandalous preaching from which had grown such great scorn, reports, dishonor, and offense among the people against the Roman Church. In the third place, I was willing to publish a paper to warn every one to follow the Roman Church, to be obedient and reverential, and to understand my writings not to the disgrace but to the honor of the holy Roman Church; and also confess that I had brought the truth out with too great zeal, and perhaps unseasonably.” He writes to Christopher Scheurl on the 13th January, at the same time informing him of this agreement (Ibid. s. 212): Ego, quantum in me est, nec timeo nec cupio proteleri causam. Sunt adhuc multa, quae Romanam lernam movere possunt, quae libere premam (not promam), si permittant. Sin Deus non volet, ut permitiat, set voluntas Domini. Miltitz in general demeaned himself rather as a German than as a Roman, and thus gained the confidence of Luther. The Romans afterward complained of him (see Instructio Nuntio data ann. 1536, in Ranke Furstenu. Volkerv. Sud-Europa. iv. 290): id tantum fructus reportavit, quod saepius, perturbatus vino, ea effutitare Pontifici et Romana curia a Saxonibus inducebatur, non modo quae facta erant, sed quae ipsi e malae in nos mentis affectus imaginabantur et optabant; et ea omnia scriptis excipientes postea in conventu Vormatieni nobis publice coram tota Germania exprobatabant.

41 Miltitz had, at the very first, summoned Tetzel to him at Altenburg; but he excused himself in a letter, 31st Dec., 1518 (published by Cyprian in Tentzel’s Bericht v. Anf. d. Reform. i. 374, in Löschier, ii. 567): “Nu solt mich solcher Arbeit und Reiss nicht verdriessen, Ew. Erwird zu willfahren, wenn ich mich one meins Lebens Nachthell durft aus Leipzick begeben. Wann Martinus Luther, Augustiner, hat die Machtigen nicht allein schier in allen deutschn Landen, sondern auch in den Konigreichen zu Behem, Ungarn und Polen also wider mich erregt und bewegt, dass ich nirgent sicher bin.” Miltitz heard more particulars of Tetzel’s impostures and other disgraceful proceedings, and in January, 1519, called him to a strict account for them. (See Miltitz Schreiben an Pfeffinger, in Cyprian, ibid. s. 380; Löschier, iii. 20.) Lutherus, Praef. ad T. i. Opp. 1545: Vocaverat (Miltitius) autem ad se Johannem Tzetelium,—et verbis minisque pontificis lta fregit hominem, hactenus terribilem cunctis, et imperterritum clamatorem, ut inde contabesceret, et tandem aegritudine animi confiscaret. Quem ego, ubi hoc rescivi, ante obitum litteris benignitari scriptis consolatus sum, ac jussi animo bono esse, nec mei memoria memuerat. Sed conscientia et indignationes Papae forte occubuit.

42 He published in February: Unterricht auf ethliche Artikel, so ihm von seinen Abgönern aufgelegt und zugemessen worden (in Löschier, iii. 84; Walch, xv. 842). His letter to the Pope is dated the 3d of March, in de Wette, i. 233.
raised by his Obelisks, this renowned disputant challenged Luther's colleague, Andreas Bodenstein, from his birth-place surnamed "Carlstadt," to a disputation at Leipsic, and also contrived to entangle Luther in it. In this disputation, which lasted from the

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43 See above, Note 20.

44 Upon his former disputation held at Bologna and Vienna, see Riederer's Nachrichten, Bd. 8. s. 47, 178, 283.

45 This Disputation between Eck and Luther had been already concerted at Augsburg, and Luther informs him, 15th Nov., 1518 (de Wette, i. 171), that Carlstadt agreed to it.

46 By 13 Theses, which Eck published in January, 1519 (in Lösch, iii. 210), to which Luther replied in 15 others. Ibid. 212. Compare, Luther to Spalatin, 7th Febr. (de Wette, i. 222): Eccius noster—gloriae edidit schemalum, disputatus contra Carlstadtium Lipsiae post Pascha. Et homo insula obliquitate, suae jam diu in me conceptae invidiae satisfactus, in me et mea ruit scripta, alium nominans concertatorem, alium autem invadens tractatorem. On the 13th of March he apologized to the Elector, saying, that under these circumstances he could not consider his promise to Miltitz to keep silence as binding (de Wette, i. 237). In his 13th Thesis Eck broached an entirely new subject: Romam Ecclesiam nonuisse superiorem aliiis Ecclesiis ante tempora Sylvesteri, negamus. Sed eum, qui sedem beatissimi Petri habuit et idem, successorem Petri et Vicarium Christi generalem semper agnovimus. Luther opposed to this the counter-thesis (as he writes to Spalatin in May, de Wette, i. 261: haec xiiii. propositio mihi est extorta per Eccium: xiii., as in the following letter, should here be read instead of xiiii.): Romanam Ecclesiam esse omnibus aliiis superiorem, probatur ex frigidissimis Rom. Pontificum decretis, intra quadrangentes annos natis, contra quae sunt historiae approbatae mille et centum annorum, textus scripturae divinae, et decretum Nicolaeni Concilii omnium sacratissimi. There are some remarkable declarations of Luther at this period. He writes to Scheurl, 20th Febr. (de Wette, i. 230): Eccius noster, hucusque insaniam suam in me pulchrre dissimulans, tandem manifestavit. Vide, quid sit homo. Sed Deus in medio Deorum: ipse novit, quid ex ea tragodia deducere voluerit. Nec Eccius sibi, nec ego in me hac quiequam serviemus. Dei consilium agimus, videtur. Saepeus dixi, hucusque lusum esse a me; nunc tandem seria in Romanum Pontificem et arrogantium Romanam agentur. To Lange in the same strain, 7th Febr. (ibid. 217). To Spalatin, 5th March (ibid. 286): Nunquam fuit in ano, ut ab Apostolica sede Romanam voluerimus desciscere: denique sum contentus, ut omnium vocetur aut etiam sit Dominus. Quid hoc ad me! qui sciam etiam Turcam honorandum et ferendum potestatis gratia. Quia certum sum, non nasi volente Deo (ut Petrus sit) ullam potestatem consistere: sed hoc ago pro fide mea in Christum, ut verbam ejus non pro libito trahant atque contaminent. Dimittant mihi decreta Romana Evangelium sincerum, et omnia alia rapiant: prorsus nihil movebo. To the same, 13th March (ibid. 289): Verso et decreta Pontificum, pro mea disputatione, et (in aurem tibi loquor) nescio, an Papa sit Antichristi, ipse vel apostolus ejus: adeo misere corruptitur et crucigitor Christus, i. e. veritas, ab eo in decreta. Discurricor mirum in modum, sic illud populum Christi, specie legum et Christiani nominis. Aliquo tempore tibi copiam faciam annotationum meorum in decreta, ut et tu videas, quid sit leges condere postposita Scriptura ex affectu ambitiae tyrannis: ut taceam, quae alia Romana curia Antichristi opera simillima exundat. Nascitur mihi indies magis ac magis subsidium et praeedium pro sacra litaris. One result of these studies was the "Resoluto super Propositiones xiiii. de Potestate Papae," which Luther had already prepared in May, though probably he did not have it printed till after the disputation at Leipsic, in T. i. Jen. fol. 295 b. (in Lösch, iii. 128). In May he wrote to Spalatin (de Wette, i. 260): Multa ego premo, et causa Principis et Universitatis nostrae cohibeo, quae, si alibi essem, evomerem in vastatricem Scripturae et Ecclesiae Romam, mellius Babylonem. Non potest Scripturae et Ecclesiae veritas
27th June to the 16th July, 1519, Carlstadt maintained against Eck the Augustinian doctrine of free-will. Luther was forced into a dispute upon the primacy of the Pope; and, in this connection, Eck having charged him with holding Hussite opinions, he was led to make the declaration, which excited great surprise, that several of Huss's doctrines had been unjustly condemned. Eck was superior to his opponents in controversial skill, and thus seemed to those present to have got the victory. But the correspondence, in which this disputation was continued for some time longer, turned the public judgment again to the side of the Witten-tractari, mi Spalatine, nisi haec belua offendatur. Non ergo speres me quietum ac sal- vum futurum, nisi velia et me penitus theologiam intermittere. Sine ergo amicos putare me insanire. Res ista finem non accipiet (si ex Deo est), nisi sicut Christum discipuli et noti sui, ita et me dereliquant omnes amici mei, et sola sit veritas, quae salvet se dextera sua, non mea, non tua, non ullius hominis: et hanc horam ab initio spectavi. There are contemporary accounts of this in letters from Melancthon to Oecolampadius, Eck to Hochstraten, Joh. Cellarius to Capito, all written in July; from Luther to Spalatin, from Amsdorf to the same, both in August; from Peter Mosellanus to Julius Pflug, in December. From August there is the account of John Rubeus, favorable to Eck. All these are in Löschcr, iii. 215 ff. The Latin minutes, written down during the disputation, form the principal authority; best given in Löschcr, iii. 292 ff.

Acta Disp., hor. 2. d. 5 Jul., in Löschcr, iii. 860: Certum est, inter articulos Johannis Huss vel Bohemorum multitatis esse plane Christianissimos et evangelicos, quos non possit universalis Ecclesia damnare, velut est illis et similis, quod tantum est una Ecclesia universalis. Haece enim agentibus impius adulatoribus inique est damnata. —Deinde illae: non est de necessitate salutis credere Rom. Ecclesiæ esse aliius superiorem. Luther to Spalatin on the 20th July (de Wette, i. 287; Löschcr, iii. 236): Et ita nihil ferme in ista disputatione tractatur est saltem digno praeter propositionem meas decimam tertiam. Interim tamen illæ (Eccius) placat, triumpbat et regnat, sed donec ediderimus nos nostra. Nam quæ male disputatum est, edam resolutiones denuo.

In July, Eck published in reply to Melancthon's report, which was addressed to Oecolampadius, his—Excusatio Eckii ad ea, quae falsa sibi Ph. Melanchthon Grammaticus Wittenb. super Theologica Disputatione Lipsica adscripta (in Löschcr, iii. 591), whereupon Melancthon immediately followed with a Defensio (Ibid. 596). Luther issued in August his Resolutions super Propositionibus suis Lipsae disputationis (T. i. Jen. fol. 279; in Löschcr, iii. 733). Against these Eck drew up an Expurgatio in October, to which Luther replied in November, with an Epistola super Expurgatione Ecciana (T. i. Jen. fol. 358, b.; in Löschcr, iii. 805; de Wette, i. 854). The Franciscans at Juterbok had already drawn 14 propositions from Luther's works as heretical in April, and denounced them to the bishop of Brandenburg (in Löschcr, iii. 115). Eck published these in August with notes; in reply, appeared, in September, Contra malignum Jo. Eckii Judicium super aliquid Articulis a Fratribus quibusdam ei impostito M. Lutheri Defensio (T. i. Jen. fol. 214, b.; in Löschcr, iii. 856). Luther met with great favor among the Bohemians. Two of the utraquist clergy at Prague—Rosdialowin and Paduscha—wrote to him in July letters of congratulation and encouragement (T. i. Jen. fol. 866; in Löschcr, iii. 649), which he received in October (see Luther's letter to Staupitz, 3d Oct., de Wette, i. 341). Rosdialowin writes r. g. quod olim Johannes Huss in Bohemia fuerat, hoc tu Martine es in Saxonia. Quid igitur tibi opus! Vigila et confortare in Domino, deinde cave ab hominibus. Neque animo concidas, si te haereticum, si excommunicatum audies, mem- mor subinde, quid Christus passus, quid Apostoll, quid omnes hodie patiuntur, qui pie volent vivere in Christo. It was probably to the bearer of these letters that Luther gave
bergers, although Eck already pronounced them heretics under the name of Lutherans.

This disputation was the real training school of the Reformer. To prepare himself for it, and to continue it in writing, Luther was obliged to make investigations, into which, with his practical religious tendencies, he would probably not have been led under other circumstances. Here, too, Melancthon now faithfully aided him with his extensive learning and clear penetration. In his writings to be carried to Bohemia (Luther to Spalatin, 15th Oct., de Wette, i. 350). In the mean time Jerome Emser, in a letter, printed in August, to Joh. Zack, administrator of the diocese of Prague, De disputione Lipsicensi quantum ad Boemos obiter defixa est (T. i. Jen. fol. 348; in Löschcr, iii. 669), had tried to rob the Bohemians of their joy, by maintaining that Luther, although he agreed with them in several points, would still have nothing to do with them as schismatics. Luther answered him in Sept., in his Ad Aegocerotem Emserianum (referring to Emser's armorial bearings, which were printed on the title-page of his book, the forepart of a capricorn) M. Lutheri Responsio (T. i. Jen. fol. 350; Löschcr, iii. 668). Emser wrote a reply in November: A venatione Lutherians Aegocerotis Assertio, in Löschcr, iii. 691.


Melancthonis contra J. Eckium Defensio (Aug., 1519). Opp. ed. Bretschneider, i. 113: Puto non temere fieri, sicubi sententiae S. Patres variant, quemandmodum solet, ut judicis Scripturae protransportur; non ipsorum, nempe variantibus judiciis, Scripturae vim patatur. Quandoquidem unus aliusquid et simplex Scripturae sensus est, ut et coelestis veritas simplicissima est, quem collatias Scripturis e filo ductaque orationis licet assequi. In hoc enim jubebam philosophari in Scripturis divinis, ut hominum sentientias decretaque ad ipsas ceu ad Lydium lapidem exigamus. Soon after he drew up these Theses among others (see his letter to Hess of Febr. 1520, l. c. p. 138): Quod Catholicum prater articulos, quos Scriptura probat, non sit necessae alios credere. Deinde conciliorum auctoritatem Scripturae auctoritate vinces. E quibus sit, citra haeresis crimen non credi Transubstantiationem aut Characterem aut similia. And in his letter to Hess he adds: Neque ad Transubstantiationem tantum aut Characterem, sed ad omnia eis generis, quibus vulgo divini juris titulus praestituir, pertinebat axioina.—Videbam,—passim.
this way Luther gained so thorough an insight into the errors and corruption of the Roman Church that he gradually began to see

humanis decetis auctoritati sacrarum literarum derogari, neque conferri modo, sed et anterferri humana divinis: articulos fidel dici jam non modo, quae SS. Patrum concilii decreta sunt, aut Pontifices sanxerunt, sed et quidquid Thomas, quidquid Scotos arguantur, et in ilis non modo incerta multa pro certis defendi, sed et male Christiana pro piis tradi.

Contra malignum Jo. Eckii Judicium Lutheri Defensio (in Sept., 1519) IV. (in Lösch, iii. 877) : Dictum est, canones hodie et reservationes sacram prorsus nihil esse, nisi laqueos ac raritatem, non suo vito, sed Romanensium tyrannorum. Impudentissima enim avaritia est Romanae Curiae: si deredes pecuniam, canones et omnia venalia habeas. V. et VI. (p. 879): Consilia evangelica non sunt supra, sed infra praepcepta, h. e. consilia sunt quasdam vias et compendia facilitis et felicis implendi mandata Dei.—Facilius enim continet, qui viduus aut virgo est, separatvs a sexu, quam copulatum cum sexu, qui concupiscetites aliqum cedit. VII. (p. 880): Confessio illa, quae nunc agitur occulte in aurem, nullo potest divino probari, nec ita fiebat primitus, sed publica illa, quam Christus Matth. 18 docet.—Non tamen damno istam occultam, nisi quod doleo, ipsam esse in carnisincarnam quandam redactam, ut cogantur homines confiteri, et scrupulos facere de ipsis, in quibus nullum est peccatum, aut veniale tantum.—Non est in Ecclesia negotium, quod acque ut istud confessionis et poenitentiae indigent reformatione. Nam hic omnes leges, quae sunt, et infinita non omnium clarorarum et totius Ecclesiae grassantur pleno impetu, quod Pontifes pacem curant, et sophisti animarum tortoribus relinquunt. VIII. (p. 881) : Neque enim Romana Curia alia re magis nocuit Ecclesiae Christi, quam multitudine et varietae legum suarum, quae mihi videntur esse novissima et omnia maxima persecutio, ut in qua irretitae conscientiae perant irreprehendibiliter, ut turpisissimum quaestum sileam, qui legibus iis similitur. XV. (p. 887) : Valde vellem scire, ex quo loco Scripturae tradita sit potestas Papae Sanctos canonizandi? Deinde, quae necessitas Sanctos canonizandi? Tandem, quae utilitas Sanctos canoniendi? Sermon on the Venerable Sacrament of the holy and true Body of Christ, printed at the end of November; in Lösch, iii. 902; Walch, xix. 529: "But it seems to me to be good, that the Church should again ordain, in a general council, that [the sacrament of the Lord's Supper] be given to all men in both forms, as it is to the priests. Not because one form is not enough, if so be there is enough desire for it in the way of faith alone; but because it is fitting and seemly that the shape and form or sign of the sacrament be not cut up into pieces, but given wholly; just as I have said about baptism, that it is more suitable to dip into the water than to pour it on, on account of the wholeness and completeness of the sign. Besides, this sacrament signifies a whole purification, an undivided fellowship of the saints (as we shall hear), which is illy and inaptly signified by a piece or part of the sacrament. And then, too, there is not so great danger about the cup, as is thought, because the people seldom go to this sacrament, and specially because Christ, who well knew all future dangers, did yet institute both forms for the use of all his Christians." On account of this passage Duke George complained to the Elector about Luther, that he taught just like a Hussite, and had fellowship with the Hussites; dd. 27th Dec., 1519; in Lösch, iii. 920. The bishop of Misnia, by a precept of the 24th Jan., 1520, prohibited this Sermon, and charged his clergy to defend the usage of the Church (T. i. Jen. fol. 460 b). Against this Luther wrote, in February, Antwort auf den Zeddel, so unter des Officialis zu Stolpen Siegel ausgegangen (Walch, xix. 564), and toward the end of the year 1520 published an enlarged Latin edition: Ad Schedulam Inhibitionis sub Nomine Episcopi Misnensis editam super Sermones de Sacramento Eucharistiae D. Mart. Lutheri Responsio (T. i. Jen. fol. 460). Meanwhile Luther was going astray about Purgatory, also; see his letter to Spalatin of the 7th Nov., 1519 (de Wette, l. 867) : Breviter, quamquam ego scio, purgatorium esse apud nos, necio tamen, si apud omnes Christianos sit. Hoc certum est, neminem esse haereticum, qui non credit esse purgatorium, nec est articulus
the necessity of separating himself from it. He felt himself called as a soldier of God to fight against the wiles and deceit of the devil, by which the Church was corrupted. With this position, which he intrepidly maintained, he gained that unconquerable courage, that rock-like trust, and that joyful confidence, with which, henceforth, he steadfastly pursued his aim through every danger.

After Charles V. had been elected Emperor by the influence of Frederick the Wise, contrary to the Pope’s wish (28th June, 1519), the Curia had nothing to restrain it from proceeding in Luther’s case. Accordingly, when Eck went to Rome in 1520, to act there with the help of the Dominicans, Luther might with certainty expect a bull of excommunication. Yet Frederick the Wise, supported also by the opinion of Erasmus, was still determined to

At first he deceived himself on this point, by making a distinction between the Roman Church and the Roman Curia; compare his Letter of Dedication to Radhemius, in Carlstadt, prefixed to the Comm. in Ep. ad Galatas, Sept., 1519 (T. i. Jen. 369, in de Wette, i. 333): Quare et ego horum theologorum laicorum (Principum Germaniae) ex exemplo pulcherrimolongissime, latissime, profundissime, distinguendo inter Romanam Ecclesiam et Romanam Curiam. Illam sciopurissimum esse thalamum Christi, mater Ecclesiarum, dominam mundi, sed spiritu, i.e. vitiorum, non rerum mundi, sponsum Christi, filiam Dei, filiam Dei, terrae inferni.—Haec vero ex fructibus suis cognoscitur. Non quod magni faciendum sit, res nostras et jura diripi, cum firmum sit in coelo, Christianos in hac vita pressuram, Nimbros et robustos venatores pati:—sed quod omnibus lacrymis sit miseria major, haec a fratribus et patribus in fratres et filios fieri,—quae a Turca vix fierent.—Nullo modo ergo Romanae Ecclesiae resieter licet: at Romanae Curiae longe majore pietate resisterent Reges, Principes et quicumque possent, quam ipsis Turcis.

Luther to the Christian Nobles of the German nation, 1520 (Walch, x. 298): “We must be sure that in this matter we are not dealing with men but with the princes of hell, who may indeed fill the world with war and bloodshed, but who can not in this way be overcome. We must lay hold of the matter, renouncing physical force, with humble trust in God, and with earnest prayer seek help of God, and keep before our eyes nothing but the calamities and needs of suffering Christendom.—Wherever men have not acted in the fear of God, and with humility, the Popes and Romans have been able, with the devil’s help, to entangle kings with each other; and this they may now do again, if we go on without God’s help in our own strength and skill.”

Compare note 32, above. Erasmus wrote from Louvain, 1st Nov., 1519, to Albert, Elector of Mayence, a letter, ubi, as Luther expresses himself to John Lange, 16th Jan., 1520 (de Wette, i. 396), egregie me tutatur, ita tamen ut nihil minus quam me tutari videatur, sicut solet pro dexterritate sua. This letter was soon after published, much to
protect the most honored teacher of his new university against
the chagrin of Erasmus, undoubtedly by Ulrich of Hutten, who
then lived at the court of Mayence; it is in the Leyden edition of the
Opera Erasmi, T. iii. T. i. p. 515. He
describes in strong features the corruptions of the Church, and
then proceeds: Haec, opinor, moverunt animum Lutheri, ut primum auderet se quorumdam intolerabilis impu-
dentiae opponere. Quid enim aliud suspicer de eo, qui nec honores ambit, nec pecuni-
am cupit? De articulis, quos objiciunt Lutheri, in praesentia non disputo, tantum de
modo et occasione disputo. Ausus est Lutherus de indulgentiis dubitare, sed de quibus
alii prius nimis impudenter asseveraverant:—ausus est immoderatus loqui de potestate
Romani Pontificis, sed de qua isti nimis immoderate prius scripserant:—ausus est Tho-
mae decreta contemnere, sed quae Dominicani pene praeferunt Evangelii: ausus est in
materia confessionis scrupulos aliusque discutere, sed in qua monachi sine fine illaqueant
hominum conscientias; ausus est ex parte negligere scholastica decreta, sed quibus illi
nimium tribuunt, et in quibus ipsi nihilominus inter se dissentiant, postremo quae sub-
inde mutant, pro veteribus rescissius indentes nova. Discruciabat hoc pias mentes, 
cum audirent in scholis ferre nullum sermonem de doctrina evangelica; sacrus illos ab
Ecclesia jam olim probatos auctores haberi pro antiquatis; immo in sacra concionibus
minimum audiri de Christo; de potestate Pontificis, de opinibus recentium fero om-
nia; totem orationem jam palam questum, adulationem, ambitionem, ac fucum prae
se ferre. His imputandum opinor, etiamsi quae intemperantius scripsit Lutherus. He
then speaks earnestly against the propensity of theologians to denounce right off as
heresy whatever is peculiar.

Compare the Chronicon Citicense of the contemporary Paulus Langus, Benedictine
in the monastery of Bosau, in Pistorii Scriptt. Rerum Germanic. i. 188: Witebergae
anno quo haec scribo dominicae incarnationis 1520 ob florentissimum ac famatissimum
theologiae et omnignae sapientiae studium feruntur mille quingentis studentes ex-
istere, fama eruditisissimorum virorum Martini Lutheri Augustinensis, et Andreas Caro-
lostadi Archidiaconi, necnon Philippi Melanchthonis rhetoris, sacraque theosophiae
Baccalaurei, graece et latina peritissimi, alfect et adunati. Et memorati quidem integ-
gerrimi, doctissimique duo illi hierophantes, Martinus ut luminare majus, Andreas ut
luminare minus hujus Academiae, theologiae studium et divini verbi triticum absque
omni palearum i. o. secularis philosophiae syllogismorum use mixtura purissime tractant,
et edocent sacram scripturam, et potissimum Christi Evangelium, Paulum Apostolum
habent pro archetypo et fundamento, cum ipso literarum studio timorem Dei, et cun-
tarum virtutum semina verbo, exemplo, et calumia in discipulorum pectora spargentes.
Neque enim in hac almnia sapientiae palstra fauit illus Peripateticon princeps
Aristoteles, vel impius Porphyrius, aut certe illo blasphemos Averroes, et similis ortho-
doxae fidei spretore et irrisores cathedram ullam habent vel audientiam. Frederick
the Wise replied to Valentine v. Teutleben at Rome, who had written to him of the un-
favorable opinion there prevailing about him, on the 1st of April, 1520 (T. ii. Jen. fol.
256), that he would not decide about the truth of the Lutheran doctrines, but that Lu-
ther had offered to give account of himself, and to receive instruction. Adfirmant mul-
ti, D. Mart. Lutherum—invitum ad has controversiae de Papatu descendissent, videlicet
eo pertractum a D. Eckio. Et cum nunc Germania florat ingenii, et multis doctrina
et sapientia praestantibus viris,—cumque etiam nunc vulgo Laiic sapere incipiant, et
studio cognoscendae Scripturae teneantur: multi judicant valde metuendum esse, si
neglectis aequisimis conditionibus a D. Lutheri obtliis, sine legitima cognitione, tan-
tum ecclesiasticae censurae fieratur, ne haes contentiones et certamina multo magis ex-
asperentur, ut postea non ita facile ad oium et compositiones res deduci possit. Nam
Lutheri doctrina ita jam passim in plurinorum animis in Germania et aliis insula radices
eyit, ut si non veris ac firmis argumentis et perspicuus testimonia Scripturae revincatur,
sed solo ecclesiasticae potestatis terrae ad eum opprimendum procedatur, non videatur
res sic abitura, quin in Germania acerrimas offensiones et horribiles ac exitialia tumultus
excitaturas sit, unde nec ad sanctissimum dominum Pontificem, nec alius quidquam
utilitatis redire poterit.
unjust violence. But Luther had already found very decided friends in other parts of his German fatherland; several knights offered him refuge, and protection against persecution. Thus he was put in possession of external facilities for publishing his present convictions about the state of the Church, and its relation to Christian truth. This he did, fearless of consequences, in the work *An den Christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des Christlichen Standes Besserung* (June, 1520), with particular refer-

58 Jo. Botzhemus Abatemius, doctor and canon at Constance, wrote to Luther, 3d March, 1520 (Joh. v. Botzheim und s. Freunde, von K. Walchener. Schaffhausen, 1886, s. 107): Postquam orbi, aut saltem potiori orbis parti, b. e. bonis et vere Christianis amicus factus es, meus quoque amicus eris, velis, nolis. Quae scribis, ita mihi proban-
tur, ut nulla prouinde re gaudeam, ac fato meo propicio, quo factum, ut hoc tempore vi-
verem, quo non humanae solum literae, sed et divinae prudentiae nitorem recuperant, caet. Caspar Hedio, praeacher at Basle, 23d June, 1520 (Kappen's Nachlese, ii. 439): Video, doctrinam tuam ex Deo esset, carissime vir, dissolvinon potest, indies efficacior, quotidiemulte lucrifacit Christo, abducita vitiis, asserit veram epietati.—Libellis ver-
naculis plurimum prodes, hisce enim vultu judicium formatur, quod certe sequax est et tractabile, agnoscit facum, cupid admoerner, intelliget beneficium, quae est gratitudinis pars. Cessandum ergo non est, a σώρηρε, sed totis viribus conandum, ut jugum Christi facile et commodum nobis redate. Tu dux esto, nos indivisui milities eumas, si modo nostra opera quippiam possit professe, sive in concionibus publicis, quibus praeclare jam, enarrans Evangelium Matthaei, sive in privatibus colloquiis civium Basiliensium, denique in literis amicorum. In June, 1520, Hutter, too, broke off his feudal dependence upon the elector Albert, by which he had hitherto been barred from declaring himself openly for Luther. He now urged him on with fiery letters (the first letter of the 4th June, 1520, in Hutter's Werke, von Münch, iii. 575), issued several works in defense of Luther, and to make Rome odious, and began from this time forth to publish German works in this spirit, to work upon the people; these were in part translations of his own Latin works (these last are collected in Münch's edition, Th. 5). Ranke's deutsche Geschi. im Zeitalter d. Ref. i. 415. However, Hutter's violent views did not suit Luther. He wrote to Spalatin, sending at the same time Hutter's letters and works, 16th Jan., 1521 (de Wette, i. 548): Quid Huttenuen petat, vides. Nollem vi et caede pro Evangelio certari: ita scripsit ad hominem. Verbo victus est mundus, verbo servata est Ecclesia, etiam verbo reparation.
CHAP. I.—GERMAN REFORMATION. § 1. 1520.

ence to the external constitution of the Church. In October, serenue and most gracious dear Lords! It is not from mere forwardness and presumption that such a poor man as myself undertakes to address your high dignities; the distress and oppression that weigh upon all classes of Christendom, especially Germany, have moved not only me, but every man, oftentimes to cry aloud and implore help, and now also force me to cry out and call, if so be God will give to any one the spirit to reach out his hand to the suffering nation. By Councils some remedy has often been attempted; but these have been dexterously thwarted by the craft of certain men, and have been growing worse and worse, which knavery and wickedness I now mean, God helping me, to bring to light, so that, being known, there can no longer be such hindrance and scandal. God has now given to us a ruler of young and noble blood, so that many hearts are aroused to great and good hopes. Therewith it is seemly that we do our part also, and wisely use the time and grace. Then, after a warning to begin the work, not in reliance upon our own power or reason, but only with humble trust in God, he proceeds: "The Romanists, with great dexterity, have drawn around them three walls, with which they have hitherto protected themselves so that no one could possibly reform them, and thus the whole of Christendom is grievously prostrate. First, when pressed with the secular power, they have taken the position and declared that the secular authority has no right over them, but that, on the contrary, the spiritual is above the secular. Second, when pressed with the secular power, they have taken the position and declared that the secular authority has no right over them, but that, on the contrary, the spiritual is above the secular. Thirdly, when any one would rebuke them with the Holy Scripture, they have feigned that no one but the Pope can call a Council." Against the First Wall: the distinction between the spiritual and secular order is naught: "for all Christians are truly of the spiritual order, and there is among them no difference but that of office alone, as Paul says, 1 Cor. xii., that we are all together one body, yet every member has his own work, so that he may serve the others.—By baptism we are all together consecrated to be priests, as St. Peter, 1 Pet. ii., says.—Hence the bishop's consecration is nothing more than this, that out of a number, who all have like power, he takes one in the place and person of the whole community, and commands him to administer this power for the rest.—In like manner, those who are now called spiritual have no further nor worthier distinction from other Christians, excepting that they have to do with the Word of God and the Sacrament, that is their work and office. So, too, the secular authority has the sword and the rod in its hand, to punish the evil and to defend the righteous. It ought to carry out its office, free and unhindered, through the whole body of Christendom, without regard to anyone, let it strike Pope, bishops, priests, monks, nuns, or whatever they be." Against the Second Wall: "Christ says, John vi., that all Christians shall be taught of God. Thus it may come to pass that the Pope and his followers are evil, and not true Christians, and not taught of God so as to have right understanding; on the other hand, some humble man may have the right understanding; why should he not then be followed? Has not the Pope often erred? Who can help Christendom when the Pope errs, if we may not believe in one who has the Scripture on his side more than in him?"—"The Third Wall will fall down of itself when these first two fall. For where the Pope acts against Scripture we are bound to stand by the Scripture, to punish and compel him, after the word of Christ, Matth. xviii.: if thy brother sin against thee, tell it to the Church.—If I ought, then, to accuse him before the Church, I must bring the Church together.—Even that most famous Council of Nice was neither called nor confirmed by the Bishop of Rome, but by the Emperor Constantine; and after him many other emperors have done the very same thing, and yet these have been most Christian Councils.—Therefore, when necessity demands it, and the Pope is offensive to Christendom, whoever can first do it is bound, as a true member of the whole body, to see to it, that there be a truly free Council; and nobody can do this so well as the secular sword. —What is to be discussed in the Councils.—In the first place, it is detestable and terrible to see, how the highest personage in Christendom, who boasts that he is Christ's Vicar and St. Peter's successor, lives in such worldly pomp that no king, no emperor, can in
FOURTH PERIOD.—DIV. I.—A.D. 1517-1648.

this come up with him and be like him.—In the second place, of what use to Christendom are those folks who are called cardinals? This I will say to thee, Italy and Germany have many rich cloisters, foundations, fiefs, and parishes; these could not have been brought under Rome without making cardinals, and giving to them bishoprics, cloisters, and prelacies; and thus the service of God has been prostrated.—But I advise that fewer cardinals be made, or that the Pope support them from his own possessions; twelve would be more than enough, and each one of them should have an annual income of a thousand guilders.—In the third place, if the one-hundredth part of the Pope's court were allowed to remain, and ninety-nine parts were abolished, it would still be large enough to give answer in matters of the faith.

After a picture of the manifold oppressions of the Church by the Pope there follows advice for the reformation of the state Christianity. 1. That every prince, noble, and city, forbid anew their own subjects to pay annates to Rome, and even abolish them. 2. Since the Pope, with his Roman practices, commendams, adjutoria, reservations, gratiae expectativae, pope's money, incorporation, union, pensions, pall, chancery-rules, and such devices, draws to himself all German foundations without authority or right, and grants or sells them to strangers at Rome, who do nothing for them in Germany, and thus robs the ordinaries of their due, and makes the bishops ciphers and puppets; therefore the Christian nobles ought to resist him, as the common enemy and destroyer of Christendom, and restore to the ordinaries their rights and office.—3. That an imperial decree be issued, that no bishop's pall, or confirmation of any other dignity be brought from Rome; but that the order of the most holy and most famous Council of Nice be again established, in which it is determined that a bishop shall be instituted by the two bishops nearest to him, or by the archbishop. Still, that the Pope may not complain that he is robbed of his supremacy, it should be decreed, that where the primates or archbishops can not settle a matter, or where a quarrel arises between them, it should then be brought before the Pope.—4. That it be decreed that no secular cause be carried to Rome, but that all such be left to the secular power.—For the Pope's office ought to be this, that he be the most learned of all in Holy Scripture, and in truth, not in name only, the most pious, and regulate all matters which concern the faith and holy living of Christians. Besides, the shameful extortion of officials in all benefices must be forbidden; so that they may concern themselves only about matters of faith and good morals; and leave to the secular judges all that relates to money, goods, the body, or honor.—5. That no more reservations be valid, and no fiefs be held at Rome.—6. That the Case Resevoeati be also abolished.—7. That the Roman See should abolish the Officia, and lessen the swarm of vermin at Rome, to the end that the Pope's people may be supported from the Pope's own possessions.—8. That the oppressive and hateful oaths which bishops are forced to take to the Pope should be done away with.—9. That the Pope should have no power over the Emperor, except to anoint and crown him at the altar, as a bishop crowns a king: and that the devilish etiquette be no longer allowed, that the Emperor should kiss the Pope's feet, or sit at his feet, or, as is said, hold his stirrup, or the rein of his palfry, when he mounts on horseback: much less swear allegiance and true homage to the Pope, as the Popes have had the effrontery to demand, as though they had right to do so.—It was the devil who invented such arrogant, haughty, wanton demands of the Pope, that in due time he might bring in Antichrist, and exalt the Pope above God, as many already do and have done.—10. That the Pope be content to withdraw his hand from the dish, and not assume the title to the kingdom of Naples and the Sicilies.—11. That there be no more kissing of the Pope's foot. It is an unchristian, yea, an anti-christian act, for a poor sinful man to let his foot be kissed by one who is a hundred-fold better than himself.—It is also an odious piece of the same scandalous pride for the Pope to allow himself to be borne aloft by men, like an idol, with unheard-of pomp. —What Christian heart can or should behold with pleasure, how the Pope, when he wishes to communicate, sits still as a gracious lord, and has the sacrament reached to him with a golden reed by a kneeling, bending cardinal (see Vol. 2, Part 2, § 61, Note 6), as though the Holy Sacrament were not worthy that a Pope, a poor, stinking sinner, should rise up and do honor to his God.—12. That pilgrimages to Rome be abolished, or
that no one, of his own notion or devotion, be allowed to go on the pilgrimage, without first having a sufficient and honest cause, recognized by his pastor, his city-rulers, or his liege-lord. I do not say this because pilgrimages are wicked, but they are not advisable at this time. For at Rome will be seen no good example, but only vain hindrances.—And if this reason be not enough there is one still more excellent, viz., that simple men are thus led into false imaginations. For they think that such a pilgrimage is a good work of great price, which is not the truth.—13. Next, we come to the great multitudes who promise much and perform little. Be not angry, dear masters, I mean it well in truth, it is the bitter and sweet truth—and it is this, that no more Mendicant monasteries be allowed to be built. God help us, there are by far too many of them even now: would to God they were all abolished or collected into two or three places. It has done no good, and never can do good, for men to run vagabond about the country. So it is my advice, that ten of them, or as many as are wanted, should be thrown together and made into one, which being sufficiently provided, would have no occasion to beg. And that their preaching and confessing be dispensed with, except they be requested and desired by bishops and pariah-priests, a church or rulers. From such preaching and confessing nothing has grown but mere hatred and envy between priests and friars, and great trouble and hindrances to the common people. Besides this, the great number of sects and divisions in each order must be done away with. The Pope, too, must be forbidden to institute or confirm any more such orders; yes, even commanded to do away with some, and reduce their number. It is, in my opinion, needful, that foundations and religious houses be reconstituted as they were at first by the apostles, and a long time afterward, when they were all free for every one to remain there as long as he pleased. 14. We see also how the priesthood have fallen. Many a poor priest is burdened with wife and children, and a heavy conscience, and no one attempts to help him, if such help be possible. Let Pope and bishop proceed as they please, destroy as they will, I will deliver my conscience, and open my mouth freely, though Pope or bishop or any one else take offense. I let alone Pope, bishops, foundations, priests, and monks, whom God has not instituted. If they have laid burdens on themselves, let them bear them. I will speak of the office of Pastor, which God has instituted, to rule a community with preaching and sacraments. Liberty should be granted to pastors by a Christian council to marry and avoid peril of sin. For as God himself has not bound them, man may not and ought not to do so. There is many a pious pastor on whom no man can lay any other reproach than that he is living scandalously with a woman. Both of them, however, have fixed in their mind that they will always abide with each other in true wedded troth. If they can do this with a safe conscience, although perhaps in public they will have to bear scandal, in the sight of God they are certainly married. And here I say that if they are thus minded, and so live as quite to deliver their consciences, let him take her as his wedded wife, keep her, and live honorably with her as a husband, without regarding whether the Pope approve or disapprove, whether it be against spiritual or carnal law. The salvation of thy soul is of more value than tyrannical, arbitrary, wanton laws, which are not necessary for holiness, nor commanded by God.” 15. This is against reservations of the heads of many cloisters, as a result of which their subordinates could receive of them absolution only in cases of mortal sin. In consequence they often did not make confession at all. 16. “It would also be necessary to abolish anniversaries, celebrations, and masses for souls, or at least diminish them, for we see plainly that nothing but ridicule results from them, and that they are only kept for money, eating, and drinking. 17. Certain penalties and punishments of ecclesiastical law must also be abolished, especially the interdict, which, without doubt, was invented by the evil spirit. Excommunication must only be used where Scripture appoints it to be used, that is, against those who do not hold the true faith, or live in open sin, not for temporal possessions. The other pains and penalties, suspension, irregularity, aggravation, re-aggravation, deposition, lightnings, thunder, cursing, damning, and what more of such inventions there may be, should all be buried ten ells deep in the ground, that even the name and recollection of them may no longer be upon the earth. 18. That all festivals be abolished, and only Sunday retained. But if it is
desired to keep the festivals of our lady and the great saints, they should all be transferred to Sunday, or only observed in the morning at mass, so that afterward the whole day may be a work day. The reason is, that as the abuse is now kept up with drinking, playing, idleness, and all kinds of sin, we anger God more upon the holy days than on the others. And first of all, the consecration of the churches should be wholly given up, since they are nothing else but pot-house days, fairs, and play-days. 19. That the degree of relationship within which marriage is forbidden should be altered, as in the case of sponsorship, to the third and fourth degree: so that, where the Pope of Rome can dispense for money and sell his dispensations scandalously, every priest may dispense gratis and for the good of souls. Yea, would to God, that all which must be bought at Rome, the same might be done and granted by any priest without payment, as, for instance, indulgence, indulgence-brief, butter-brief, mass-brief; with the confessionalia and whatever more of trickery there be at Rome. Likewise, that fasts should be free to every man's choice, and food of all kinds allowed, as the Gospel prescribes.

20. That the outlying chapels and field churches should be leveled to the ground, since it is to them that the new pilgrimages go. 21. It is one of the greatest needs that all mendicancy be abolished in Christendom; every town can support its own poor. 22. It should also be considered, that the number of masses in cathedral and monastic foundations are not only of little use, but arouse God's great anger; so it were profitable to found no more of them, but to discontinue, many of those already instituted. Neither must it any more be the case that one person possess more than one preferment or benefice. 23. The fraternities, also indulgences, indulgence-briefs, butter-briefs, mass-briefs, dispensations, and whatever there be of this kind, should all be drowned and abolished. My friend, thou hast entered at thy baptism upon a brotherhood with Christ, all the angels, saints, and Christian men on earth; hold this fast, and carry it out, and you will have enough of fraternities. Especially all papal embassies, with their faculties which they sell to us for great sums, shall be chased out of German land, for they are manifest trickery. As they are here, they take money and make unrighteous gains right, dissolve oaths, vows, and compacts, break, and teach men to break, truth and faith pledged between man and man, and say that the Pope has power to do this. If there were no other wicked device to prove that the Pope is the real antichrist, this alone would be enough to prove it. 24. It is high time that, once for all, with zeal and sincerity, we take up the cause of the Bohemians, and unite ourselves with them, and them with us. In the first place, we must honestly confess the truth, that John Huss and Jerome of Prague were burned to death at Constance in defiance of the Papal, Christian, Imperial safe-conduct and word of honor, and so it was done against the commandment of God. I will not here judge John Huss's articles, nor fight about his errors, though my understanding has never yet found any thing erroneous in him. I will only say this, that were he a heretic, as wicked as ever he could be, he was still burned unrighteously and against the law of God, and the Bohemians should not be compelled to approve such a deed. Heretics should be conformed with Scripture, as the ancient fathers used to do, not with fire. If the art of convincing heretics by fire were the right one, then the executioners would be the most learned doctors upon earth. Pious and prudent bishops and learned men should be sent to Bohemia, to inform themselves as to the belief of the people, and attempt a union of all sects. The Bohemians should then at once elect an Archbishop of Prague, who should see to it that they walk uprightly in the faith and word of God, without wishing to impose upon them all Roman doctrines and usages.

"If I knew that the Picards held no error in the sacrament of the altar, except that they believed bread and wine were truly and naturally present, and yet under these the true body and blood of Christ, I would not refuse them, but suffer them to come under the Bishop of Prague. For it is not an article of faith, that bread and wine are not essentially and naturally present in the sacrament; this is a fancy of St. Thomas and the Pope; but it is an article of the faith, that in the natural bread and wine the body and blood of Christ are truly present. Thus the opinions of both sides should be tolerated until they agree; meanwhile there is no danger in your believing that bread either is or is not present. For we must tolerate many customs and ordinances which are not
1520, he issued his *Praeulidium De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae*, upon the Catholic doctrine of the sacraments.  

Injurious to the faith. But if they think otherwise, I would rather have them stay out till they subscribe the truth. The temporal possessions which belonged to the Church should not be demanded again with overmuch strictness.  

The universities also require a right strict reform. What are the universities, except *gymnasia epheborum et graecaeae gloriae*, where a free life is led, a little holy writ and Christian faith taught, where the blind, heathenish master, Aristotle, alone holds sway, more even than Christ? For this miserable man teaches in his best book, *De Anima*, that the soul is mortal with the body, though many have tried with vain words to rescue him from this reproach. In like manner his Ethics is more directly opposed to the grace of God and Christian virtue than any other book, but still it is reckoned as one of the best. I could well endure that Aristotle's books on Logic, Rhetoric, and Poetry be retained, or that abridgments of them be used with advantage to exercise young men in speaking and preaching well. But the comments and divisions must be done away, and as Cicero's Rhetorica is without comment and divisions, so should Aristotle's Logic be read uniformly without such large comments. But now neither speaking nor preaching is taught from it, and nothing comes from it but disputations and weariness. I would let the physicians reform their own faculties; the jurists and theologians I take into my own hands, and I say to the former, it were good if ecclesiastical law, from the first letter to the last, were thoroughly razed to the ground, especially the decretals. As to the secular law, God help us, what a wilderness it has become! although it is much better and more ingenious and more honest than ecclesiastical law, still, far too much has been made of it—My friends, the theologians, have kept out of toil and labor, let the Bible alone, and read the Sententiae. I think the Sententiae should be the beginning for young divines, and the Bible remain for the doctors; but the order is inverted, the Bible is the first book introduced with the bachelor's degree, and the Sententiae the last, which abide with the doctorate for ever. The number of books must be diminished, and the best read. For many books do not make a man learned, nor much reading; but good ones, and often read, however little they be, make a man learned in Scripture and pious withal. Before all things else, in the higher and lower schools, the chiefest and commonest reading should be the Holy Scriptures, and for young boys the Gospel. And would to God every town had, besides, a girls' school, in which the maidens might hear the Gospel one hour in every day.  

The Pope has unjustly deprived the Greek emperor of the Roman Empire, and granted it to the Germans, but only to bring them under his yoke. "So let the Pope give up Rome, and all he has of the Empire, leave our country free from his intolerable treasure-seeking and extortion, give us back our freedom, power, goods, honor, body and soul, and let there be an Empire, such as an Empire should be, to the end that he may make good his words and professions."  

On secular transgressions: against too costly clothing, excess in foreign spices, usury, glutony and drunkenness, common brothels.—Conclusion: "I see very well that I have sung in a high strain, proposed much that will seem impossible, assailed many things too sharply; but what should I do? I am bound to speak; if I had the power I would act thus. I had rather the world were angry with me than God: man can never do more than take away my life. Until now I had offered peace to my enemies; but, as I see, God has compelled me through them to open my mouth wider and wider.—Although I also know, as my cause is just, that it must be condemned on earth, and only justified by Christ in heaven.—Therefore let it be zealously gone into, be they pope, bishops, priests, monks, or learned men: they are the right people to persecute the truth as they always have done. God grant us all a Christian understanding, and especially to the Christian nobles of the German nation, a true spiritual courage to do the best for the poor churches. Amen."
per Romanam Curiam nobis in miserabilia captivitatem duxit, Ecclesiisque sua tota libertate spoliavit, et tria signa sacramentalia. Fol. 262, b. Concludo itaque, negare utramque speciem laicis, esse impium et tyrannicum, nec in manu illius Angeli, nemo Papae et Concilii cujuscumque. — Prima ergo capitulis huic Sacramenti est quod ejus substantiam se integritatem, quam nobis abstulit Romana tyrannis. Nam quod secundum Christum, qui una specie utur, sed quod illi peccat, qui hoc arbitrio volentibus uti prohibent utramque dari: culpa non est in laicis sed sacerdotibus. — Itaque non hoc agam, ut vi rapitur utraque specie, quasi necessitate praecipit ad eam cogamur, sed conscientiam instro, ut patiatur quique tyrannidem Romanam, scieni sibi raptum per vim jus suum in Sacramento propter pecatum suum. Tantum hoc volo, ne quis Romanam tyrannidem justificet, quasi recte fecerit, unus speciem laicis prohibens, sed detestemur eam, nec consentiamus ei. Tamen faramus eam non alter, ac si apud Turcam essemus captivi, ubi neutra specie liceret uti. — Altera capitulis ejusdem Sacramenti mitior est, quod ad conscientiam spectat, sed quam multo omnium persecutissimam sit tangere, nemo damnare. Hic Vigilephista, et sexcentis nominibus haereticus erat. Quod tum? Postquam Romanus Episcopus Episcopum esse desiliit, et tyrannus factus est, non formido ejus universa decreta, cujus scio non esse potestatem, articulos novos fidei condendi, nec Concilii quidem generalis. Dedici mihi quondam, cum theologiam scholasticam haurerim, occasione cogitandi D. Cardinalis Cameracensis libro Sententiarum IV. acutissime disputans, multo probabilius esse, et minus superstiorum miraculorum ponit, si in altari verus panem verum vinum, non autem sola accidientia esse adstruentur, nisi Ecclesiis determinasset contrarium. Postea videns, quae esset Ecclesia, quae hoc determinasset, nemo Thomistica h. e. Aristotelica, audiacior factus sum, et qui inter saxum et sacram hærebat, tandem stabilivi conscientiam meam sententiam priorem, esse videlicet verum panem verum vinum, in quibus Christi vera caro verus sanguis non alter nec minus sit, quam illi sub accidentibus suis ponat. Quod factum, quic vidit Thomistarum opiniones, sive probent a Papa, sive a Concilio, manere opiniones, nec ferior articulos fidei, etiam Angelus de coelo aliiud statuerit. Nam quod sine Scripturis assurrit, aut revelatione probata, opinari licet, credi non est necessis. — Permittio itaque, qui volet, utramque opinione tenere; hoc solum nunc ago, ut scrupulos conscientiarum de medio tollam, ne quis se reum haereses metaetur, si in altari verum panem verum vinum esse crediderit. Sed liberum esse sibi sciat, citter periculum salutis alterutrum imaginari, opinari et credere, cum sit hic nulla necessitas fidei. Ego tamen meam nunc prosecur sententiam — Est autem meae sententiae ratio magna imprimis illa, quod verba divinis non est ulla facienda vis, -sed quantum fieri potest, in simplicissima significacione servanda sunt, et nisi manifesta circumstancia cotigat, extra grammaticam et propriam accipienda non sunt, ne detur adversaris occasio, universam Scripturam eludendi. — Fol. 264, b. Tertia capitulis ejusdem Sacramenti est longe impius illi abusus, quo factum est, ut fere nihil sit hodie in Ecclesia receptus ac magis persuasum, quam Missam esse opus bonum et sacrificium. Quis abusus deinde inanuit infinitos alios abusus, donec fide sacramenti penitus extingua meras mundinas, cauponationes et quas tarius quosdam contractas e divino Sacramento fecerint. Hinc participatio, fraternitates, suffragia, merita, anniversaria, memoriae, i e id genus negotiorum in Ecclesia venduntur, emuntur, paciscuntur, componuntur; pendetque in his universa almonia sacerdotum et monachorum. — Fol. 265, b. Est itaque Missam secundum substantiam suam proprie nihil aliud, quam verba Christi praeclara: Accipite et manducate, etc., ac si dicat: ecce o homo peccator et damnatus, ex mera gratuitique charitate, qua diligo te, sic volente misericordiarum Patre, his verba promitto tibi, ante omne meritem et votum tuum, remissionem omnium peccatorum tuorum, et vitam aeternam. Et ut certissimus de hac mea promissione irrevocabilis, corpus meum tradam, et sanguinem fundam, morte ipsa hanc promissionem confirmaturam, et utrumque tibi in signum et memoriae ejusdem promissionis relicturas. Quod cum frequentaveris, mea memor sit, hanc meam in te charitatem et largitatem praedicas et laudes, et gratias agas. Ex quibus vides, ad Missam digno habendam aliud non requiri, quam fidem, quae huc promissiones fideliter nitatur, Christum in his suis verbis veracem credat, et sibi haec immensa
bona esse donata non dubitet. Ad hanc fidem molestia sequetur sua sponte dulcis simus affectus corde, quo dilatatur et impinguitur spiritus hominis (haec est charitas, per Spiritum sanctum in fide Christi donata), ut in Christum, tam largum et benignum testatorem, rapiatur, fataque penitus alius et novus homo.—Quin quid deploramus, in hac captivitate omne studio cavetur hocie, ne verba illa Christi ulius laicus audiat, quasi sacramita, quam ut vulgo traditi debeant.—Neque enim Deus aliter sum hominis unquam egit, aut agit, quam vero promissionis. Rursus nec nos cum Deo unquam agere aliter possimus quam sive in verbum promissionis ejus. Opera ille nihil curat, nec eis indiget.—Fol. 268. Unde manifeste esset et implius error est, Missam pro peccatis, pro satisfactionibus, pro defunctis, aut quibuscunque necessitatibus suas aut aliorum offerre suae aplicare. Quod faccile intelligis esse evidentissime verum, si firmiter teneas, Missam esse promissionem divinae gratiae, quae nulli prodesse, nulli applicari, nulli suffragari, nulli communicari potest, nisi ipsi credenti soli propria sive.—Fol. 270, b. De Sacramento baptismi. Ubique in sensu baptismi in parvis non potuit Satan extinguerit, praevalet tamen, ut in omnibus adultis extingueret, ut jam nemo nescit, quia se baptisatum recognoscit, utin Christum, tam largum et benignum Deum rapiat, fiatque penitus alius et novus homo.—Quin quod deploramus, in hac captivitate omni studie cavietur hodie, ne verba illa Christi ulius laicus audiat, quasi sacraria, quae ut Christis illis libera et libera, nee Deus aliter cum hominibus nunc egit, nee hodie. Neque enim Deus aliter cum hominibus nunc agit, nee hodie.—Fol. 272, b. Baptismus neminem justificat, nec uti prodest, sed sive in verbum promissionis, quis aitum baptisme.—Fol. 273, b. Nunquam fit baptismo irritus, donec desperes redire ad salutem noluieris; aberrare que poteris ad tempus a signo, sed non ideo irritum est signum. Ita semel es baptistatum sacramentaliter, sed semper baptismans sive; semper moriendus, semperque vivendum. Baptismus totum corpus absorbit, et rursus edidit: ita res baptismatis totam vitam tuam cum corpore et anima absorbere debet, et reddere in novissimo die indutam stola claritatis et immortalitatis.—Hanc gloriam libertatis nostrae, et hanc scientiam baptismi esse hodie captivam, quia possimus referre acceptum, quam uni tyrannide Romani Pontificis! —Ipse solum id agit, ut suis decretes et juribus opprimat, et in potestatis sua tyrannide captivos illaqueet. Obsecro, quo jure—Papa super nos constituit legis? Quis dedit e potestatem captivandae hujus nostrae libertatis nobis donata? Deus, ut iuxi, nobis in tota vita agendum est propodium, ut baptismemur i.e. mortificemur et vivamur per fidem Christi, quam et unice doctam oportuit, maxime a summo Pastore. At nunc, tabiti sive, inquit, legibus operum et ceremoniarum extincta est Ecclesia, ablitata virtus et scientia baptismi, impedita sive Christi. Dico itaque: neque Papa, neque Episcopus, neque ulter hominum habeit infinius syllabea constitutas super Christianum hominem, nisi id sit ejusdem consensae: quidquid aliter fit, tyrannico spiritu fit. Ideo orationes, jejunia, donatones, et quaequecum tandem Papa in universis suis decretes, tam multitum quant iniqua, statuit et exigit, prorsus nullo jure exigit et statuit, peccataque in libertatem Ecclesiae toties, quoties aliquod horum attentaverit.—Fol. 274, b. Unum hic addo, quod utinam cunctis queam persuadere, i.e., ut vota prorsus omnia tollerentur aut vitarentur, sive sanctum religionem, sive preegrinationem, sive quorumcumque operum, maneremusque in libertate religiosissima et operosissima baptismis. Dici non potest, quantum detrabat baptismi, et obscurae scientiae libertatis Christianae opinio illa vortonurus nimio celebrius. Ut interim taceam infanda etiam esque infinita pericula animarum, quae vocendi ista libido, inconsultaque tempertas quoties insular.—Fol. 275. Ego sance non prohibuerim nec repugnaverim, si quia privatum arbitrio suo quippliam velit vovere, ne vota penitus contemnem aut damnum, sed publicum vitae genus hinc statui et conferam, omnino dissuserem. Fol. 275, b. Quo reconsul primum magnitudines Ecclesiaren, ut omnia ista vota seu vitas votariorum tollant, vel non probert et extollant.—Nulla sua. VOL. IV. —4
The bull of condemnation against Luther, prepared in Rome, ...
15th June, 1520, appeared more like an instrument of personal hatred, since Dr. Eck was intrusted with its publication, and arbitrarily extended its application to several friends of Luther mentioned by name. In Germany the bull was received with almost universal antipathy, in some places with open resistance.

Fuit impedimento sub initium Aleandro genus judaicum, sed et illud cum ebrietate Eckii compensatum fuit. Omnes igitur nervos Pontifex cum suis intendet, ut Lutherum perdat, ac ejus doctrinam, tanquam Rom. Curiae, non Christianis, perniciosam ex- tinguat, et, ni falso, in regio isto vestro conventu (Diet of Worms) nil potius, quam de Luthero, tractabitur, qui nobis plus obesse videtur, quam Turcus. Sollicitabitur igitur setas Caesarii minias, precisus, blanditiae fictis. Sollicitabantur Germani laudibus majorum, numeribus et promissis.—Quod si minus haec succedent, Caesarem depone- mus, populos a subjectione debita liberabimus: alium, qui nobis placet, in locum suum eligamus. Gallum, Angulum et omnes terrae Reges ad arma convocabimus, ac nihil praeter- mittemus, quod antecessores nostri contra Caessares et Reges non inefficiter facere con- sueverunt: tantum ut voti compotes evadere valeamus, nihil penel apud nos erit, non Christus, neque iudes, pietas, honestas, probitas, dummodo tyrannis nostrae sit salva.


To Carlstadt and Dolcius in Wittemberg, John Sylvius Egranus, pastor in Zwick- au, Bernhard Adelmann v. Adelmannsfeiden, canon of Augsburg, Billibald Pirkheimer and Lazarus Spengler at Nuernberg.

Compare Mittitz's letter to the elector Frederick, Leipsick, on the Wednesday after Michaelmas, 1520 (at the end of Tentzels's Hist. Bericht v. d. Ref. Lutheri, herausgeg. v. Cyprian Th. i. s. 489): 'Erhub mich den Leipz zu reiten, also fund ich Doctorem Echium mit einem grossem Geschrey und Pochen, unterliess nicht, hat ihn zu Gast, zu erfahren, was sein Furchenme und Wille ware. He traogt flugs und leichtfertig, hub an von seinen Befehlen zu reden, wie he Doctorem Martdum lernen wulde, wit sihm spitäten Worten sagt, dass he hat die babestliche Bulle zu Meissen am XXIten Tage Sept., zu Mersburg am XXV., zu Brandenburg am XXXIX. publiciren und anschlagen lassen.—Nicht angesehen das Gelet und seine Bulle haben gute fromme Kinder itzo die Michaelis an 10 Orten angegeschlagen, welches ich Ew. Churf. Gn. och ein Copia zuschicke, und dorneben gedraht, dass Echium hat mussen ins Closter zum Pauern flie- gen, und darf sich nicht schauen lassen.—Sie haben ein Lied von ihm gemacht, und singens uf der Gassen. He ist hoch bekommert, der Muth und das Pochen ist ihm ge- leget, man schribt ihm alle Tage sints briff in Closter, und sagen ihm Leibes und Guts
The elector Frederick the Wise, to whom it was presented at Cologne in the beginning of November, confirmed by an interview with Erasmus, persisted in his demand for an impartial investigation. Es sind doch über 50 Studenten von Wittenberg, die sich nicht machen auf ihn. Ich hab Echigo gesagt, dass er Unrecht gethan hat, die Bulle zu publiciren, die Sache in einer gütlichen friedlichen Handlung mit ihm gestanden; sullt billig mir vor geschrieben haben, was ich in der Sachen gehandelt hatt, zu forsten. Schweig he stille, und ersoftze, dass ihm lad dohey ist. Ich kanns Ev. Churf. Gn. nicht schreiben, wie grausam man wider ihn ist. Ich hab gross Sorg, der Salvo conduct wird nicht helfen, welch er derschlagen. Soon after he wrote (ibid. s. 453): "Eickius ist zu Leipzig entrinnt in der Nacht uf Freiburg zu, und die Stadtknecht zu Leipzig reiten mit den Bullen im Land um." At Erfurt a handbill appeared (see Riederer's Eine überaus selte Reformationssurkunde, intimation Erphurda pro M. Luther Altkorf, 1761, also in the Neue Beyträde von theolog, Sachen, 1761, s. 529): Conclusum est, optimi lectores, longa post consilia impia et haeretica ab impis quibusdam Scribibus et Pharisacis—contra M. Lutherum, theologum acntissimum; it ut jam inspirante diabo affigcnda sunt in literae publico conspectul, quibus praefati Luciferiani nuntii etiam excommunicando dicatum Martinum ultra Tartara quendes cereantur. Nos vero almea Universitatia Magis, Baccalaurii, theologicae veritatis professores—docemus et profitcmur praesentium tenorc, Martinum — bene et prorsus christianae hucusque scriptisse. Quamobrem vos omnes et singuli, nostrae dictae Universitatis gremiales, quibus nostris affixa fuerit, turmatim—accidite, has ipsas daemonisticas excommunicationes in minimas particulas dilacerantes, discurrante, in altissimis veritatis zelatorem, Christum inquam, confidentes.—Insuper et exhortamus in domino Jesu Christo,—quatenus illam impiam et haereticam, Ecciae factione excogitatam bullam Papisticam — variis depingatis coloribus etiam nominatim scriptis perstringatis:—decenternentes, omnes illos insectandos, qui maxima ducti impn—de publico suggestu clamaram Lutherum haereticum fore, Hussitarumque erro- ris protestatorem, uti mentitus est impius Eccius, et Augustinus Alfeldianus, Phar-saeorum duces, caet. Even the University of Ingolstadt hesitated about the publication of the bull, and did not adopt it till after repeated summons from Eck; see Winter's Gesch. d. Evangel. Lehre in Baiern (München, 1809), t. 54 ff. Many bishops likewise, and among them especially the bishop of Freisingen, made difficulties for a long time; ibid. s. 58.

"On the negotiations of the two papal legates, Marinus Caracciulus and Jerome Alexander, with the Elector, compare the account of the eye-witness, Henrici Zutphaniensis Brevia Commemoratio rerum Colonie gestarum in causa Lutheri, 1520, in T. ii. Jen. p. 314 b. (compare on this point Frick, in Seckendorf's Historie des Lutherthums, s. 290, 290, 310), and Spalatini Annales Reformationsis, edited by Cyprian, s. 11 ss.

"With regard to this, see the Annales, p. 28 ss., of the eye-witness Spalatin. Erasmus, being asked for his opinion by the Elector, declared: Lutherus peccavit in dubius, nempe quod tetigit coronam Pontificis et vetres monachorum. Erasmus gave Spalatin some Aziomata on the point; and soon asked for them back again; but not long after they appeared in print (T. ii. Jen. fol. 314): Fons rei malus est, odiun bonarum literarum, et affectatio tyrannid. Modus agendi fonti respondet clamoribus, conjurationibus, aberbis odiois, virulentia scriptis. Personae, per quas res agitur, suspectae.—Quod Pontificis facilitate quidam abutantur, notum est. —Res ad majus discrimer spectat, quam quidam existimant. Bullae secvita probos omnes offendit, ut indigas mitissimo Christi viracio.—Lutherus videtur omnibus sequis sequum petere, cum offerat se disputatiioni publicae, et submittat se judicibus non suspectis.—Lutherus nihil ambit, ideo
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54 Milititz's fresh attempt at reconciliation in Lichtenberg (11th October, 1520), only resulted in Luther's sending to the Pope a letter full of bitter truth, together with his work De Libertate Christiana, in which he unfolded with lofty enthusiasm the

minus suspectus.—Videtur in rem Pontificia, ut res per graves et non suspectos viros mature consilio componatur: ita optime consuletur Pontificis dignitati. Qui hactenus scripsersunt contra Lutherum, improbantur etiam a theologis, qui alias Lutherum adversantur. Mundus sitit veritate evangelicam et fatal! quodam desiderio videtur hue ferri. Unde forte adeo non oportet odiose resisti. About the same time (not 1519) Erasmus gave the Emperor and several peers of the realm an Opinion upon Luther's case (v. d. Hardt, Hist. Lit. Ref. i. 104), in which he also proposes impartial arbitrators from different nations, or a general council for the settlement of the question. This Opinion, in consequence of a manuscript observation of Vadianus, has been attributed by many writers to Zwingli (Zwingli's Leben v. Usteri, s. 875; Wirz Neuere Helvet. Kirchengeschich. i. 185), and is accordingly adopted into Zwinglii Opp. ed. Schuler et Schultheiss. It is by Hutten (Kapp, ibid. s. 497).

68 See on this point Milititz's letter to the Elector of the 14th October, published by Cyprian, appended to Tentzel's Hist. Bericht, s. 449; in Walch, xv. 949; and Luther's letter to Spalatin, in de Wette, i. 496.

69 After the conference with Milititz, dated back to the 6th September, de Wette, i. 497. Among other things: Quare, optime Leo, his me litteris rogo expurgatum admittas, tibique persuades, me nihil unquam de persona tua malit cogitasse: deinde me talem esse, qui tibi optima velim contingere in aeternum.—Sedem autem tuam, quae Curia Romana dictur, quam neque tu neque ullus hominem potest negare corruptiorem esse quavis Babylon et Sodoma.—sane detestatus sum, indignisque tuli, sub tuo nomine et praetextu Romanæ Ecclesiae ludi Christi populi: atque ita restitit, resistamque, dum spiritus fidei me vixerit.—Facta est e Rom. Ecclesia, quonam omnium sanctissima, spelunca latronum licentiosissima, lupanar omnium impudentissimum, regnum peccati, mortis et inferni, ut ad malitiam quod accedat, jam cogitari non possit, ne Antichristus quidem si venerit. Interim tu, Leo, sicut agnus in medio luporum sedes, sicut Daniel in medio leonum, et cum Exechiele inter scorpiones habitas. Quid his monstris unus opponas? Adde tibi eruditisimos et optimos Cardinales tres aut quatuor, quid hi inter tantos? antevenem omnibus pereundum vobis, quam de remedio statuere praemereceum. Actum est de Romana Curia, pervenit in eam fru Dei usque in finem.—Palinodiam ut canam, b. P., non est quod ullus praesumat, nisi malit adhuc maje turbine causam involvere. Deinde leges interpretandi verbi Dei non patior, cum oporteat verbum Dei esse non alligatum, quod libertatem docet omnium aliorum. His duobus salvis nihil est, quod non facere et pati possim, ac libentissime velim. Contentiones odi, neminem provocabo, sed provocari rursus uolo: provocatus autem Christo magistro eligius non ero. Poterit enim T. B. brevi et facili verbo, contentionibus ipsis ad se vocatia et extinctis, silentium et pacem utrinque mandare, id quod semper audire desideravi. When Milititz sent a copy of this letter to Wilhelm Pirkheimer, he wrote to him (Erfurt, Friday after Martinmas, 1520, in Riederer's Nachrichten, i. 170): "Es gehet ubr uns Geistlichen, Gott weiss wo es naus will: mir ist noch lieb, dass ich nicht also hart verbunden bin geistlich zu werden, dass ich noch mag zurucktreten."
long forgotten fundamental doctrines of Christianity. But as the publication of the bull was still continued, he declared it to be a work of antichrist, renewed his appeal to a general council, and at length on the 10th December, 1520, formally abjured the

70 T. I. Jen. fol. 435, b. (Luther had previously published, in 1520, a shorter edition of the work in German, "Sermon von der Freyheit eines Christenmenschen," in Walch, xix. 1906): Constat, nullam prorsus rerum externarum, quocunque censeanter nomine, aliquid habere momenti ad justitiam aut libertatem Christianam; animam posse omnibus rebus carere excepto verbo Dei, sine quo nullis prorsus rebus est illi consulendum. — Quaeres autem: quod nam est verbum hoc, aut qua arte tundendum est? — Fidei enim et hoc officium est, ut eum, cui credit, omnium piissima et summa colat opinione. — Tertia fidei gratia incomparabilis est haec, quod animam copulat cum Christo, sicutopus, in virtum Dei. — Verum haec fides subsistere prorsus non potest cum operibus, e. si per opera, quascumque sunt, similibus praestum. — Quare cujuslibet Christianis prima cura essedebet, ut posita operum opiniones solam fidem magis ad libitum. — Haec prima fidei virtus esto, alteram quod quoque videamus. — Fidei enim et hoc officium est, ut eum, cui credit, omnium piissima et summa colat opinione.

71 At first Luther declared that the genuineness of the bull was incredible, in his work, "Von den neuen Eckischen Bullen und Lügen," in Walch, xv. 1674. Here he says, with reference to Huss, s. 1683: "I say, in the first place, that, unfortunately, at the time of the Leipsick disputation I had not read John Huss; otherwise, I should have maintained not some, but all the articles, which were condemned at Constance; just as I do now hold them, having read that most wise, noble Christian book of John Huss, the like of which has not been written in four hundred years, and which has now through the divine favor been put in print, to testify to the truth, and to put to open shame all those who have condemned it. It is not John Huss's articles, but Christ's, Paul's, and Augustine's, proved in the strongest way, and irrefragably established, as all must confess who read it. Ah! would to God that I too were worthy for the sake of such articles to be burned, torn asunder, persecuted in the most shameless way, that Doctor Lügener (ilar) himself could invent, and that, if it cost a thousand necks, they must all come to it." Early in November appeared the work Adversus execrabilis Antichristi Bullam. T. ii. Jen. fol. 286, b.; in January, 1521: Assertio omnium Articulorum M. Luthcri per Bullam Leonis X. novissimam damnatorum, T. ii. Jen. fol. 292, which last he soon afterward published in German also: "Grund und Ursach aller Artikel, so, durch die römische Bulle unrecht- lich verdammten worden," in Walch, xv. 1752 (he gives his opinion on this point against Spalatin, 21st January, in de Wette, i. 545: vernacula Assertor melior est, quam sit latina).

72 On the 17th November, 1520, T. ii. Jen. fol. 257. First he repeats the former Appeal (see note 80), then he renews it by appealing—ad futurum Concilium a praedicto Leone, primum tanquam ab iniquo, temerario, tyrannicoque judices, in hoc quoq me non convicium nec ostias causis aut informationibus mera potestate judicat. Secundo tanquam ab errore, indurato, per Scripturas sanctas damnato haereticE et apostata, in hoc quoq mih mandat fidem catholicam in Sacramentis necessarium abnegare. Tertio tanquam ab hoste, adversario, Antichristo, oppressore totius sacrae Scripturae, in hoc quoq pro- priae, meritis, nudiisque verbis suis agit contra verba divinae Scripturae sibi adducta. Quarto tanquam a blasphemo, superbio contemptore Ecclesiae Dei, et legitimii Concilii.— Quocirca oro suppliciter—Carolum Imp., Electores Imperil,—et quidquid est Christiani
papacy by publicly burning the bull, together with the papal law-
books.73 A new bull of the 3d January, 1521,74 pronounced upon
Luther and his adherents sentence of excommunication, with the
penalties against heretics, and laid the interdict upon their places
of residence; and the papal legate Aleander, at the diet of Worms,
called upon the secular arm to execute the decree.75 But so
greatly were circumstances altered by the powerful commotion
that prevailed, that the diet determined first to hear the man who
had already been condemned by the Pope, and at the same time
drew up one hundred and one grievances against the Roman
See.76 Luther proceeded with the Emperor's escort77 to Worms,78
welcomed every where on the way with high honor and sym-
pathy; here he testified before the Emperor and the Empire,
18th April, 1521, that he could not recant.79 His heaven-sent
magistratus totius Germaniae, velint pro redimenda catholica veritate,—pro libertate et
jure legitimi Consillii, mihi meaque appellations adhaerere, Papae incredibilem insan-
am aversari, tyrannidiejusimpiisimaeresistere, aut saltem quiescere, et bullae ejusmodi
executionem omittere et differre, donec legitime vocatus, per aequo judices auditis, et
Scripturisdignisque documentis convicte foiro. See Carlstadt's Appeal of the 19th
October, 1520, in the Unschuldige Nachrichten, 1719, s. 5 ff.
73 See Exustionis Antichristianarum Decretaliuni Ada, T. ii. Jen. fol. 320. He threw
the bull into the fire with the words: quia tu conturbasti sanctum Domini, idoeque te
conturbet ignis aeternus. And he declared to his hearers on the next day at his lecture
—nisi tota cura dissenteris a regno Papali, non potestis assequi vestrarum animarum
salutem. Soon after appeared Luther's work: Quare Pontificis Romani et discipulorum
Walch, xv. 1927.
t. ii. Monum. p. 15.
75 As to the previous negotiations between the Emperor and the Pope, see Ranke's
deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter d. Ref. i. 470. About Alexander and his hatred of the Ger-
mans, see the accounts of the contemporary, Jacobus Ziegler, in Schelhornii Amonietaites
Hist. Eccl. et Liter., ii. 351. His speech before the diet of the Empire is abridged in
Seckendorf, Comm. de Lutheranismo, p. 149; compare especially the Geschichte der Nunci-
tur Hier. Alexander's auf dem Reichstage zu Worms 1521, in Münters Vermischte Bey-
träge zur Kirchengeschichte, Copenh., 1798; s. 48 ff., with extracts from Aleander's dis-
patches to Rome.
76 In Kapp's Nachlese, iii. 240. Walch, xv. 2058.
77 In the imperial letter, T. ii. Jen. fol. 411, b., to the great mortification of the nuncio,
Luther was addressed: Honorabilis, dilecte, devote.
78 The letters in which he declared his readiness to go to Worms furnish noble ex-
amples of his heaven-sent courage, in de Wette, i. 534, 548, 573 ff. From Francfort he
wrote to Spalatin, who was then at Worms, 14th April, s. 586: Venimus, mi Spalatine
etsi non uno morbo me Satan impedire molitus sit. Tota enim hac via ab Isenaco usque
huc Iangui (compare Myconii Hist. Reform., published by Cyprian, s. 88), et adhuc
langueo, incognitis mihi antehac modis. Sed et mandatum Caroli (the interim decree
against the issue of Luther's books) esse in terrorem mei vulgatum intelligo. Verum Chris-
tus vivit, et intrabimus Wormatiam invitit omnibus portis inferni et potestatibus aèris.
79 Acta Rev. Patris D. M. Lutheri coram S. Caesarea Majestate, Principibus Electori-
Courage made a deep impression: but the established order of things was too powerful: after he had been dismissed in safety, the ban of the empire followed against him and his adherents on bus, et Imperii Ordinibus in Comitiis Principum Wormatiae, T. ii. Jen. fol. 411, b., in German of the same date, Walch, xv. 2297. Besides, there are two accounts by eye-witnesses: by Laz. Spengler; see Spengleriana, collected by M. M. Mayer, Nürnberg, 1830. 16, a. 13 ff., and Spalatin's Annalen, s. 38 ff. Compare also Luther's own account in the Table Talk, Walch, xxii. 2206. There is nothing extraordinary in the fact that Luther, when unconditionally required to revoke his works, asked for a time of consideration till the day following. He was not prepared for such a demand, but only for an investigation and defense of his position; the imperial letter of summons read: conclusimus propter doctrinam et libros—abs te editos scrutinium de te sumere. But it is clear that he could not unconditionally set aside the recantation unexpectedly required of him, as to the whole contents of his works, which contained among other things many personalities; and so he naturally perceived the necessity of earnestly deliberating whether he could recall some single statements. His answer on the next day was (Acta fol. 413): Rogo, Serenissima Majestas Vestract Dominationes Vestr edignentur animum advertere, libros meos non esse omnes ejusdem generis. Sunt enim aliqui, in quibus pietatem fidel et morum adeo simpliciter et evangelice tractavi, ut ipsam adversarii coguntur eos confiteri utilles, innoxiros, et plane dignos cognitione Christiana. Si itaque hos revocare incipierem, obseco quid facerem, nisi quod ex omnibus mortalibus eam veritatem damnarem, quam amici et inimici pariter confidentur? Alterum genus est, quod in Papatum et doctrinam Papistarum invehitur, tanquam in coa, qui suis et doctrinis et exemplis pessimis orbe Christianum utroque malo, et spiritus et corporis, vastavertin. Si igitur et hos revocavero, nihil aliud praestitero, quam ut tyrannidemrobur adscero, et tantae impietati jam non fenestratae, sed valvas aperuero:—praesertim si jactatum fuerit, id a me factum auctioritate Serenissimae Majestatis Vestrarum, totiusque Romani Imperii. Tertium genus eorum est, quos in aliquos privatos et singulares (ut vocant) personas scripsi, eos scilicet, qui et tyrannidem Romanam tueri et pietatem a me doctam labefactare moliti sunt. In hos confiteor me suisse acerbiorem, quam pro religione aut professione mea patrocini regem et saeviant in populum Dei violentius, quam unquam regnaverint. Then he demanded an examination of his doctrine: paratissimus enim ero, si edoctus fero, quemcunque errorem revocare, eroque primus, qui libelli meos in ignem projiciam. When it was now indicated to him that there were no disputation, but that he had only to declare simply whether he would recant or not; he replied: Quando ergo Scr. Majestas Vestr, Dominationesque Vestr responsum petunt, dabo illud sicque cornutum, neque dentatum, in hunc modum: Nisi convictus fero testimonii Scripturarum, aut ratione evidentia (nam neque Papae, neque Concordia solis credo, cum constet eos errasse saepius, et sibi ipsis contradixisse); victus sum Scripturis a me ad ducta, captaque est conscientia in verbis Dei, revocare neque possum, neque volo quidquam, cum contra conscientiam agere neque tutum sit neque integrum. Hie sthe ich, ich kann nicht anders, Gott helf mir, Amen." 80 Foreign princes also were importunate for the suppression of the Lutheran heresy; see the letter of Emmanuel, king of Portugal, to the Elector Frederick, dd. XI. Kal. Maji, 1521, edited by Cyprian in Tentzel's Hist. Bericht, Th. 2. a. 213, and the letter of Henry, king of England, to the Emperor, 20th May, 1521, ibid., s. 222. One principal motive was the league concluded on the 8th of May between the Emperor and the Pope against Franco, the 16th article of which was directed against the new heresy; see Dumont, iv. iii.; Suppl. p. 98. The so-called edict of Worms (to be seen, in German, in Walch, xv. 2264; in Latin, in Gerdesii Hist. Reform. ii. Monum., p. 94), dated the 8th of May, but not actually issued till the 26th (see the Emperor's letter with which the
the 26th of May. To protect him against it, the Elector had him seized on his journey home, and secretly conveyed to the Wartburg. But divine Providence took his cause more effectually under its protection: it crippled the execution of the sentence of extermination, by the war in which the Emperor was immediately entangled with France. Only in the dominions of the Emperor, his brother Ferdinand, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Duke

edict was sent to the princes in Neudecker's Urkunden aus der Reformationszeit, s. 1), was drawn up by Alexander (Pallavicini, lib. i. c. 28. Münter's Beyträge zur K. G. s. 101). Much discontent was caused at Rome by the observance of the safe-conduct. Compare what was said by Franc. Vettori, who was very intimate with Leo X. (Rankes Fürsten u. Völker von Südeuropa im 16ten u. 17ten Jahrh. Bd. 2, s. 87): Carò, si excusò di non poter procedere più oltre rispetto al salvocondotto, ma la verità fu che conoscendo, che il Papa temeva molto di questa dottrina di Luther, lo volle tenere con queste frena. Alphonsus Valdesius writes to Peter Martyr from Worms, 15th May, 1521, after a short account of the foregoing events (Petri Martyris Epistolae Amstelod. 1670, p. 412): Habes hujus tragœdiae ut quidam volunt finem, ut egomet mihi persuadeo, non finem sed initium. Hinc facile conjectare poteris, quid absente Caesarre futurum sit. Erasmus, on the other hand, wrote to Peter Barbarus, 26th June, 1521 (Lib. xv. Ep. 4): Lutheri tragœdia peracta est apud nos, atque utinam nunquam prodisset in theatrum: tantum hoc verentur quidam, ne cupidovitata Scylla deferamur in Charybdim, et hac victoria quidam crudelius abutantur, quam expediat rei Christianæ.

81 Luther to Spalatin 14th May, in de Wette, ii. 5. Spalatin's Annales, s. 50. Matthæus's Third Sermon, at the end. Many believed that Luther had been murdered by the Pope's creatures, and the nuncios at Worms were in consequence in danger of death. Pallavicini, i. 26, 4. Münter's Beyträge zur K. G. s. 100. Compare the outpouring of Albert Dürer, who had heard at Antwerp of Luther's disappearance, in the Journal of his Tour in Murr's Journal zur Kunstgeschichte u. zur allgem. Literatur, Th. 7, s. 68: He had heard of ten horsemen, " who traitorously bore away that pious man enlightened with the Holy Spirit, sold into their hands. For he was a follower of the true Christian faith; whether he still lives or they have murdered him, I know not; yet he has suffered for the sake of Christian truth, and because he censured the unchristian papacy, which is striving against the liberty of Christ with its heavy imposition of human ordinances; and also because we are thereby robbed and despoiled of the fruit of our blood and sweat, which is so shamefully consumed by idle persons, while the thirsty and sick laborers die of hunger; and especially it is most painful to me, that perhaps God will suffer us to remain under their false and blind doctrine, which however was devised and imposed by the men whom they call fathers; and thus the precious word may be in many points falsely interpreted, or not at all held. Ah, God of heaven, have mercy upon us! O Lord Jesus Christ, pray for thy people; deliver us in due season! O God, is Luther dead! who will henceforth deliver to us the holy gospel so clearly? O God, how much would he have been able to write for us in ten or twenty years! O all ye pious Christian men, help me to bewail duly this man inspired by God, and pray God to send us another enlightened man! O Erasmus of Rotterdam, where wilt thou remain? See what the unrighteous tyranny of worldly might, the power of darkness, can do! Hear, thou soldier of Christ! ride forth with Christ the Lord; defend the truth; win the crown of martyrdom; thou art already an old man. I have heard say of thee, that thou hast still allowed thyself two years in which thou mayest yet be fit to do something—lay them out well, for the advancement of the Gospel and true Christian faith," etc.
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of Bavaria, the Duke George of Saxony, and certain ecclesiastical princes was the edict of Worms carried into execution, so as to furnish martyrs for the new doctrine, and thereby increase the enthusiasm in its favor. In the other German countries the edict was not observed, partly because the princes were favorably inclined to Luther's cause, partly because they were withheld by fear of rebellion. At Wittenberg the alteration of the constitution of the church, according to the new principles, was forthwith commenced, and Melancthon gave to the new church the first

82 There were disturbances among the students of Erfurt against certain priests, who had declared John Draconitis, a friend of Luther, to be under ban; see Luther's letters to Spalatin and Melancthon, in May (de Wette, ii. 5–7), and Strobeil's Neue Beyträge, iv. 1. 16 ff. At Constance the citizens hindered the execution of the edict of Worms by threats; see John of Rotzheim und seine Freunde, by K. Walchner, Schaffhausen, 1836, s. 25, 110.

83 The brethren of Luther's order, the Augustines, began the work in October; see John Aurifaber's report, the first part of it, about Eisleben, s. 179; Walch, xv. 2353. The Elector considered the abolition of the mass to be precipitate, and constituted a commission of inquiry (see the Acts in T. ii. Jen. fol. 471 ss. Seckendorf, p. 214, most fully in Melancthon Opp. ed. Breitschneider, i. 456 ss.). Meanwhile, in November, 1521, appeared Luther's works on the Abuse of the Mass (Walch, xvii. 1304), and his Judicium de Votis Monasticis (T. ii. Jen. fol. 477, b.); in the last, after long hesitation on the point (see the correspondence with Melancthon from the first of August, 1521, onward, in de Wette, ii. 34 ff.), he demonstrates the invalidity of monastic vows. Then followed Synodi Augustinianorum (those of Misnia and Thuringia, which met at Wittenberg at the end of the year 1521) De libertate Monachorum Sententia (T. ii. Jen. fol. 470, b.): Primo, permissimus omnibus vel manere in monastica, vel deserere monasticam; quando qui in Christo sunt, nec Judaei, nec Graeci, nec Monachi, nec Laici sunt, et votum contra Evangelium, non votum, sed impietas est. Secundo, quia Christiana libertas Spiritus libertas est, quae nec in esca, nec in habitu posita est; placet, ut interim veste et vulgatius ritus Monachorum utantur, qui in nostri congregationibus vivunt, ut omnis amans Pauli exemplo, 1 Cor. ix. Tertio, sedita, et moderatius ceremonias, tum utendo, tum abrogando, necubi vel fides cujusquam laedatur, et in caritate pecetur. Non est enim regnum Dei escaet potus, sed justitia, pax et gaudium in Spiritu sancto. Quarto, mendicitatem interdicimus, quam toties vetuit Scriptura, 1 Thes. iii. cum silentio operantes manducant panem suum. Interdicimus et Missis votivis, quando et ab omni specie mala absinire nos Apostolus voluit. Quinto, quantum fieri potest, in Congregationibus nostris deligantur qui sint opti ad docendum verbum Dei, publice aut privatim: reliquorum parentes fratribus opera manuaria, quae forma fuit veterum Monasteriorum. Sexto, quia moderati ceremonialis et ritus omnes pro ratione temporum ac personarum visum est, volumus, ut Superioribus suis parente Fratres ex caritate, ut sine scandalo privatim et publice agamus, et per omnia hoc praestemus, ne blasphemetur bonum nostrum, Amen. As these decrees gave offense to many, a chapter assembled at Grimmia, at Whitinside, 1522, issued an explanation and justification of them; see in Kapp's Nachlese, ii. 536. Many priests in Saxony entered the married state. So did a certain James Seidler, who was thrown into prison for this reason by command of Duke George; the Wittenbergers interceded for him with the Bishop of Misnia (letters of the 18th July, 1521, in Kapp's Nachlese, ii. 464, and in Phil. Melanthonii Opp. ed. Breitschneider, i. 418). Carlsstadt wrote De Coelibatu, Monachatu et Vindicatate (Preface, 29th June, 1521, 4.), to prove the non-obligation of priest's celibacy and monastic vows. The marriage of Bartholomew Bernhardi of Feldkirch, provost at Kemberg, made the deepest
systematic exposition of its doctrines, in his Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum. 84

impression. Compare Luther to Melancthon, dd. 26th May, 1521, in de Wette, ii. 9. He has, in consequence, been often erroneously considered as the first married pastor. See J. G. Kapp, Epistola: Barth. Bern. Feldkirchius, Pastorum, qui tempore Reformations matrimonium inierunt, neutiquam, ut vulgo creditur, primus. Baruth. 1792. 4. The Elector Albert, as archbishop of Magdeburg, wished to call him to account for this. Feldkirch replied with an Apologia Pastoris Cembagensis, qui nuper suae Ecclesiae consensu uxorem duxit, 1522. 8. probably composed by Melancthon (also T. ii. Jen. fol. 438, b. Melanthonis Opp. ed. Bretschneider, i. 421. On this point, see Veesenmeyer in the Theol. Studien u. Krit. 1831. i. 125). But shortly before Luther had written to the Elector Albert, about the revival of the abuse of indulgences in Halle, and about the married priests: this letter, together with the Elector’s answer, shows how the moral strength of the two parties bore an inverse proportion to their external power. However Luther, in obedience to the will of his liege lord, still withheld his work “Wider den Abgott zu Halle,” which was ready for the press; he wrote to the Elector, 1st December, 1521 (de Wette, ii. 112), among other things: “Your Electoral Grace: they have now again set up the idol in Halle, that takes away from the poor, simple Christians their money and souls.—Your Electoral Grace perhaps thinks, that I have now given up my plans, and will now take care of myself, and that my mouth has been shut up by his Imperial Majesty.—Your Electoral Grace will be mindful of the beginning, what a terrible fire has grown out of the small, despised spark, when all the world was so sure about it, and thought that the one poor beggar was immeasurably too small for the Pope, and undertook impossibilities. But God has taken up the cause; He has given the Pope with all his followers enough to do; against and above the thoughts of all the world. He has carried the matter to a point from which the Pope will hardly bring it back again; it will grow worse with him daily, so that the work of God may herein be clearly recognized. The same God lives still—let no one doubt it now, and he has the skill to withstand a Cardinal of Mayence, though four emperors were to stand by him. He has also especial pleasure in breaking the lofty cedars, and abasing the hardened Pharaohs. But let not your Electoral Grace think that Luther is dead; he will glory freely and joyously in the God who has humbled the Pope, and begin a game with the Cardinal of Mayence that he did not much expect. Join together, dear Bishops, you may remain lordlings, however ye shall neither silence nor deafen this spirit; an overthrow shall befall you from it, which ye now little look for, so I would have you warned.”

Then he makes the two demands to abolish the idol, and to leave in peace the priests who had entered into the married state.

“To this I request and await a straightforward, speedy answer from your Electoral Grace, within fourteen days, for after these fourteen days my book against the Idol at Halle will be published, unless a plain answer be made me.”

The Elector answered on the 21st December (Walch, xix. 66): “Dear Sir Doctor, I have received and read your letter—and taken it all favorably and in good part; but in this matter, if I am not wholly mistaken, the cause which has moved you to write thus has been long since entirely done away with. I will conduct and show myself, if God will, as becomes a pious priest and Christian prince, so far as God shall give me grace, strength, and understanding: for which I pray truly, and will have prayers offered for me. For I can do nothing of my own self, and confess that I stand in need of the grace of God: I can not deny that I am a poor sinful man, who may sin and err, and daily do sin and err.”

It was not wonderful that the new and unaccustomed freedom made many men giddy. In Wittenberg a party arose from the beginning of December, which wished, like the Taborites, to restore suddenly and by force the original simplicity of divine worship. A body of students and citizens began to hinder the celebration of mass and the chanting of hours, and threatened the barefooted friars. Not long after Carlstadt joined in these proceedings. But in the last days of December some fanatics from Zwickau increased this party, and brought into circulation the doctrines of an internal word, of a visible kingdom of Christ upon earth, and the rejection of infant baptism. Only the Reformer

84 See the letters of the Senate of the Academy to the Elector, of the 3d and 5th December, in Melanchth. Opp. ed. Bretschneider. i. 487 seq.: where also the acts which follow are given most completely.

85 Carlstadt gave notice on the Sunday before Christmas, in the Cathedral Church (Bretschneider, i. 512): "dass er auf das künftige Fest circumcisions domin-i—offendlichen communiciren jedermann, wer da wolle (and so without confession), sub utraque specie panis et vini, und davor ein kurz Sermon thun, und wolle schlechts sprechen die Consecration, und die andern . . . (namely, the other portions of the Mass service) alle aussen lassen. Solle auch nicht willens sein Kael, Alben oder Chorrock zu genannter Mess auzuziehen."

86 Compare on this point Spalatin's account in Schneider's Bibliothek der Kirchengesch. II. iii., partly reprinted also in Bretschneider, i. 583 seq. On the former proceedings in Zwickau, see Leben, Schriften, und Lehren Thomae Muntzers, von Strobel. Nürnberg, 1795, s. 12 ff. Hildebrand Archiv merkw. Urkunden u. Nachrichten für die Parochialgeschichte. Jahrg. 1833, s. 1. On the whole subject, J. Hast Gesch. der Wiederläufer. Munster, 1886. 8. s. 20. Melancthon gives the following account to the Electoral Commissaries v. Einsiedeln and Spalatin at Lichtenberg (Schneider, lii. 117; Bretschneider, i. 583): "Es seind die Jo. Evangelistae (27 Dec.) zu mir zu Wittenberg kumen Claus Storck mit zweyen seiner Gesellen, mir angezeigt, wie sich etlich Empö rungh erboren zu Zwickau, und sonderlich von wegen baptisi parvulorum und fideli alienae, und sich auf Doctorem Martinum berufen. Hab darnach insonderheit gehört einen unter den drei, genannt Marcus Thomas, der mir gesagt, wie dass er, dergleichen auch Storck, sonderliche und gewisse und offenbare Gespräch mit Gott habe, doch nyn dert auch nicht predige, denn wo und was ihm Gott heisse!" Melancthon was so disconcerted that he wrote to the Elector on the same day (Bretschneider, i. 513): Non ignorat Cels. V., quam multae variae et periculosae dissensiones de verbo Dei in urbe C. V. Zwicoccavia excitatae sint. Sunt et illic in vincula conjuncti, qui nescio quae novarunt. Ex horum motum autoribus huc advolarunt tres viri, duo lanifices, literarum rudes, literatus tertius est. Andivi eos. Mira sunt, quae de esse predicant; miseros se clara voce Dei ad docendum, esse sibi cum Deo familiaria colloquia, videre futura, bre viter, viros esse propheticos et apostolicos. Quibus ego quomodo commovare, non facile dixerim. Magnis rationibus adducor certe, ut contemni eos nolim. Nam esse in eis spiritus quosdam multis argumentis adparet, sed de quibus judicare praeter Martinum nemo facile possit. Proinde cum vertatur hic evangeli periculum, ecclesiae gloria et pax, modis omnibus efficiendum est, ut his hominibus Martinum copia fiat. Ad hunc enim provocant. At his interview with the Electoral Commissaries on the 1st January, Melancthon was more self-possessed. He says (Schneider, lii. 119; Bretschneider, i. 584): "Mich hat nicht sonderlich bewegt, was sie von göttlichen Gesprächen sagen, und dergleichen. Denn solches in seinem Werth stehet, und nichts daran gelegen, anders denn, dass durch
himself, in whom discretion, enthusiasm, and energy were united

suchen Schenken questions, however, shall not be engaged in any of the complaints that may be made. These Quaestiones aber de baptismo haben mich meines Bedürfnisses billig bewegt." (A little before: "Es haben Augustinus und derselbenzeit viele andere mehr viel disputirt de baptismo parvulorum, und wenig ausgerichtet," etc.) On the day following, the Elector had an intimation conveyed to Melancthon and Amador by the Commissaries, that it was advisable they should not mix with the people; for it "wäre zu besorgen, ihr Vorgehen wäre mehr eine Verführung, denn ein Bestand in Wahrheit, weil sie von den Haupt-sachern der Empörung und Aufruhr zu Zwickau seyn sollten, und zu furchten,—sie möchten zu Wittenberg auch Empörung anrichten." Among the articles thus agitated at Zwickau was the baptism of infant children: "als namlich, dass etliche zweifeln, ob der Glaube der Pater dem Kind zu der Tauf behülflich; etliche vermeinten, ohne den Glauben selig zu werden. Etliche geben an, als wäre die göttliche Schrift zur Lehre der Menschen unkräftig: denn der Mensch muss allein durch den Geist gelernt werden. Denn hätt Gott den Menschen mit Geschäft wollen gelernt haben, so hätt er uns vom Himmel herab ein Biblend gesandt. Item für die Todten wäre nicht zu bitten, und andere grausame Unart, die der Stadt Zwickau einen unchristlichen Pickardischen Na-

men machen." Upon this Melancthon declared still more composedly: "dass an dem Artikel von der Tauf der Kinder nichts sonderliches liege, und dass besser sey, dass man davon nicht weiter handle, denn dass man viel davon zweifeln:" this only was suspi-
cious, "dass die Leut zu Empörung geneigt, und zu Wittenberg auch Aufruhr möcht-
ten erregen." Moreover, the Elector, at the request of Melancthon, promised that these persons, if they did not begin a rebellion, should not be put down by force. Thus the prophets of Zwickau, namely, the two cloth-weavers, Nicholas Storch and Marcus Tho-

mae, and two students, Marcus Stubner and Martin Cellarius, now continued to work at Wittenberg, and won over Carlstadt especially to their side: who also had been mar-
rried in January, 1522 (see the announcement of his marriage, 6th Jan., in Bretschneider, i. 538). As to their doctrines, see Camerarius De Vita Melanchth. ed. Strobel, p. 46. They rejected the existing Church, and said, "ex illa discedendo hanc institui oportere. Et quibus hoc persuaderetur et placetur, eos denuo baptismio initiandos esse. —Nihil recte et debito modo fieri gerique uspiajum perhibebant, quod summa rerum es-
et penes malos.— Atque decrevisse Deum extinguere istud genus et sufficiere alterum inno-
centia justitiaeque et sanctitate praeditum. Ad cujus exordium atque incremen-
tum necessariam esse curam et diligentiam in procreandas obole. Et ideoneminem

duce uxorom debere, ex qua non sciret se liberos pios, et gratos aternos Deo, et ad

cumunionem regni coelestis electos suscepturum esse. Id autem non aliter quam ipso

Deo patetfaciente scrib posse. Et jactabatur praecipuum donum Dei in illis coetus praec-
dictionis eventuum futurorum, et arcanorum judicii, cujus eximiae et salutaris rei in

veritate nominem est graecum Prophetia. Compertum autem est, multa horum per quie-
tem somni mirabilia visa, et species quasdam vigilantium etiam aligubi, sed pacuali,
oblatas esse. Cognitum etiam est, fuisse in coetu isto foeminas vaticanentes.— Et hoc

erat in legibus iurorum, ne quis in oti liberali bonis artibus et literis operam dareet, neu

aliunde scientiae cognitionisque facultatem quaerent, quam abs aeterni Dei benignitate,
cui adjungentis humanis nihil esset opus. According to the Zeitung aus Wittenberg,

written in the middle of January (Strobel's Miscellanea, v. 127), Marcus Stubner said:

"Martin is right on most points, but not on all: Another will come after him with a

loftier spirit, etc. Item, the Turks will soon take possession of Germany. Item, all

priests shall be slain if they now take wives. Item, in a short time—about five, six, or

seven years—there shall be such a change in the world that no ungodly or sinful man

shall remain alive, etc. Then shall there be one way, one baptism, one faith. The bap-
tism of infants, as now administered, before they have reason, is no baptism." At Witt-

tenberg the sect worked directly only in secret (minus libere et aperte, Camerar.), in a

wider sphere only indirectly by the preachers devoted to their cause, Carlstadt, and the

former Benedictine, Gabriel Didymus, who advanced with rapid strides. With regard
to these disturbances compare the Zeitung aus Wittenberg, quoted above. Something
in such an extraordinary manner, could protect his work from was now conceded to the innovations, but the innovators proceeded still farther; see Beyer's Schreiben an Einsiedel v. 25. Jan. (Bretschn. i. 540): "I would have you know that the University and the town-council have agreed upon the way in which mass should be celebrated in the parish church to which we all belong. First, the hymn will be sung with the Introit, Gloria, et in terra, epistles, gospel, and Sanctus; then comes the sermon, and afterward the mass, as our God and Lord Jesus instituted it at the Last Supper. The priest speaks the words of consecration aloud in German, and admonishes the people that to every one who feels the burden of sin, and thirsts for the grace of God, the body and blood of the Lord will be administered. When the people have communicated, the Agnus Dei, Carmen, and Benedicamus Domine are sung. The canon has been reversed. For the future we will tolerate no beggar, be he monk or no monk. The poor shall be provided for from the common purse.—They will not endure images in church, and in time will remove them; strong passages of Scripture are brought against them." Carlstadt and Didymus continually preached against the adherents of the old customs (Bretschn. i. 548); they taught, for instance (p. 548), "dass die Gemeine wohl Macht habe, in Nachlässigkeit der Oberkeit aus einem Mitleiden und Liebe Ichts (etwas) vornunehmen," and thereby effected (p. 550), that in the beginning of February the images were suddenly carried off, cut to pieces, and burned. Carlstadt made yet further alterations in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, whereupon, in the parish church (p. 552), "einer aus, der andre so, ohne Ordnung und Messgewand Mess gehalten haben." This occasioned fresh investigations and threats, and orders from the Elector; meanwhile the innovations were partially submitted to. The Council gave notice, on the 12th Febr. (p. 550): "Der Bilde halben haben wir beschlossen auf dem Rathhaus, dass sie sollendurch die Obrigkeit, welcheralleinesanstehet, evert werden." On the contrary, in the Mass (p. 554), the "Weise, Kleidung, und Gesang" were to remain as before. Carlstadt now promised (p. 557) that he would refrain from this style of preaching for the future. Didymus left Wittenberg. Still, great disunion remained (p. 560). This picture is filled up by the account of M. Sebast. Froschel, who came to Wittenberg in 1522, in the Dedication to the Elector Augustus of his tract on the Priesthood, Witten. 1565. 4 (Fortges. Sammlung v. alten u. neuen theol. Sachen, 1731, s. 691). He charges Carlstadt, Didymus, and M. George More, the master of the boys' school, with having ruined the boys' school, and says they would gladly have made an end of the University also. "These three men give out that no one should study, or keep school, or confer degrees, for Christ has forbidden all this in Matt. xxiii. with these words: Be ye not called Rabbi, or masters; in consequence of this many men of fine ingenia at the same time left this place and forsook their studies, who might have been useful to their country and countrymen.—Dr. Carlstadt went round to the houses of the citizens, and asked them how they understood this or that passage in this or that prophet. And when the simple people wondered at his question, and said to him: Sir Doctor, how comes it that you learned men and doctors in holy Scripture thus ask us poor, illiterate, unlearned folk such questions? ye should rather tell us the meaning: then Carlstadt answered them, that God had hidden it from such, as the Lord Jesus himself says, in Matt. xi. and Luke x. : I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Besides, these three persons began not only to tear down the schools, but also the churches and images in churches, casting the images out of the churches; and they gave out that no learned man should be received or allowed as preacher or priest in the churches, but laymen and handcraftsmen, who were only able to read, as I have known many such persons whom they wished to call to this office."

88 Compare his judgment about the fanatics, addressed to Melanchthon, 18th Jan., 1522 (de Wette, ii. 125): Venio ad Prophetas, ac primum non probo tueam timiditatem, cum et majori tam spiritu quam eruditione polleas, quam ego. Ac primum, cum testimonium perhibeant de se ipsis, non statim audiendi sunt; sed juxta consilium Joannis, spiritus probandi. Habetis consilium Gamalielis differenti: nihil enim adhuc audio ab
sinking into a destructive fanaticism. He suddenly came forth from his seclusion, in March, 1522; his powerful preaching frightened away the false prophets, and quieted men's minds.

eis dici et fieri, quod Satanas non queat praestare vel semulari. Then follows advice as to how the prophets were to be examined, and a defense of infant baptism and the Augustinian doctrine that the fides aliena of the sponsors availed for the children. He writes to Spalatin on the 17th Jan. (l. c. 135): Tu quoque cura, ne Princeps noster manus cruinet in prophetis illis novis Cygniis. There is also a fragment of a letter to the men of Wittenberg, probably in Febr. (not Dec., 1521, as in de Wette, ii. 118):

"They have introduced these changes in the mass and images, attacked the sacrament, and other things which are of no account, and have let faith and love go; just as though all the world hereabout had great understanding in these matters, which is not the fact; and so they have brought it about, that many pious people have been stirred up to do what is really the devil's work. It would indeed be a good thing to begin such changes, if we could all together have the needful faith, and if they suited the whole Church in such measure that no one should take offense at them. But this can never be. We can not all be as learned as Carlstadt. Therefore we must yield to the weak; otherwise thou, who art strong, wilt run far; and the weak, who can not follow thee at like pace, will be run down. God has given to you the Word in its purity, and shown great grace to them at Wittenberg. Yet I do not despise among you any love at all," etc.

On the journey he wrote to the Elector, who had warned him against it (Melanchth. Epist. ed. Bretschneider, l. 559), on the 6th March (de Wette, ii. 139), from Borna, e. g.:

"This I know full well about myself, if matters stood so at Leipsick as at Wittenberg, I would ride thither, though (your Electoral grace will pardon my foolish speech) for nine days long it were to rain only Duke George's, and each of them were nine-fold more furious than this one is.—This is written to your Electoral grace to the intent that your Electoral grace may know that I go to Wittenberg under far higher protection than that of the Elector. I have no intention of demanding protection from your Electoral grace. Yea, I take it I have more power to protect your Electoral grace than you have to protect me. Besides, if I knew that your Electoral grace could and would protect me, I would not come. No sword either can or ought to guide and aid this cause: God alone must provide, without human care or help. Accordingly, whoever has most faith will be here of most use. Since I now perceive that your Electoral grace is still very weak in faith, I can by no means regard your Electoral highness as the man who is able to shield or save me. As your Electoral grace desires to know what you should do in this cause, especially as you think you have done far too little: I answer with all subjection; your Electoral grace has done far too much, and you ought to do nothing at all. For God neither can nor will endure your or my plans and proceedings. He will have it left to himself; this and nothing else; your Electoral grace may decide accordingly.

—In respect to men your Electoral grace should thus conduct yourself; you should, as an Elector, be obedient to the supreme authority, and allow his imperial majesty to rule in your Electoral grace's towns and dominions, over persons and property, as is due, according to the order of the Empire, and neither oppose, nor resist, nor desire to offer any resistance or hinderance to the authorities, if they wish to arrest or kill me. For no one may break with or resist the powers that be excepting Him alone who has ordained them; to act otherwise is rebellion, and against the will of God," etc. On Luther's meeting at an inn in Jena with some Swiss traveling to Wittenberg, see the true-hearted account of one of them, John Kessler, in the original in J. J. Bernet's Joh. Kessler genannt Athenarius, Burger und Reformator zu St. Gallen. St. Gallen, 1826. 8. s. 27.

Luther arrived at Wittenberg on Friday the 7th of March, and preached every day from the Sunday Invocarit to Remissiere (9th—16th March) against the imprudent innovations: "Acht Sermon D. M. L. von ihm geprediget zu Wittenberg in der Fasten, darin kürzlich begrieffen von den Messen, Bildnissen, beyderley Gestalt des Sacraments, von den Speisen und heimlichen Beicht," in two different editions, Walch, xx. 1 ff., and
Soon after he offered to his German fatherland the precious fruit plucked in his retirement at the Wartburg, his Translation of the New Testament, which gave to every man of the people the means of arriving at certainty in his faith, and of being able to give a reason for it.

Luther wrote to Gaspar Gütel, prior of the Augustines at Eisleben, 30th March (de Wette, ii. 177): Ego Carolstadium offendi, quod ordinationes suas cassavi, licet doctrinam non damnarim, nisi quod displict in solis ceremoniis et externis faciebus laborasse cum, neglecta interim vera doctrina Christiana h. s. fide et charitate. Nam sua inepta docendi ratione populum perduxerat, ut se Christianum arbitraretur per has res nihili, si utraque specie communicaret, si tangeret (receive the sacrament with the hand), si non confiteretur, si imagines frangeret. Froschel (see Note 87), Fortg. Samml. 1731, s. 694: "As Dr. Carlstadt now saw that his projects were defeated, he went away from the city of Wittenberg to a village called Segren, not far off; there he bought him a farm, and became a peasant; and the other peasants called him Naber Enders (neighbor Andreas). —Naber Enders did not endure this very long; it soon became too much for him; and he crept back again to the Cross (suum Kreutz). So, likewise, did the other two, Frater Gabriel and M. More," etc. At first Luther refused to see the prophets of Zwickau; at length he admitted MarcusStubner, Martin Cellarius, and a third to his presence (Camerarius in Vita Melanchth. § 15): Audivit Lutherus placide narratum Marcum sua. Cum dicendi finem fecisset, nihil contra illa adeo absurda et fallacia tolerat. Dixerat, quid propter me incipere inquinaverant, etiam verum esse Lutherum suspicaturale aliqua de divinohomine. At Marcus paulogedatior, ut acias, inquit, Luther e spiritu Dei praeditum esse, ego, quid in animo tuo conceperis, sum indicaturus, idque est: leicipere inclinari ad haec, ut perniciosam doctrinam veram esse credas. Cum Lutherus, ut ipse postea dixit, ut minantes gloriantes eum misit.—Eo die oppido illi excesserunt, et Chembergo—literas splenitas misit et execrationibus ad Lutherum miserunt. Compare Luther's short account of this interview, given to Spalatin and Lange, 12th April (de Wette, ii. 179, 181). Nicholas Storch also afterward appeared before him; see Luther to Spalatin, 4th Sept., 1522 (1.c. 245).

The first edition appeared in September, 1522, the second as early as December, and so every year original editions and reprints. In 1523 followed the first part of the Old Testament, the Books of Moses; in 1524 the second part, the rest of the historical books; and the third part, Job, the Psalter, and the writings of Solomon; in 1523 the fourth part, the Prophets, some of which had been before published by themselves. The first entire edition of the Bible, with the Apocrypha, appeared in 1534. Compare G. W. Panzer's Entwurf einer vollständigen Gesch. der Deutschen Bibelübersetzung Luther's. 2te Aufl. Nürnberg, 1791. 8. Locke's kurzgefasste Gesch. d. Luther. Bibelübersetzung, in the Zeitschrift für gebildete Christen der evangel. Kirche, 8tes Heft (Elberfeld, 1828), s. 1. K. A. Weidemann's Gesch. der Deutschen Bibelübersetzung Luther's. Leipzig, 1834. 8. D. H. Schott's Gesch. der Deutschen Bibelübersetzung D. M. Luther's, u. der fortdauernde Werth derselben, Leipzig, 1836. 8 (vgl. Jen. A. L. Z. Marz, 1836, s. 821). Groteschen über D. M. Luther's Verdienste um die Ausbildung der hochdeutschen Schriftsprache in die Abhandlungen des Frankfurter Gelehrten-Vereins für deutsche Sprache. St. 1 (Frankf., 1818), s. 24 ff.

Cochlaeus, De Actis et Scriptis M. Lutheri ad ann. 1522, fol. 50, b.: mirum in medium multiplicabatur per chalographos novum Testamentum Lutheri, ut etiam autores, et mulieres, et quilibet idiotae, qui theutonicas literas utcunque didicerant, novum illud vol. IV. — 5
Hadrian VI., a pious and strict man, who mounted the papal
Testamentum, tanquam fontera omnis veritatis, avidissime legerent, quicunque Luthe
ran!erant, illud quesaepe legendomemoriae commendarent, in sinu secum portantes
codiccm. Ex quo tantam intrapaucos meases sibidoctrinamarrogabant, ut non solum
cum laicis partis catholicae, verum etiam cum sacerdotibus et monachis, atque adeo
etiam cum Magistris et sacrae theologiae Doctoribus disputare de fide et Evangelio non
erubescearent. Quin immo repertae sunt multierculae, quae propositis thematis editique
libellis theutonicis ausse fuerint ultro provocare, et quidem proccacissime insultantes,
ignorantiamque improerantes et contemptui habentes viros, non modo laicos atque pri-
vatos homines, verum etiam quoslibet Doctores et Licentiatos totius facultatis theologi-
ac, et totas etiam Universitates, id quod de Argula, nobili quadam muliere, compertum
habetur (compare Lipowsky Argula v. Grumbach geb. Freilen v. Stauffen. München,
1811. 4., de Wette, ii. 558).—Cum igitur mobile vulgus ubique magis intentum sit et
avidum ad res novas late divulgandas, quam ad res consuetas in suo stato conservan-
das; factum est, ut turba Lutherana longe plus operae imperderit discendis sacris lite-
ris ita translatis, quam impedit populus Catholicorum, ubi Laici eam earum potissime
in sacerdotes et Monachos rejiciebant. Unde contigit nonnunquam, a laica Lutheranis
plures scripturae locos ex tempore citari in colloquis, quam citarentur a prebyters et
Monachis catholicis. At jam dudum persuaserat Lutherus turbis suis, nullis dictis ha-
bendam esse fidem, nisi quae ex sacris litteris proferrentur. Idcirco reputationem Catho-
lici ab illis ignari scripturarum, etiam eruditissimi essent theologi. Quinetiam palam
aliquando coram multitudine contradicebant eia Laici aliqui, tanquam mera conci-
one dixerint mendacia aut figmenta hominum. Accedebant et alia incommoda. Num
ami antiqui theologi multos retro annis peritiam linguarum et politiores litteras neglex-
isent; Lutherus mox ab initio per Philippum Melanchthonem, et per Zuilingium, Oeco-
lampudiumque et Bucerum (antequam ab eo in nonnullis articulis dissentire coepissent)
totam vere juventutem, eloquentiae literis linguarumque studio deditam, ac ingenio ex
acutis et expolitis Erasmi Roterdami opusculis pulcherrime excitum, in partem suam
traxit. Juvenes vero et ingenio alacres, et laborum patientes mox in sacris litteris (qui-
bus Lutherus unicum tribuebat sensum, et cun solummodo literalem) ita profecerunt
literatiti, ut vel XXX annorum theologitarnprompt!incitandisscripturae locis non
viderentur, quam erant illi. Qui et de peritia linguarum et de styli elegantiae superbi-
entcs, mox quoslibet veteris farinae theologos non solum contemnere, verum etiam pro-
vocare coeperunt, maxime, quando ad populum verba factabant. Quod si quis novita-
tibus eorum contradiceret, mox praetendebant lectiati dictis vel hebraicam, aut
aliquem ex veteris critici opinionibus, et confessim plenius convivitorium plaustris invehe-
bantur in graecarum et hebraicarum literarum ignaros theologos, quos odiose sophistas,
asinos, porcos, animalia ventris, et inutilia pondera terrae vocabant, superaddentes
etiam ronchos et cachenos inmodestissime. Ac unum Lutherum, velut verum theologum
populo commendantes, ejus adversarios velut ignaros, immo hostes veritatis, et ob
alimoniam sibi praecisim aut immaculam Lutherum invidientes, invidiosisssime traduce-
bant.

He had taught the fallibility of the Pope in his Comm. in libr. quartum Sententi-
arium (reprinted, Romae, 1522, fol.). Quae et de sacra conform. certum est, quod (Ponti-
fex) possit errare in iis, quae tangunt fidem, haeresim per suam determinationem aut
decretalem asserendo: On the other hand, Luther's doctrines appeared preposterous to
him, the strict scholastic theologian, and so he said with regard to Luther's propositions
condemned by the theologians of Louvain, in a letter which he wrote to them while yet
cardinal (C. Burmanni Hadrianus VI. sive Analecta historiae de Hadr. VI. Traj. ad.
Rhen., 1729. 4. p. 447): qui sane tam rudes ac palpabiles haereses mibi prae se forre
videntur, ut ne discipulus quidem theologae, ac prima ejus limina ingressus, ita labi
merito potuisse. — Miror valde, quod homo tam manifeste, tamque pertinaciter in fide
errans, et suas haereses somniaque diffundens, impune errare, et alos in perniciossi-
mos errores trahere impune sinitur. Hence he must come to the opinion that the redress
of external abuses in the Church would put an end to Luther's success. This judgment
CHA. I.—GERMAN REFORMATION. § 1. 1522.

throne after Leo X. (†1st Dec., 1521), thought that the more plainly he acknowledged and promised to redress the defects that had crept into the external constitution of the Church, so much the more decidedly he might venture to claim the execution of the existing law of heresy against Luther's deviations in doctrine. But the public declarations which, for this purpose, he caused to be made at the Diet of Nuremberg (Dec., 1522), only resulted in

would necessarily be strengthened by the letter of Willibald Pirkheimer addressed to him (Pirkheymeri Opp., ed. Conr. Ritterhusius, p. 372; Gerdesii Hist. Evangelii renovati, i. Monum. p. 170), according to which the arrogance and deceitfulness of the Dominicans, and their hatred of the humanists, were the cause of all the evils. Ludovicus Vives, in a formal opinion (Opp. ii. 884; Burmannus, p. 456), recommended the new Pope to call a general council, to do away with all the confusion prevailing in Europe. Hadrian's correspondence with Erasmus is of especial notice (Bermannus, p. 493 seq., but here the letters are not all given; see Danz Analecta Critica de Hadriano VI. P. ii., Jenae, 1814. 4. p. 9). He challenges him to write against Luther. Erasmus declines this as useless: he complains that he has been erroneously considered as the originator of the heresy; he expresses his aversion to it, but points out the perverse methods of Luther's adversaries (Burmannus, p. 501: centum locos colligam ex Paulinis epistolis qui congruum cum his quae damnata sunt in Lutheri libris), and renews his former proposal (see Note 67) to let the question be adjusted by impartial arbitrators from different nations. Paul Sarpi (Histoire du Concile de Trent, traduite par Courayer, i. 41 seq.) gives an account of the Pope's deliberations with the cardinals as to the means to be adopted, from a diary of Francis Chieregati (p. 50); but it is not probable that Cardinal Cajetan, who had written on indulgence a short time before in the sense of Thomas Aquinas, would have advised him to declare, according to the earlier doctrine, that indulgence availed nothing in the sense of church-penalties. See Pallavicini, lib. ii. c. 4.

The legate, Francis Chieregati, first had a shorter form of Instructions read before the Diet, without delivering it in writing; in the beginning of the year 1523 he first produced the second, with express declarations about reform; many persons were thus led to the opinion that it had been first composed in Nuremberg (see the account of the Saxon envoy Hans von der Plannitz to the Elector, in Luther's works, 2ter Deutscher Jen. Theil. Bl. 206 b). It was sent after him, as soon as it was manifest that the public feeling in Germany required more effective declarations. These last Instructions, soon after published in German with comments (Sleidan, lib. iv. init.), in the original in Raynald. ann. 1522, No. 66, and Goldast Constitut. Imperial. i. 450. After setting forth the reasons with which the legate was to urge the princes to suppress the Lutheran heresy, it proceeds: Item dices, nos ingenuus fateri, quod Deus hanc persequitionem Ecclesiae suae inferre permittit propter peccata hominum, maxime sacerdotum et Ecclesiae Praelatorum. — Scimus, in hac sancta sede aliquotjam multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, et omnia denique in versum mutata: nec milium, si seeritudo a capite in membra a summis Pontificibus in aliis inferioribus Prelatios descederint. Omnes nos, i. e. Praelati et ecclesiastici declinaviimus unusquisque in vías suas, nec fuit jam diu, qui faceret bonum, non fuit usque ad annum: quamobrem nesse esset, ut omnes demus gloriem Deo, et humilieus animas nostras ei, videoque unusquisque nostra unde ecciderit, et se potius quilibet judicet, quam a Deo in virga furoris sui judicari velit. Qua in re quod ad nos attinet, politieberr nos omnes operam adhibituras, ut primum Curia haec, unde forte hoc malum processit, reformetur; ut sicut indeo corruptio in omnes inferiores emanavit, ita eadem ab eadem sanitas et reformatio omnium emanet. — Quanquam nemo mirari debebit, si non statim omnia errata et abusus omnes per nos emendatos viderit: inveteratus nimium
FOURTH PERIOD.—DIV. I.—A.D. 1517-1648.

a new and importunate demand for the redress of the oft-repeated grievances of the German nation. For the first attempts at reform

morbust est, nec simplex, sed varius et multiplex; pedetentim in ejus cura procedendum est, et prius gravioribus magisque periculus occurrit. Ne omnia pariter reformari volentes omnia perturbemus. Quod autem ultimia literis suis scribis, questios fuisse Principes istos, quod Concordatis eorum per hanc sedem derogatum sit; dictes, nos de his, quae ante nos facta fuere, culpari nec posse, nec debere, nobisque ejusmodi derogationes, etiam dum in minoribus eassemus, semper displicusse. Proinde nobis certissimam sententiam esse, etiamsi ipsi non requirerent, illis nostri Pontificatus tempore penitus abstinere, partim, ut uniuicique jus suum servemus, partim quia a sequit et humanitas exposit, ut inclytem nationem nostram non solum non offendamus, sed etiam peculiares et favores impendamus. De processibus vero, quos a Rota avocavi, et ad partes remitti postulant, dices, nos cupere eis in hoc gratia senatorium quantum honeste possimus; sed propter absentiam auditorum ab urbe pestis gratia, non posse nos de qualitate et habitudine ipsorum processuum ad præsens informari; reversis vero illis—facturos in gratiam dictorum Principum quietissimam ratione habebamus. Item quia intemelius, in Germania esse multos bonos et docet viros pauperes, aliquam etiam præclare ingenia, quae ex indignitate apostolica provisionum, his etiam studiis, quibus postulant, ut in occasione politica et ministerio, ut in senatus, ut in exercitibus non a nobis subveniret!

The answer of the Estates to the Pope may be seen in Latin in Goldast Constitut. Imperial. l. 452, in German in F. Hortleder Von den Ursachen des Deutschen Krieges, i. 9, and Walch, xv. 2550 (compare Ranke, Deutsche Gesch. Im Zeitalter d. Ref. ii. 52 ff.) : Quod sedis Apostolicae sententia in Lutherum latu, simulique Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis edictum non sit deinitae executioni demandatum, non sine maximis, urgentissimis rationibus, utpote non pejora inde causarentur, etc., hactenus praetermissum est. Majori namque populi partis jam pridem persuasum est, et modo Lutheranis libris ac dogmatibus populorum opinio sic informata, ut jam pro comperto habeant, Nationi Germaniae a Curia Romana per certos abusus multa et magna gravamina et incommoda illata esse: ob id, si pro executione Apostolicae sedis sententiae, vel Imperatoriae Ma-
in Rome, Hadrian earned hatred, resistance, and an early death (14th Sept., 1523). His successor, Clement VII, immediately
returned to the old papal ways, and demanded, through his cardinal legate, Campeggio, at the Diet of Nuremberg (Jan., 1524), the unconditional suppression of the heresy. The legate only obtained an unsatisfactory decree for the observance of the edict of Worms, as far as was possible, and now endeavored, by negotiations with the separate Estates and with individuals, to obtain somewhat

non nisi vel terroris gelu, vel sanguinis pluvia restinguí. With regard to the instructions of the legate, Cap. 7, § 9: Hujusmodi mandata, sicut aperto declarant Adriani probitatem,—ita apud plerique majorem in eo prudentiam cumcircumpectionemque desiderabant. § 10: Experientia compertum est, non modo Romanum Pontificatum,—sed regimen medici Ordinis religiosi, quantumvis simplicis ac formae severioris, melius regi a quodam praedito mediocris probitate cum eximia prudentia conjuncta, quam a sanctis monia modicae prudentiae compote. Quapropter ut ipsa sanctitas in subdita conservetur, non tantum in sanctitate, quam in prudentia momenti est.

When Campeggio was required to make a declaration at the Diet with regard to the Gravamina, he replied (Sleidanus, lib. iv. ed. Am Ende, p. 296): In conventu Wormsiae Caesaris exilise mandatum ejus rei, de communi ipsorum consilio promulgatum: sibi igitur videri, prissquam aliiu decreatur, de modo executionis deliberandum esse. —Quantum ad ipsorum postulate pertinet, an editas sint, ut Romam deferantur, omnino nescire: tria solvm exemplaria fuerit perlati Romam ad quosdam privatim: ex ipsis unum sibi contigisse: Pontifici autem et Cardinalium senatu non posse persuade, haec a Principibus sua fuerit decreta, sed existimare, privatov homines odio reipublicae Romanae in lucem emisses: nullum etiam ejus rei se mandatum habere: neque tamen hoc sic accipiendo esse, quasi de eo potestatem non habeat agendi: sed in ipsam postulat is esse multa, quae et Pontificis deroget auctoritati, et haeresim redoleant, et a se tractari non possint: alia vero, quae non adversentur Pontifici, quaeque nitantur sequi, non se recusare, quominus de ilis et cognoscat et agat: sed tamen sibi videri, moderatius multo posses proponi, si quid erga Pontificem habeant. Pirckheimer narrates that this Campeggio, then at Nuremberg, cheated a poor mathematician out of a book and a globe, and refused to make him any indemnification because he was Lutheran; see Strobel's Vermischte Beytrage zur Gesch. der Literatur, Nürnberg, 1765, s. 98.

The final decree of the Diet, 18th April, 1524, in Lünig's Reichsarchiv P. Gen. cont. 1, p. 445; Walch, xv. 2674: the Emperor had expected that the states would, with regard to the edict of Worms, "gehorsamlich gelebt und nachkommen seyn, darzu dasselbe gehandhabt haben, und aber solches nicht beschiehen, davon gemeiner Christenheit deutscher Nation nicht kleine Beschwerung erfolgt." On the repeated demand of the Emperor, the Estates determined, "demselben unsern Mandat gehorsamlich, wie sie sich derschuldig erkennen, so viel ihnen möglich, zu geloben, gemass zu halten und nachzukommen." Libels were to be discontinued, a general council assembled as soon as possible, an abstract of the new doctrines, "was darin disputirlich gefunden," to be prepared for its use: meanwhile, "das h. Evangelium und Gottes Wort nach rechttem wahren Verstande u. Auslegung der von gemeiner Kirchen angenommenen Lehrern ohn Aufruh u. Aergerniss gepredigt u. gelehrt." But measures were to be taken with regard to the Gravamina at the next diet. But the electoral envoy, and the deputies of the counts and nobility, protested against this decree (see the documents in Walch, xv. 2696). The Pope remonstrated against its indefiniteness to the Emperor, and to the Kings of France and England (see letters of the 16th, 17th, and 22d May, in Reynald, 1524, no. 15 ss.). The Emperor accordingly, in an edict from Burgos, 15th July (Cyprian's Nützil. Urkunden appended to Tentzel's Bericht, Th. 2, s. 304), refused the demand for a council, and required, "pei vermeidung Criminis laesae Majestatis, unser u. des Reichs Acht u. Aberacht" the observance of the edict of Worms.
more. He actually succeeded so far as to unite several of the Estates at Ratisbon (July, 1524), in concluding a league for the execution of the edict of Worms, and in receiving from the legate a decree against isolated abuses, as if this was the reformation of the Church that was to satisfy the universal expectation. However, the time for deception was past; even zealous Catholic princes were ashamed of supporting this sham reform; and it soon became the laughing-stock of the people.

Hadrian's honest concessions and fruitless efforts, as well as the opposite policy of his successor, only increased the conviction that a reformation of the Church was necessary, but could never be expected from Rome. Hence there was a more decided return to those ecclesiastical reforms which had already been successfully begun. In almost every part of Germany they had their champions. Popular authors, such as Hans Sachs at Nuremberg, John Eberlin of Günzburg, Michael Stiefel from Essling—

He desired especially to draw over Melancthon to his side. When, in April and May, he visited his fatherland, the Palatinate, the legate sent his secretary, Frederick Nausea, to him, to win him by large promises. Melancthon stoutly refused every overture (see the account of Camerarius, who was present at the time, Vita Melanchth. § 26, ed. Strobel, p. 98). Melancthon was thereby induced to send the cardinal a letter, which has become known under the title De Doctrina D. Lutheri ad Amicum quendam (Mel. Epist., ed. Bretschneider, i. 657), and begins with the important remark: Fallitur mundus, cum unum hoc a Luthero judicat, ut publicae caeremoniae abolantur.—Verum non de caeremoniis dimicat Lutherus, majus quoddam docet, quid inter hominum justitiam et Dei justitiam. The legate also tried to win Melancthon by means of Erasmus; see Erasmi Ep. ad Mel. postr. Nonas Sept., 1525, in Bretschneider, i. 672.

Even the zealous Catholic Ortuinus Gratius says of it in his Fasciculus 1. c.: quae sicuti paucis complectitur, ita etiam a paucis est recepta. Lampoons against it are mentioned in Strobél's Miscellaneen, ii. 134, where also some extracts are given from one of them, "Absaz oder Fehdschrift des höllischen Fürsten Lucifers, Doctor Martin Luther jetzt zugesandt." For instance, by his Wüttenbergische Nachtgah, probably in 1523. Disputacion zwischen einem Chorherren u. Schuhmacher, darin das Wort Gottes u. ein recht christlich Wesen verfochten wird: 1524. Dialog von den Scheinwerken der Geistlichen u. ihren Gelübden: 1524. See Hans Sachs, Beförderer der Reformation, von Veessenmeyer, in der Kirchenhist. Archiv, 1826, ii. 249.

In 1521 he left the Franciscan monastery at Ulm, and labored in many places as a preacher of reform. To the number of his works, which are distinguished for their
en, and others recommended them. In many parts of northern Germany, and the adjacent countries, they obtained the ascendancy: in East Friesland from 1519; in some towns of Pomerania, and of Livonia, and in Silesia, from 1522; in Prussia and Mecklenburg from 1523; in Denmark and Sweden mildness, especially the 15 Bundagenossen. Strobel's Nachricht v. Joh. Eb. v. G. Leben u. Schriften im Altdorf, literar. Museum, i. 363. Eighteen works of his are here enumerated. His work on the Reformation of the Clerical Order is reprinted in Strobel's Miscellaneen, ii. 207.

104 An Augustinian monk at Essling; he wrote a poem, "Von der Christformigen, rechtgegründten Lehre D. M. Luther's," and was drawn into a correspondence about it with Thomas Müntzer at Strasbourg. He left his monastery in 1522, worked as an evangelical preacher in many places, wrote much in the cause of the Reformation, but degenerated at length into Apocalyptic dreams, † 1567 at Jena; see the Nachricht von M. Stiefel's Leben u. Schriften, in Strobel's Neue Beyträge, i. 1.

105 Thus Kettenbach, a barefooted friar, wrote, "Practicapracticirtausderh. Bibel, 1523. 4." See Altordisches literar. Museum, ii. 51. In the year 1524 appeared: "Ein Sermongcpredigt vom Pnuren zu Werdt bey Numberg von dem freyen Willendes Menschen, auch von Anrufimg der Heiligen," composed by Diepold Peringer, a peasant from the district of Ulm, who had preached publicly at Kitzingen and Nürnberg, and was probably also the author of the following works: "Das Christl. Pauren getreuen Rath," and "Ein schöne Auslegung über das göttlich Gebet Vater Unser, das uns Gott selbst geleret hat. Das hat betracht ein armer Bauer, u. s. w.;" see Riederer's Nachrichten, ii. 71.—Utz Rychanner's (Urbanus Regius) Gespräch zwischen einem Pfaffen u. Weber: probably to the same author belongs also the dialogue between a barefooted friar and a spoon-maker. Both dialogues have been erroneously attributed to Hans Sachs; see Veesenmeyer, in the Kirchenhist. Archiv, 1826, iii. 271.—Ain schöner Dialogus von einem Lanaknecht u. Predigermünlich durch Wolfgang Zierer von Salzburg; see Veesenmeyer in Iligen's Zeitschrift f. d. hist. Theologie, ii. 2, 257.


108 See § 15, Note 5, below.

109 Breslau set the example; it was followed by Frederick II., Duke of Liegnitz, and George, Margrave of Brandenburg, as Duke of Jägerndorf; see Rosenberg's Reform. Gesch. v. Schlesien. Breslau, 1767.

110 See § 15, Note 8, below.

the number of adherents was already considerable. Reform met with special success among the people in the free towns. Thus, by the decision of the citizens, it prevailed at Francfort on the Mayne,112 in Swabian Halle,113 and in Magdeburg in 1523,114 in 1524 in Ulm,115 Strasburg,116 Bremen,117 and Nuremberg.118 Very few were the towns in which it did not stir up a hazardous struggle that endangered the old constitution of the Church.119

112 It had been preached there ever since 1521, and been protected by certain noblemen in the neighborhood. On the 5th March, 1523, the Senate had to issue an order to all the clergy to preach the word of God pure and clear, Seckendorf, i. 243. J. B. Ritter's Evang. Denkmahl der Stadt Frankf. a. M., od. ausfuhrl. Bericht der desselbst er
gangenien Kirchenreform. Frankf., 1726. 4.
113 By John Brenz, who here became pastor in 1522, and discontinued mass in 1523, Seckendorf, i. 242.
114 The citizens assembled on the 23d June, 1523, with seven preachers, in the Augustinian monastery, and drew up articles for the Council, in which they demanded a reformation. Then they prevailed on Nic. Amsdorf to undertake the arrangement of ecclesiastical matters, Seckendorf, i. 246. G. S. Rotger's Magdeburg. Reformations-
geschichte. 2te Aufl. Magdeburg, 1792. 8.
115 Though the Franciscans, John Eberlin (see Note 103), Henry of Kettenbach (see Veesenmeyer's Beyträge zur Gesch. der Literatur u. Reform., Ulm, 1792. s. 79), and John Diepholt had preached the Reformation before this time, it obtained greater consistancy in 1524, when Conrad Sam was called in at the request of the townsman. In the same year the Senate began its regulations for reform, by a command to the clergy either to dismiss their concubines or to marry them; see Seckendorf, i. 242.—The Re
formation prevailed at Heilbronn also by means of Bernhard Lachmann, 1521, who was pastor there; see C. Jager's Mittheilungen zur Schwab. u. Frank. Reformationsgesch.
116 The efforts for reform, which had been early undertaken, received a decided char
acter from the year 1523, when Caspar Hedio came to Strasburg as preacher at the
cathedral, Wolfgang Fabricius Capito as provost of the foundation of St. Thomas, and
Martin Bucer. The alteration in divine service was commenced in 1524, with the approv
al of the Senate; see A. Jung's Beitrage zu der Gesch. d. Reformation. 2te Abth. Gesch.
117 Henry of Zútpen preached the reformation here from 1522-24 in the Anschari-
kirche; John Timann from 1524, in the church of St. Martin. In 1525 the mass was ev
every where abolished; see Pratje, Bremen u. Verdische Bibliothek, B. 1, St. 2, s. 1; H.
118 Joh. Mülner's Reformationsgesch. der freyen Reichstadt Nürnberg. Nürnberg, 1770. 8. The two provosts, George Besler at St. Sebald, and Hector Pömer at St. Lau-
rence's, the Augustine prior, Wolfgang Volprecht, and Andrew Osiander, from 1522 pre-
acher at St. Lawrence's, began, from the year 1522, to preach the Reformation; and
the Council protected them, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the papal legate, and
the Emperor's stadholder, at the Diets of Nuremberg, in 1523 and 1524; see Alt- dor-
sisches literar. Museum, ii. 26. In the year 1524 they abolished the mass and other
popish usages, and the sentence pronounced against them by the Bishop of Bamberg re
mained without result; see Strobel's Miscellaneen, iii. 45.
119 For a characteristic account of this struggle, see Ambrose Blarer's apology to the
he shows how Luther's doctrine was perverted by his enemies: "They say Luther rejects all outward good works which God has commanded, but at the same time they pass over in silence his faithful teaching, that all good and fruitful works must proceed from the ground of a believing heart: thus he would first make the root and the tree good, so that the fruits may not be hung upon it from without, but put forth from within. They also pretend that he inculcates carnal enjoyments, and teaches that men should fast no more, and that accordingly he rejects all appointed days and seasons; but they maliciously conceal the fact that he exhorts us earnestly to daily chastening and restraint of the flesh. — Further, they object that, according to Luther's doctrine, man need not pray, merely because he condemns vain repetition, as Christ himself condemned such lip-service; however, they omit to say that he teaches us to pray without ceasing, with elevation and aspiration of the soul toward God. — They report that Luther teaches carnal wantonness, because he wishes to put some check upon the wide-spread, scandalous impurity of the clergy by permission to marry, and to assist well-meaning priests, who, through bashfulness, are unable to advise themselves, and who would yet be willingly helped in the becoming manner allowed by Christ and his apostles; but they pass over in silence that he forbids all impurity, while we still have to this day, as our ecclesiastical superiors and spiritual advisers, men who live in open fornication, scandal, and crime. — Further still, they cry out that Luther would do away with all authority, because, forsooth, he will not endure the cruel rule of certain tyrants who undertake, with unallowed boldness, to encroach upon the sovereignty of God the Lord, since they try to extend their power over our souls and consciences; yet they do not say that, according to Luther's doctrine, we are not only subject to authority, but also are bound to suffer and endure with Christian patience even their insane and cruel government, reserving only the freedom of the soul and conscience. — Besides, they allege the discord and disturbance which this doctrine has roused in the world, and do not consider that the word of God from the first has caused disunion and conflicts between the believers in truth and falsehood. — Then we have to consider, as Christians, that, as the Church was at first begun and built up by the persecution and bloodshed of the faithful, now too, since it has been brought to ruin and lamentable disorder in almost all points, it can not be reconstituted, and re-established in its ancient dignity without great disturbance and revolt. — They also pretend that Luther rejects all divine ornaments, tables, coffins, lamps, tapers, organs, mass-vestments, etc.; but they conceal the fact that he so earnestly exhorts us to keep in repair and to adorn the living temples of God, as Paul says, namely, the poor, that they may not suffer from want and necessity. — In like manner, they complain that this doctrine tends to the disgrace and the lessening of the honor of the immaculate and ever-pure Virgin Mary, and other of God's saints; because pilgrimages, outlying chapels, taper-burning, and such proceedings, are not allowed to be of much avail; but they do not say that we are taught true reverence for saints, namely, to recognize, praise, and adore the grace of God in His saints, and thus to strengthen our hearts in confidence and hope, that He will grant unto us the same paternal grace as to them, because they are our brethren, and, in fine, do direct us in their footsteps that we may follow the example of their faith and virtuous living. They will imbidber this honey of ours by saying that Luther is so hasty, quarrelsome, and bitter, that he attacks, reproaches, and reviles his adversaries, and among them even the great nobles and princes, ecclesiastical and temporal, with such wanton boldness that he quite forgets brotherly love and Christian courtesy. Of a truth he has often mispleased me in this respect; I would advise no one now to imitate him in this point. At the same time, I have not, on this account, rejected his good, Christian doctrine, neither will I pronounce sentence upon his person in this matter; because I do not understand his spirit and the secret judgment of God, since by this fault many people are deterred from his doctrine; but I also bear in mind that he is not fighting his own cause, but for the word of God; on this account much may be forgiven him, and all ascribed to a zealous indignation for God. — Lastly, they endeavor to make this doctrine suspicious and reproachful, by saying that for more than a thousand years there has
§ 2.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND TO 1525.

From the time that the brave Swiss mercenaries had so often decided the fortunes of war on the battle-fields of northern Italy, the Pope and the kingdom of France had been the chief rivals in the attempt to obtain adherents in the thirteen cantons.拓宽的解释或添加内容。Pensions were given by both parties to win men of influence. The Pope employed his spiritual power, also, for the same purpose; and allowed great forbearance and concessions about ecclesiastical matters, indulgences, and church-benefices. The direct result of the constantly increasing enlistment in foreign service was a deplorable demoralization; for the mercenaries, on their return to their fatherland, brought back licentiousness, wanton levity, and all sorts of crimes.拓宽的解释或添加内容。At the same time, the clerical order was degraded by the unprincipled distribution of church-patronage.拓宽的解释或添加内容。But reverence toward Rome also rapidly decreased, now that men so often came to know her near at hand, and found such frequent cause of complaint against her.拓宽的解释或添加内容。Accordingly, the Swiss Governments were constantly assuming a more independent bearing.

been a general agreement in the understanding of Holy Scripture; and that the holy fathers and teachers have been quite unanimous in this; but now comes Luther, overthrews every thing, and will have a private meaning after his own head, so that all past opinions together are quite worthless. In answer to this, it is enough to say that he, above all other men, has so restricted his understanding, according to the exhortation of Paul, and forced it into subjection to the word of Christ, that he seldom decides by his own opinion, but by comparing and explaining Scripture with Scripture, which is the highest art in commenting.—Besides, it is not true that ancient or modern teachers have hitherto been agreed in handling Scripture, for in a few days I could compile a large book of articles in which they have been entirely at variance and discordant.—Against Luther only, who has pointed out and laid his hand on the real ulcer and crime of the Church, they raise the cry of murder; they can not endure his writings, they endeavor to make his doctrine loathsome to all men, they pervert his words, they attribute to him unheard-of heresies, so that every thing preposterous which is now sung or said of God and the saints, all vicious books and heresies, are burdened upon Luther and the Lutherans," etc.

2 Anshelm's Berner Chronik, v. 91, in the year 1521: "Wie dann von nach bis her all Uebermäss, Ueppigkeit und Aendrung der Sitten in ein schlechte, tapfere Eydgenossenschaft us fremden Kriegen gebracht ist worden, also ist auch zu diser Zyt beschehen, etc." Ballinger's Reformationsgeschichte, l. 4. Glutz-Blotzheim, s. 504. Wirz, l. 48. Niklaus Manuel von Grüneisen. Stuttg. u. Tübingen, 1837, s. 27. Compare the poem "Der alte u. der neue Eydgenosse," ibid. s. 461.
3 Glutz-Blotzheim, s. 501. Hottinger, continued by Müller and Glutz-Blotzheim, vi. 282. Grüneisen, s. 16.
4 Grüneisen, s. 26. Anselm, v. 481. When a papal legate appeared before the Diet at Glaris, in Jan., 1520: "Da erklagten sich die Eydgenossen, ihre Pension wurd ihnen
toward the Pope, as they became certain that circumstances imposed upon him the necessity of courting their favor. Thus the evil of foreign enlistment, which was perpetually denounced by patriots as the ruin of Switzerland, brought with it its own cure, by helping to prepare the way for an ecclesiastical reformation.

The point of light in Switzerland was Basle. At its university, among many divines stiffly attached to the old order of things, Thomas Wytenbach of Biel had been teaching from 1505, and Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, a native of Alsatia, from 1512 to 1520, and opening to their hearers many clear views of particular doctrines. But Erasmus especially, who in 1516 was for a time domesticated at Basle, gathered round him a circle of enthusiastic admirers of ancient learning, and of enlightened religious views.

To this circle Ulrich Zwingli joined himself. He was born on
the first of January, 1484, at Wildhaus, in the county of Toggenburg, and educated at the universities of Vienna and Basle: at the latter place he received from Wyttenbach his first impulse in the study of divinity. From 1506, when he was elected by the community of Glarus to be their pastor, he devoted himself to a zealous study of the Latin classics and fathers of the Church.

10 Leo Judae in Praef. ad Adnotatt. Zuinglii in N. T. 1539: D. Th. Wittenbachius—vir in omni disciplinarum genere exercitatisimus, et qui propter multijugam eruditionem omnibus iustius seculi doctissimus hominibus miraculo et stupori, et phoenix quidam habitus sit. Quo praeceptore Zuinglii et ego uno eodemque tempore circa A.D. 1505, Baselae literis operam navantes format sumus, nec solum in cultioribus disciplinis, quorum erat callentissimus, sed in scripturarum quoque veritate. Ut enim homo ille praeter singularem eloquentiam acuto erat ingenio, multa quae posteris temporibus ab aliis prodita sunt, providebat ac praeasiebatet ut de indulgentiis Papistaecis et aliis rebus, quibus Romanus Pontifex stultum mundum aliquot jam seculis dementaverat. Ex hoc haussimus quidquid nobis fuit solidae eruditionis, atque hoc totum ei debemus. Quam ergo a tanto viro semina quasdam verae religionis Zuingliano pectori injecta essent, et calcar additum, quo ad lectionem literarum, rejectis nusis sophisticis, excitaretur, ad Graecaniciarum literarum studium statim accinctus Marte suo precordi, etc.

tarum nusis detriviese, non injuria facis: quamquam nihil est, cur nostra causa turbatis. Dedimus haec jam olim temporum iniquitati; verum poenitendum nihil efficiamus, quam quod aliis exemplo sumus, qui paulo sunt ingenii magis ingenua, ne illi diutius quam par sit his haeretis, a quibus nos esse avulso, ut vehementer gaudemus, ut non parum dolet, soro nimis avulso.

11 The Pope’s presentation to this cure of Henry Goldli, of one of the first families of Zurich, who already held several benefices, was not regarded; and in 1512 the Pope paid him an annual sum by way of indemnity (Schuler's Huldr. Zwingli, s. 20, 302). This is at once an example of the Pope’s arbitrary dealing and of his concessions to Switzerland.

12 The letters written by him and to him at this time are an indication of the character of his studies; they are entirely open with subjects of interest to the circle of humanists, with questions of taste and style, literary intelligence, and such points. John Dingnauer wrote to him on the 6th of December, 1514 (Opp. v. 1. 9), as—Apollinae lyrea moderatori, nostraeque tempestatis Ciceroni indubitato. Wilh. Nesen, 27th April, 1517 (Opp. v. 21), writes to him: Tanta est tua eruditione canondoque, ut inter extremae sortis homines sint merito communerandi, qui te non eximium minetur Musarum simul et Christi sacerdotem. Zwingle wrote first to Erasmus in 1514, and received a very friendly answer (Opp. v. 10); how highly he prized it is shown by his letter to him, 29th April, 1515 (Loc. c. 12): Tu nobis amasius ille es, cui ni confabulati simus, somnum
As an eloquent preacher, he inveighed against the corrupt morals of his day; in 1510 he did the same in satirical and allegorical writings. Nevertheless, he was still quite devoted to the Pope; he received from him a pension as an influential preacher; and regarded the support which the Swiss rendered to the Pope as a dutiful protection of the Holy See. But afterward he was led back more and more to the Holy Scriptures as the only source of Christianity: in 1513 he began to learn Greek, and engaged with zeal in the study of the New Testament. Thus his sermons, from
the year 1516, assumed a thoroughly simple and biblical form. He began to discern many ecclesiastical errors and abuses; but he did not yet openly assail them. When, however, a large part of the confederates allowed themselves to be won over to the side of France, and Swiss began to fight against Swiss in foreign lands, he then raised his voice against pensions and foreign enlistment. As he thereby incurred the hatred of the French party, he accepted the invitation of the administrator, Diebold von Geroldseck, who was devoted to learning, to reside at Einsiedeln in 1516, where, in close intercourse with several congenial spir-

myself (guided by Scripture and the Word of God), Thou must leave all this, and learn the meaning of God plainly from His own simple word. Then I set to work, prayed to God for His light, and Scripture began to be much plainer to me, when I read the plain text, than if I had read many comments and expositions."

"Before any one in our neighborhood knew any thing of Luther's name, I began to preach the Gospel of Christ, in the year 1516; so that I never went up into the pulpit without taking for my text the word which had been read as the gospel the same morning at mass, and explaining it from holy writ alone. Much as I adhered, at the beginning of this period, to the ancients, as purer and plainer teachers, I was nevertheless disappointed with them at times. As that honorable gentleman, Diebold of Geroldseck, Warden of Einsiedeln, may perhaps remember how I advised him many times to read Jerome with all diligence, and added, the time will soon come, if God will, when neither Jerome nor any other writer will have much authority among Christians, but Holy Scripture alone."

"Eight or nine years ago (1514 or 1515) I read a comfortable fiction written on the Lord Jesus by the learned Erasmus of Rotterdam, in which Jesus complains that men do not seek all good things from Him, whereas He is a fountain of all good. Then I thought, if this be the case, why do we seek help from the creature? I began to search in Scripture and the works of the Fathers, whether I could find there any certain information with regard to prayer to saints. In short, I found nothing of it in the Bible at all; among the ancients I found it in some, and not in others. However, it did not much move me if they did teach prayer to saints; for they always stood on tradition alone. And when I read the Scriptures which they quoted for this purpose in the original, these had no such meaning as they wished to thrust upon them; and the more I considered this doctrine or opinion, the less authority I found for it in Scripture, but rather more and more against it."

"Myconius, § 13: Interes gratiam evangelicam sua promulgebatur, ut de Ecclesiae Romanae absum nihil, vel admodum parce commiseret. Volebat, veritatem cognitam in cordibus auditorum agere, suum officium: nam veris perceptis et intellectis haud difficulter falsa cognoscimus. Quamvis nec per tempus tum liceret alter: prius enim veritas in tanta hominum protivitate et malitia penitus fuisse amissa, quam absum religiosis sublatius. Accordingly, when, in the year 1522, Zwingli preached once more at Olarz, he acknowledged that he had formerly recommended many doctrines of men, and exhorted his hearers to hold fast the Word of God alone (according to the manuscript history of the Reformation by Werner Steiner, who was present at the time; given in J. J. Hottinger's Helvet. Kircheng., iii. 92)."

"Anshelm, v. 219, 225; Glutz-Blotzheim, s. 496."

"Zwinglius ad Jo. Vadianum, dd. 13. Jun., 1517 (Opp. vii. 24): Locum mutavimus, non cupidinis aut cupiditatis moti stimulus, verum Gallorum technis, et nunc Eremit su- nu. He remained still on the best terms with the government, Id. ad Stapferum,
its, he continued his studies after the method of Erasmus, and gained new light in theology. His sermons continued to be distinguished only for their simple, Scriptural style. Although he had quietly helped to put an end to certain abuses, still he did not yet assail the doctrine of the Church. True, Zwingle and his friends recognized more and more clearly the necessity of a Reformation in the Church, but like their master, Erasmus, they still hoped that this might be effected by the ecclesiastical authorities. Zwingle himself took some steps with this end in view, which were of course completely unsuccessful.

1522 (l. c. p. 237): Apud meos Dominos Claronaotantacum pace et facilitate versatus sum, ut nunquam aliquid litis interesserit, atque adeo tanta cum gratia discessit, ut mihi Praebendam duos annos prorogaverint, speducti, me reversurumesse.

"Besidesthe administrator Geroldseck, chiefly with the papal chaplain, Franz Zink, John Oechslin; see Schuler, s. 176 f.

At one memorial of these studies is Zwingle’s copy of the Epistles of St. Paul in Greek, preserved in the town-library at Zurich: it was made from Erasmus’s edition of 1516, and finished at Einsiedeln in May, 1517, with marginal notes from the Fathers of the Church and Erasmus. See Bullinger, i. 8; Myconius De Vita Zwinglii, § 10 (Archiv, i. ii. 7); Schuler, s. 303.

The inscription over the entrance of the monastery— hie est plena remissio omnium peccatorum a culpa et a poena— was removed. Zwingle and Oechslin were sent by the administrator to the convent of Fahr, to introduce among the nuns the reading of the New Testament in German, instead of the chanting of matins, and to release those who wished to depart; Hess’s Life of Zwingle, translated by Usteri, s. 59 f.; Schuler, s. 180.

— On the other hand, Zwingle’s sermon, on the day of the commemoration of angels, mentioned by Bullinger, i. 81, in which he inveighs against the worship of saints, pilgrimages, and vows, does not belong to this date, as Hess (Usteri, s. 61 f.); Wirz, i. 142 and others maintain; but to the year 1522, in which Zwingle and Leo Juda preached at Einsiedeln on the commemoration of angels; see Anshelm, vi. 97 f.; Schuler, s. 357. As the feast of the Blessing of Angels was only celebrated every seventh year, it could not have taken place during Zwingle’s residence at Einsiedeln.

"Salat, in his manuscript account (in Schuler, s. 357), says: "Er fing an zu rütteln, doch so listiglich, dass er nicht zu begreifen war, dazu man sich keinesanders, dann dem Christenglauben gemäss und gleich versehen hatte." Compare Note 18.


"Bullinger, i. 10. Zwingle’s Antwort an Valentin Compar., 1525 (Works, ii. i. 7):
In the year 1518, when a trader in indulgences, the Franciscan, Bernhardin Samson, made his appearance also in Switzerland, and surpassed all in effrontery, Zwingle, as well as many others, raised his voice against this abuse. This, however, was the less surprising, since even the Bishop of Constance regarded this trader in indulgences as an intruder. Zwingle remained in such high favor with the papal legate that he appointed him papal chaplain.

On the first of January, 1519, Zwingle entered upon the office of Leut-priest in the great minster at Zurich; and in order to spread abroad a knowledge of pure, Scriptural doctrine, he at once abandoned the customary mode of preaching from the passages of Scripture assigned for each service, and explained in his sermons entire books, first the Gospel of St. Matthew, in regular order. Although he undertook his work independently,

"Eight years ago (hence in 1517), at Einsiedeln, and afterward at Zurich, I often proved to the Lord Cardinal von Sitten, in plain language, and testified throughout with strong passages of Holy Scripture, that the entire papacy had a bad foundation. The noble gentleman, Diebold von Geroldseck, Master Franz Zingg, Doctor Michael Sander, who are all three still living, often heard me. And the aforesaid cardinal often answered me to the following effect: If God help me to recover my authority (for he was at that time out of favor with the Pope, and the popelings, that is, the cardinals, who always breed popes), I would see to it that the arrogance and falsehood which the Bishop of Rome employs should be brought to light and reformed. He has often since then conversed with me on doctrine and on Holy Scripture, but always to the effect that he recognized what was false and disapproved it. But there is no need here to record how he has conducted himself since that time."

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81 CHAP. I.—SWISS REFORMATION. § 2. ZURICH.—1523.

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20 Müller's Schweitzergesch., continued by Hottinger, vi. 287. He was so well satisfied with Bern, that, upon his taking leave, he granted plenary indulgence to all persons present, who repeated the Paternoster and Ave Maria upon their knees; those who went three times round the church praying, he assured that they would deliver any soul they desired out of purgatory. At length, after all had repeated the Paternoster and Ave Maria five times for the souls in purgatory, "syhrey er lut: jetzan diis Augenblicks sind aller Berneren Seelen, wo und wie joch abgescheiden, alle mit enandere us der höllischen Pyn des Fagfurs in die himmelsche Fröud des Himmelrycha ufgefahren." So says the eye-witness, Anshelm, v. 335 f., on the year 1518.

31 Hottinger, Hist. Eccl. saec. xvi. P. iii. p. 162, and J. J. Hottinger, Helvet. Kircheng. iii. 29, only state in general terms, without naming their authorities, that when Samson sold the indulgence in Switzerland, Zwingle preached against him at Einsiedeln.

24 Bullinger, i. 12. Zwingli Uslegung des XVIII. Art. 1523 (Works, i. 254): "When I began to preach at Zurich, in the year 19, I gave notice before the honorable dean and chapter that I wished, if God so willed it, to preach upon the Gospel written by St. Matthew, without any glosses of man, and not to be led into error or controversy. At the beginning of this year none of us knew any thing about Luther, except that some work upon indulgence had been issued by him; this taught me but little, for I had before learned about the indulgence, that it was a deceit and imposture, from a disputa-
yet, as Luther's mighty voice, waxing louder and louder, just now began to penetrate Switzerland also, arousing the slumbering and encouraging the backward,\(^{35}\) the agreement between the two men was soon recognized; and abroad, the later and feebler movement of Zwingle was understood to have arisen from the earlier and more powerful impulse of Luther.\(^{36}\) The universal excitement

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\(^{35}\) Luther's works went from Basle through Switzerland. According to Froben's and Capito's Letters to Luther in Feb., 1519 (see § 1, Note 37), the Cardinal von Sitten, and the Administrator of Einsiedeln, Herr von Geroldseck, were well-disposed toward him already at that time. At Constance they were well known after Luther's conference with Cajetan at Augsburg (Oct., 1518); see Fussli's Beytrage, iv. 174.

\(^{36}\) In Bern, for instance, where Luther was well known as a reformer before Zwingli went to reform; see Beatus Rhenan. ad Zuingl. dd. Basil., 26. Dec., 1518 (Opp. vii. 61): Nudius tertius huic a Bernensisibus missus est bibliopola, qui multum hic Lutheranorum exemplarium coëmit et illo deportavit. Gaudeo, mi Zuingli, vehementer, quoties videam mundum resipiscere, et abjecta coelorum somnium solidam consectari. Idem a meis municipibus factum est. Quo magis miror Thuregiam negligientiam, qui moniti per Te facere cessent, quod aili sua sponte capessunt. Neque enim credere possum, Te illos non monuisse, aut rem non succipisse apud eum, qui tibi in judicando prumas tribuunt. (But Zwingli did not come to Zurich till the 27th Dec.) Anshelm, Berner Chronik, v. 273, on the year 1517, speaks of Luther's first appearance as the "Urhab u. Anfang der wunderbaren Ernuerung des heil. Evangeliums," and describes, vi. 101, the reformation of the Church as "durch den Luther angericht und von Zwingli gestarkt." On the year 1519 he relates, v. 808: "At the very beginning of this year the steadfast Ulrich Zwingli brought a great accession of strength to the strong Luther. After preaching three years at Einsiedeln on the Gospels appointed to be read in the mass-service, according to the style and method of the early teachers of the Church, he was now appointed to be a people's priest, and preacher at the great minster of Zurich, a worthy confederate of the afore-mentioned place. After obtaining the permission of his dean and chapter, he began to preach upon the Gospel of St. Matthew from Scripture only, and earnestly to exhort his people to hear, read, receive, and believe the Word of God only, as the immovable foundation of our salvation and holiness. He began and carried on this blessed undertaking with such great success, that there, as at Wittenberg, a wonderfully large concourse of people came to hear the Word of God; and an opinion prevailed that Luther and Zwingli, far apart as they were, and only known to each other by hearsay, preached a doctrine learned from each other, and were in fact united together. But thereupon the divine truth itself clearly showed and proved, that where the Word of God was expounded in purity and according to His Spirit, it would be everywhere consistent, and everywhere produce the same doctrine, faith, and fruit."
roused by Luther could not be without effect upon Zwingle also. True, he remained essentially faithful to his principle of overthrowing falsehood not by direct attack, but by proclaiming the opposite truths. Still, so many weighty questions were brought by Luther before the public, that Zwingle could not avoid expressing his opinion on these points. Of his public ministry it is only known, that when Samson came at this time to Zurich, he preached zealously against indulgences, and censured the corruptions of the clergy and monks. Many private expressions of his may have contributed to the opinion which soon prevailed in Zurich, that he was a Lutheran at heart. The monks first at-

37 Zwingli Uslegung des XX. Art. 1523 (Works, i. 268): "I have not done as some now do; when they begin to preach, they first pray for the intercession of saints; and if one object to this, they say: Have not the preachers been showing you, first of all, that the false gods are not gods but idols? Hence, since I find that men rely upon the intercession of saints, and that there is no ground for this practice, shall I not first show them this? I answer, No, there is another shape to this matter, and one that can not be well measured in this way. I have taken the matter thus in hand; I have faithfully taught and pointed out Christ Jesus, that people should seek every good thing from Him, and have recourse to Him in every need. I have thus made the grace of God an object of love to men, and have certainly proved and experienced that God will work with His word. I have also yielded to ignorant persons, after often speaking with them, if they maintain their point obstinately: Well, well, you bring your prayers to the saints; I will bring mine to God alone. Let us see which of us takes the better course. And I have thus fed them with milk, until some of them, who were formerly strongly against me, afterward became strong in the cause of God alone. So I advise all persons at this time who preach the Word of God that they should duly preach salvation from the plain and true Word of God. Thus trust in God alone will surely increase, and the deceitfulness of false hopes fall to the ground."

38 In the early months of 1519. Samson was rejected in Zurich; Bullinger, i. 17; Muller-Hottinger, vi. 290. The papal letters of 30th Apr., 1519, are in Hottinger, saec. xvi. P. iii. p. 177 ss. The vicar-general, John Faber, who governed the diocese of Constance in place of the feeble Bishop Hugh v. Landenberg, wrote on this subject to Zwingle, 7th June, 1519 (Opp. vii. 79): Quid ad fratrem indulgentiarum cœlæpitatem attinet, mens mihi genius praesagīt hunc eventum: neque enim tam frigidus circa praecordia sanguis obstitit, ut tam portentosas venias a sede apostolica nunquam profecta cederem. Quid aliud ejusmodi veniarum licitatores effrentes agunt, quam ut ecclesia passim vel a Christianis irideatur?

39 Zwingli Uslegung des XVIII. Art. 1523 (Works, i. 265): "The papists, by a silly trick, heap such names upon me and others; they say, You must be a Lutheran; you preach just as Luther writes. I answer them, I preach quite as much like what Paul wrote; why do ye not rather receive me as a disciple of Paul? Yes, I preach the word of Christ, wherefore do ye not receive me as a Christian? Thus it is nothing but nonsense. Luther is, as seems to me, an excellent champion for God, who has searched out the meaning of Scripture with greater earnestness than any one on earth has done for a thousand years: and no one has equalled him in the manly, steadfast courage with which he has assailed the Pope of Rome, so long as the Papacy has existed, not to say sought against the others. But whose is such a deed? Is it of God or of Luther? Ask Luther himself; I well know he will say of God. Why, then, do you ascribe other men's doctrine to Luther, when he ascribes his own to God? Again, I will not bear the name
tacked him;\textsuperscript{40} then several canons of his cathedral complained
that he denied the divine right of tithes, and in the exercise of his
spiritual office did not keep sufficiently in view the increase of
the revenue of the chapter:\textsuperscript{41} his adversaries could not as yet
charge him with heresies. In order to avoid dispute, the city
council charged all their clergy to preach only the doctrine of the
Holy Scriptures.\textsuperscript{42} The legate, then at Zurich, did indeed see the
impending danger, and tried to win Zwingle. But the latter gave
up his Roman pension in 1520, and declared that nothing should
hinder him from preaching the Gospel.\textsuperscript{43} The legate pressed ea-
of Luther, because I have read very little of his doctrine, and have often studiously kept
aloof from his writings on purpose to satisfy the papists. But what I have read of his
writings (so far as concerns dogmas, doctrine, opinions, and the sense of Scripture, for
I have nothing to do with his quarrels) is generally so well fortified and grounded in
the Word of God, that it is not possible for any creature to refute them."
gerly for the burning of Luther's works, but did not venture either to attack the council for its decree or Zwingle for his sermons. He thought he had attained his principal object when Zurich steadfastly refused to join the league, which all the rest of the cantons concluded with France on the 5th May, 1521: but Zwingle had greatly contributed to this result by his sermons against foreign enlistment in general.

As Zwingle, in his sermons, distinguished, with growing clearness, between the ordinances of man in the Church and the divine teaching of Holy Writ, he was first entangled in a controversy in 1522. He had designated the rule of fasting as a human ordinance: several citizens broke the rule, and were called to answer for so doing. When questioned by the council, under the direction of Zwingle, the clergy censured the transgression as capricious, but persisted in the statement that the rule was an ordinance of man. The Bishop of Constance accordingly sent a commission to Zurich to command the observance of the ceremonies (Apr., 1522). However, the council took Zwingle's part, and demanded more satisfactory orders from the bishop. This event

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44 Especially at the Diet of Baden, 1520; see Myconius ad Zuingle, d. 2. Nov., 1520 (Opp. vii. 158).
45 Anshelm, vi. 25 ff.; Müller-Hottinger, vi. 36 ff.
46 Zwingle's Pious Exhortation to the Confederates of Schwyz, to beware of Foreign Lords, 1522 (Works, ii. ii. 286), contains, as Bullinger (i. 42) asserts, what he had before spoken from the pulpit and elsewhere on this subject; see Müller-Hottinger, vi. 80. With regard to Zwingle's sermons against pensions in 1521 and 1525, see Bullinger, i. 51.
47 Bullinger, i. 69. The minutes of the inquiry are in Müller-Hottinger, vi. 496. Compare Wirz, i. 217.
48 Wirz, i. 219.
49 Zuingli Epist. ad Erasmum Fabricium de Actis Legationis ad Tigurinos missae, diebus viii. ix. Aprilis MDXXII (Opp. iii. 7 ss.). The bishop's vicar-general, at the head of the embassy, said before the council: Quosdam doctrinas novas irritabiles ac sedilitosam docere, germanice widerwärtig und auführig lehren; nempe nihil praedictionum humanarum servari oportere, nihil ceremoniarum. Quae doctrina si vicerit, futurum, ut non modo civiles leges sed et Christiana fides aboleatur. Cum tamen ceremoniae sint veluti manuducto—ad virtutes. Immo virtutum fontem esse, ein Erwezung,—ceremonias. Quadragesimam item doceri non servari oportere: in hac enim urbe ausos esse quosdam esse a reliquis Christianis separare, et a Christiana ecclesia.—Carnes
occasioned Zwingle’s first reforming work, “Von Erkiesen und Freyheit der Spysen.”

The adherents of the old order of things now gave more attention to the matter. In May, 1522, the Bishop of Constance issued a pastoral letter to warn against innovations, and the Diet of Lucerne forbade all preaching likely to cause disquiet. On the other hand, Zwingle, in the name of several like-minded ecclesiastics, defended the free preaching of the Gospel, in a friendly petition and exhortation addressed to the Diet 13th July, and in

enum eos in quadragesima edisse non sine totius reipublicae Christianae scandalo. Quod tametsi literae evangelicae aperte non permittant, audere tamen eosdem assuerer ex Evangelicis et Apostoliciis scriptis sibi licere; contra sanctorum patrum decreta et concilia, contra denique vetustissimum morem eos fecisse, quem nisi ex spiritu sancto fluxisset, tanto tempore servare nunquam potuissems, etc. Though he thereupon refused to hear Zwingle, and even asserted that he had spoken nothing against him; nevertheless he was allowed to respond. First he refuted the charge that the preaching of the Gospel led to sedition. Tigurum enim magis, quam ullam Helvetiorum pagum, pacatum et quietum esse, id quod omnes boni civis acceptum ferrent Evangelio. Quod deinde objectum sit, nullas humanas nec praeceptiones nec ceremonias servari oportere doceri; ignenue agnoscam, ceremoniarum justam partem ac praeceptiorum meumatem, quern, nisi ex spiritus sanctus est, immo cosiniquadecentis sinetotiusreipublica. Quod tametsi litterae Evangelicae et Apostoliciis scriptae, contras sanctorum patrum decretas, contraque vetustissimum morem eos fecisse, quern nisi ex spiritu sancto fluxisset, nam mox, ut doctis in nobis, rationem scandale haberit debuisse, destituta, unde nee istalegatione opus fuisse, remittunt, si modo malum est. Hoc tamen vehementer nos admirari, quod dum annum jam XVI. in dioecesi Constantinian evangelizem, hactenus tamen non rescevierit, aliquo mississe Constantinenses tam splendidam legationem, quae scrutaretur quonam pacto Evangelicum negotium indeceret. Then he maintained that fasting was not commanded by God, and so must be left free. The council determined to request the bishop (Füssli, ii. 14) that he—“versa schaffen wolle, es sey bey papstlicher Heiligkeit, bey den Cardinalen, Bischöfen, Concillen, oder sonst rechten, Christlichen, gelehrtten Leuten, damit man eine Erläuterung und Bescheid gebe, wie und welcher Gesalten man sich in solchem Falle halten solle, dardurch wider die Satzungen Christi nicht gehandelt werde.” The people were to be exhorted, “dass hinfür niemand in der Faste ohne merkliche Ursache Fleisch esse, sondern dass man ein Erläuterung kraft des mit U. G. Herrn von Costnitz Botschaft gemacht Abscheids erwarte.”

81 Bullinger, i. 78. Sebastian Meyer, barefooted friar at Berne, published the pastoral of the 2d May, with some bitter remarks: extracts from it in Wirz, i. 262. Kuhn’s Reformatorum Berns, s. 100 (cf. Meyer ad Zuingl. d. 11. Nov., 1522, Opp. vii. 243). A similar letter of 24th May reached the chapter at Zurich; printed in Zwingle’s Archetelles (Opp. iii. 88). There is a letter to the council of Zurich, in May also, in Füssli, iv. 125.

82 Anshelm, vi. 99. “On the next day, the 20th of May, a decree was passed that every place should charge its clergy to abstain from all such preaching as would cause discontent, discord, and error as to the Christian faith to grow up among the common people.”

83 “Ein fründlich Bitt und Ermahnung etlicher Priester der Eidgenossenschaft, dass
the *Apologeticus Archetetes*, directed to the Bishop of Constance in August.\(^{64}\) As the celibacy of the clergy had led to the grossest abuses in Switzerland, Zwingle and his friends, in that friendly petition to the diet, and in a private petition to the Bishop of Constance (dated Einsiedeln, 2d July), prayed, first of all, for the abolition of this ordinance of man.\(^{55}\) However, no answer was given; on the contrary, the diet and the bishop began to persecute several of the clergy who had made themselves too conspicuous.\(^{56}\) The most calumnious reports about Zwingle were disseminated in the neighboring cantons;\(^{57}\) in the three monasteries of Zurich, the resorts of the adherents of the old faith, sermons were preached against him incessantly.\(^{58}\) Since the efforts of the council to restore peace remained without success, it yielded to Zwingle's wish man das heilig Evangelium predigen nit abschlahe, noch Uswillen darob empfach, ob die Predigenden Aergernuss zu vermynen sich eeblich vermahlnd." Werke, i. 30.


\(^{52}\) Supplicatio quorundam apud Helvetios Evangelistarum ad R. D. Hugonem Episc. Constantiensem, ne se induci patiatur, ut quidquam in praejudicium Evangelii promulget, neve scortationis scandalum ultra ferat, sed Presbyteris uxores ducere permittat, aut saltem ad eorum nuptias connivat (Opp. iii. 17), signed by Balthasar Trachsel, pastor at Weiningen, in the Grafschaft Baden; George Chalybeus (Stahell), Zwingle's assistant; Werner Steiner of Zug; Leo Judae, Leut-pricstat Einsiedeln; Erasmus Fabricius (Schmid), prebendary at Zurich; Simon Stumpf, pastor at Hongg, near Zurich; Jodocus Kilchmeyer, prebendary at Lucerne; Huldreich Pistoris (Pfister), pastor at Uster, on the Greifensee; Gaspar Megander (Grossman), preacher at the Hospital of Zurich; John Faber (Schmid), chaplain at Zurich; Huldreich Zwingle.

\(^{14}\) Thus he heard from Jacob Stapfer in Chur, a foreign pensionary; see Jac. Salandronius ad Zuingl. d. 26. Aug., 1522 (Opp. vii. 220): Effutivit necio quid de ternis liberis tibi adscriptis et insolitis nocturnis moribus. Item quod et te pensionem non modo a Sanctissimo, sed et a Gallo comprobare vellet (si urgeterut) accepisse. Prac-terea dixisse inter concionandum: Ave Maria dicere esset dicere: Gott gruss dich Gretlin, etc.—Non credis, quot EUO impudentissimo ore alienaritaliastibifaventissimos. Objicitur illlic nobis, ut scis, hi, hi sunt mores Evangelicorum. A similar story was circulated in Schwyz; see Balth. Stapfer to Zwingle, 19th Oct., 1522 (i. c. p. 286), and Zwingle's answer, p. 287. Compare Zwingle's Entschuldigung etlicher Huldri. Zwingli zugelegter Artiklen, doch unwarlich, an die edlen, strengen, frommen, wesen geiner Eidgenoessenschaft Rathboten in der Stadt Bern v. Sten Jul., 1528 (Werke, ii. ii. 299), and bis Ein fyysige und kurze Underrichtung, wie man sich vor Lugen hüten und bewahren soll, of the 25th June, 1524 (ibid. s. 322).

\(^{18}\) Bernh. Weiss in Fussli, iv. 38: "Deshalb predigten die Monchen in der Stadt al-lenthalen von den Heiligen:—derswegen reden ihnen etwann die Lute darein, denn viele Leute hatten neue Testamenten, und waren der Sache wol berichtet." Thus even Leo Judae interrupted the prior of the Augustines, p. 44. As early as the 22d July, 1522, the monks were censured by the council for their "ungeschickte Predigten" on the saints, s. 41. Compare Zuingl. ad Oecolampadium, d. 3. Jan., 1527.
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of publicly meeting these calumnies and attacks, and ordered a religious conference between the two parties for the 29th Jan., 1523, in which they were to adduce their doctrines, and support them from the Holy Scriptures alone.\textsuperscript{59}

The same political reasons which had led the Pope to overlook other arbitrary acts of the Swiss in church matters\textsuperscript{60} induced him to take no notice of these great movements. Zurich was the only canton which steadfastly refused the league with France,\textsuperscript{61} and still, in 1521, granted soldiers to the Pope;\textsuperscript{62} while the rest of the cantons supported France, and treated the papal legate in Switzerland with hostility.\textsuperscript{63} Hadrian accordingly overlooked what scarcely could be overlooked any longer; and at the very time in which this conference was threatening the existing ecclesiastical order,\textsuperscript{64} no less in its form than in the results to be expected from it, he sent Zwingle a flattering letter, to induce him to employ his influence to retain the powerful canton on the Pope’s side.

For the disputation to be held on the 29th Jan., 1523, Zwingle

\textsuperscript{59} See Bullinger, i. 84.

\textsuperscript{60} Anshelm, vi. 201, on the year 1523: Berne maintained its right to deal with the clergy in secular cases, "ließ auch, unangesehen der Geistlichen höchste Freyheit und Bann, einen Pfaffen um Diebstahl und Frevel enthaupten." There was so little opposition on the side of the clergy, that the people thought the Pope had granted the confederates power to chastise the crimes of the clergy with the secular arm. See Schatzmann’s Letter to Vadian of the 19th Jan., 1523. Wirz, i. 57.

\textsuperscript{61} See note 45.

\textsuperscript{62} Bullinger, i. 51. Müller-Hottinger, vi. 51 ff. A calumny was raised against Zwingle at this time (Uslegung des XXXVII. Art. Works, i. 355), that, out of consideration for his pension from the Pope, he had "zu demselbigen Heerzug ein Oug zuthon und nit ernstlich gewehrt:" in reply he asserted, "es besindts sich, dass ich so stark hab gewehrt, als ich je gheinem Kriegen und Ufbrechen gewehrt hab." Bullinger, i. 51, has preserved some of his declarations.

\textsuperscript{63} Wirz, ii. 240. Even the safe-conduct of the legate Ennius was rescinded by the diet of 1522, and he could only remain with safety at Zurich.

\textsuperscript{64} Dated 23d Jan., 1523, in Bullinger, i. 83; in Zuinglii Opp. vili. 266: Remittimus—Ennium, Episcopum Verulanum, ad istam invictam, nobisque sanctae sedi conjunctissimam nationem, ut de maximis rebus—cum ilia agat. Licet autem ei dederimus in mandatis, ut ea communiter cum omnibus et publice tractet: tamen cum de tua egregia virtute specialiter nobis sit cognitum, nosque devotionem tuam arctius amamus ac diligamus, ac peculiarem quandam in te fidem habeamus, mandavimus eidem Episcopo,—ut tibi separatim nostras literas redderet, nostramque erga te optimam voluntatem declararet. Hortamus itaque devotionem tuam in Domino, ut et illi omnem fidem habeas, et quo nos animo ad honores tuos et commoda tendimus, oodem tu in nostris—rebus procedas, de quo gratiam apud nos invenies non mediocrum. Myconius l. c. adds to this: Non ad hunc solum Papa scripsaret, verum etiam ad eximium D. Franc. Zinggium (see Note 23), ut sibi et sedi apostolicae virum lubricaret. Dumque rogitarern a Francisco, quid pro illo pollicitus esset Papa; serio respondit: omnia certe praefer sedem Papalem.
had brought together the doctrines he had preached in sixty-seven articles; and he so defended them on that day against the Vicar-

Bullinger, i. 86; Zwingle's Works, i. 153. Articles: "I. All persons who say that the Gospel should not be preached without the permission of the Church are in error, and bring reproach upon God. II. The sum of the Gospel is this, that our Lord Christ Jesus, the true Son of God, has made known to us the will of His Father in Heaven, and by His innocence has delivered from death and reconciled God. III. Hence Christ is the only way to holiness for all who have been, are now, or ever shall be. IV. Whosoever seeks or shows any other door is in error, yes, he is a murderer of souls and a thief. V. Therefore all persons who esteem any other doctrine equal to, or higher than, the Gospel, are in error, and know not what the Gospel is. VI. For Christ Jesus is the Leader and the Captain promised and granted by God to all mankind. VII. That He is the eternal salvation and the head of all believers, who are His body, but without Him this body is dead and powerless. VIII. Whence it follows, first, that all who live in the Head are members and children of God: and this is the Church or communion of saints, the bride of Christ, Ecclesia Catholica. IX. Secondly, that as the members of the body can do nothing without the guidance of the head, so in the body of Christ no man can do anything well without Christ His Head. XI. Hence we see that the ordinances of the clergy, as to their pomp, their wealth, their ranks, their titles, their laws, are one cause of all disorder; for thus they agree not with the Head. XII. Thus they rage not for the sake of the Head (for to effect this is the object of our labor by God's grace); but because men will care no more for their storming, but render some obedience to the Head. XIII. When he is redeemed by Christ, man learns the will of God clearly and plainly, and is drawn to Him by His Spirit, and changed into His likeness. XIV. Therefore all Christian men should use their utmost diligence that the Gospel of Christ alone be everywhere preached. XV. For in faith in Him stands our salvation; in unbelief, our condemnation; for all truth is plain in Him. XVI. Man learns in the Gospel that human doctrine and human ordinances are not profitable for salvation.—On the Pope. XVII. That Christ is the one only eternal High-priest; hence it follows that they who have given out that they are high-priests resist and impugn the honor and the power of Christ.—On the Mass. XVIII. That Christ, who once offered up himself, is forever an abiding and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of all believers; hence it may be concluded that the mass is not a sacrifice, but only the memorial of the sacrifice, and an assurance of the redemption which Christ has shown us. XIX. That Christ is the one only Mediator between God and us.—On the Intercession of Saints. XX. That God will give us all things in His name; hence it follows that henceforth we need no other mediation than His. XXI. That when we pray for one another upon earth, we really pray that we trust all things will be granted us through Christ only.—On Good Works. XXII. Christ is our righteousness; hence we conclude that our works are so far good as they are the work of Christ; but so far as they are our own, neither right nor good.—On the Property of the Clergy. XXIII. That Christ condemns the wealth and pomp of this world; hence we must infer that they who amass wealth in His name are a reproach to Him, and make Him a cloak for their own avarice and wantonness.—On Prohibition of Food. XXIV. That no Christian is bound to works which God has not commanded; any food may be eaten at any time; hence we learn that the Kas and Ankembrief (letters of dispensation) is a Roman trick.—On Feast-days and Pilgrimages. XXV. That time and place are subject to Christian men, not men to them; hence it may be known that they who impose times and places upon Christians rob them of their freedom.—On Cowls, Clothing, and Signs. XXVI. That God hates nothing more than hypocrisy; so He has taught us that all that is done for appearance's sake before men is mere hypocrisy and perversion; hence cowls, signs, shaven crowns, etc., fall to the ground.—Of Orders and Sects. XXVII. That all Christian men are brethren of Christ and of each other; they should boast themselves of no earthly father; hence all orders, sects, clubs fall to the ground.—On the Marriage of Clergy. XXVIII. That
General, Faber, that the council charged him to persevere in his course, and all their preachers to preach the pure Gospel in the same

all which God has allowed or not forbidden is right; accordingly, marriage is becoming in all men. XXIX. That all persons called spiritual sin if, when they are convinced that God has denied them the gift of continence, they do not protect themselves by marriage. —On Vows of Chastity. XXX. That they who vow chastity undertake too much, like fools or children; hence it may be inferred why they who take such vows are insolent toward pious men.—On Excommunication. XXXI. That no one man can excommunicate another, but the Church, that is, the community in which the person to be excommunicated lives, together with the guardian, that is, the pastor. XXXII. That man alone is to be excommunicated who is a notorious sinner.—On Unjust Possessions. XXXIII. That unjust property should not be granted to temples, monasteries, monks, priests, nuns, but be given to the poor, unless it can be returned to its rightful owner. —On the Supreme Power. XXXIV. The power called spiritual has no grounds for its pomp in the doctrine of Christ. XXXV. But the secular power has strength and confirmation from the doctrine and example of Christ. XXXVI. All rights and protection claimed by the so-called spiritual state belong to the secular authorities, if they will act as Christians. XXXVII. Also all Christians, without exception, are bound to obey them. XXXVIII. So long as they require nothing which God has forbidden. XLII. If they act unfaithfully and break the rule of Christ, they may be deposed by the will of God. —On Prayer. XLIV. True worshipers call upon God in spirit and in truth, without crying out before men. XLV. Hypocrites do their works that they may be seen of men, receiving their reward also in this life. XLVI. So it must needs follow that churchmusic or crying aloud, without devotion and only for money, is either seeking of fame from men or for gain.—On Offenses. XLVII. A man should rather suffer death in the body than injure or disgrace a Christian man. XLVIII. If a man, from stupidity or ignorance, injure himself without cause, he must not be left sick or suffering, but be restored to strength, lest he take that for sin which is not sin. XLIX. I know no greater injury than not to allow the clergy to have wedded wives, but to let them have concubines for money. How great a scandal! —On Forgiveness of Sin. L. God forgives sin only through Jesus Christ, His Son, our Lord. LI. Whosoever attributes this power to the creature deprives God of His honor, and ascribes it to one who is not God; this is real idolatry. LII. Therefore confession, whether made to the priest or to one's neighbor, should not be set forth as the forgiveness of sin, but only as a request for counsel. LIII. Penances imposed by human authority (except in cases of excommunication) do not take away sin; they are only imposed by way of menace. LIV. Christ has borne all our sorrows and troubles: whosoever, therefore, attributes to works of penance that which belongs to Christ alone, errs and reproaches his God. LV. Whosoever pretends to remit even one sin for the penitent man, stands not in the place of God, or of Peter, but of the devil. LVI. Whosoever remits any sin for money only is a companion of Simon and Balaam, and an especial emissary of the devil.—On Purgatory. LVII. The true Holy Scripture knows nothing of Purgatory after this life. LVIII. The sentence of departed spirits is known to God alone. LIX. And just as God has allowed us to know less upon this subject, so we should undertake to know less. LX. I do not condemn a man if he call earnestly upon God to show His grace toward the dead; yet to fix a time for this grace (seven years for a deadly sin), and to lie for the sake of gain, is not human, but devilish.—On the Priesthood. LXI. Holy Scripture knows nothing of the character (ordination-grace) which priests claim in these last times. LXII. It acknowledges also no priests but such as preach the Word of God. LXIII. It commands that due honor should be shown them; that is, that they should be supplied with food for the body.—On the Abolition of Abuses. LXIV. All who acknowledge their error should not be made to pay for it, but be permitted to die in peace; and thus the Church property be placed on a Christian footing. LXV. As for those who refuse to acknowledge, God will surely deal with them. So men should employ no force
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By this disputation, by the explanation of his articles, soon after (in July) published by Zwingle, and by the preaching of Zwingle, and his friend, Leo Judae, who came to Zurich in the beginning of 1523 as Leut-priest at St. Peter's, men's minds were more and more won over to the Reformation; and many wished to see it carried out in practice. For them it was not enough that the council allowed nuns to leave their convents (17th June), that several of the clergy married without hinderance, upon their persons; unless it happen that they conduct themselves so perversely as to be no longer endurable.

LXVI. Alleclesiastical dignitaries should humble themselves, and set up only the cross of Christ, not their chests: else they will perish, for I warn you, the axe lieth at the root of the tree. LXVII. If any man desire to confer with me upon tributes and tithes, upon unbaptized children, upon confirmation, I hold myself ready to answer him. Let no one here undertake to contend with sophistry or human trifling, but come to Scripture, have it for the judge (foras canes)! Scripture breathes the Spirit of God; thereby let him discover the truth; or if it be, as I hope, discovered, let him hold it. Amen. God grant it.

Bullinger, i. 97. M. Erhard Hegenwald gave an account of this disputation soon after it took place (in Zwingle's Works, i. 105). As John Faber, the vicar-general of Constance, who had been present, considered himself injured by this account, he forthwith issued a counter-report, "Ein warlich Underrichtung" (Wirz, ii. 45): but seven young men of Zurich replied to this with a satirical refutation, "Das Gyrenrnpfen" (Geyernpffen plucking the vulture), Wirz, ii. 50. Besides this, John Salat, historian at Lucerne, published a "Historical Account" of this conference, drawn entirely from Hegenwald's report, a partisan representation on the Catholic side (in Füssli's Beyträg, ii. 81). The decree of the council, published on the very day of the conference (Zwingle's Works, i. 143 f.; Anshelm, vi. 195 f.), since no one rose up against Zwingle to refute him, or convict him of the heresy laid to his charge, ran thus: "That Master Ulrich Zwingle shall proceed, and henceforth as before preach the Holy Gospel and the true divine Scripture to the best of his power, until he be better informed. Also let all other Leut-priests, parochial clergymen, and preachers in their city, country, and district, neither accept nor preach any other doctrine than what may be proved from the Holy Gospel and the rest of the true divine Scriptures; likewise they must not revile one another in any sort, call each other heretics, or by any other reproachful name. Whosoever oppose and are not satisfied with this decision, must be regarded as persons who err and know that they are wrong."

Uslegen und Grund der Schlussereden oder Artikel, in Zw. Werke, i. 169. He was elected on the Sunday before Whitsuntide, 1522, but did not enter upon his office till Candlemas, 1523; Bullinger, i. 75; Miscellanea Tigurina, iii. 30.

Compare the complaints of the chaplain Widmer at Zurich, an adherent of the ancient order, to Henry Goldi at Rome, 28th June, 1523 (Wirz, ii. 87). The state of things in Zurich is such "that we priests hardly know how far we are safe in the city; not to mention when we go out hunting with falcons, or venture in the country among the peasants. Besides, singing, mass-reading, and the rest of the service of God in use hitherto, is so sorely despised, and openly regarded by the common people as idolatry and a soul-destroying exhibition, and denounced in the pulpit as an evident imposture, that I fear, as the Pope, cardinals, and the bishop leave us to shift for ourselves, we shall have to renounce the faith and all divine service in a short time, or else allow ourselves to be put to death by the common people."

Füssli's Beyträg, ii. 25; iv. 47. A nun had been already married in August, and demanded restitution of the property which she had brought to the convent, ii. 28.

First Wilh. Röubli, pastor at Wytkon, 28th Apr., 1523; see Bernh. Weiss in Füssli,
that a German baptismal service was introduced in the city (10th Aug.), and that the cathedral chapter, at its own request, received new and suitable ordinances (19th Sept.). They wished to abolish all the idolatrous parts of divine service which had till now remained unchanged, especially images and masses, and accordingly they soon began, on their own motion, to demolish images and the apparatus of superstition.

These occurrences made, for the most part, an evil impression upon the rest of the confederacy. They were in part terrified by the prospect of a schism in the Church; in part they concluded, from certain exaggerated rumors, that all civic order was destroyed in Zurich; and they dreaded the power of this example. In Lucerne, Freiburg, and Zug, there was violent exasperation against the Reformation, from a stiff adherence to the old order of things; the Bernese aristocracy opposed the attempts at ecclesiastical innovation, out of regard for their own authority. Although in
other cantons the Reformation had many friends, even among the rulers, yet the voices of these powerful cantons swayed the diets, and from them, as well as from the Bishop of Constance, proclamations were issued against all ecclesiastical innovations.

As, however, the general voice of Zurich was expressed with increasing preponderance for the advance of the Reformation, the council cared the less for these warnings; in fact, it made preparations for a new conference on the 26th of October upon images and the mass. No champion was found for them; but so gross an ignorance was then discovered among the clergy, that the council determined to leave the old order of things for a while undisturbed, until sufficient instruction had been imparted. Zwingle, the Abbot Von Cappel, and Conrad Schmid, commander of the Knights of St. John at Künsnacht, were to preach for this purpose in the country districts; and, besides this, Zwingle was to compose his Christian Introduction, which was then published with the assent of the council, in order to explain more fully the mean-

instance, Bastian von Stein at Berne, who formerly were favorable and friendly to the Gospel, and gracious lords. The priests and monks, especially the bishops, raised the cry: The storm falls now upon us; it will fall next upon the nobles. Your free life, your tribute and tithe, will all be despoiled. Let us stand together against these rebellious heretics. By such outcry as this, raised day by day, many powerful and wealthy nobles were deterred from even listening to, much more from accepting, the Word of God: that which was divine and evangelical they called devilish and infernal."

Pastoral of the 10th July, 1523, in Simler, i. 789 (in German in Füssli, iv. 185).

After the abovementioned meeting (at Zurich, in January), when the pious Zwingle went forth into the country to preach and instruct the clergy, and every where in the confederacy the Word of God increased; then the confederates passed a decree, in July at Berne, and in autumn at Lucerne, that all the followers of Luther and Zwingle should be strictly searched out and punished; and that Zwingle should be arrested if he came into their dominions; in order that they might support the Bishop of Constance against his disobedient clergy, as they had been earnestly exhorted to do. (Compare Lud. Tschudii Epist. ad Zuenglium, die Jovis post Margaretae, 1523. Opp. vili. 502.) The bishop had remonstrated to the diet at Berne against the disobedience of his clergy, and received this answer at the diet of Lucerne; it may be seen in Füssli, iv. 156.

Bullinger, i. 126. All the Swiss bishops and cantons were invited to this conference, but only Schaffhausen and St. Gall sent delegates. The minutes of the conference were published at once by Lewis Hetzer (in Zwingle’s Works, i. 459): from these, again, Salat derived his historical account, composed in the same spirit as that of the first disputation (Note 66); see Füssli, iii. 1.

Zwingle recommended this course during the conference—see his Works, i. 581 f.; as did the commander, Conrad Schmid, ibid. s. 533 ff. On these decrees, made immediately after the conference, see Zuenglius ad Vadianum, d. 11. Nov. (Opp. vili. 318); Bullinger, i. 185.

"Eine kurze Christliche Ynleitung:" prefixed to it is a mandate of the council of 17th Nov.; in Zwingle’s Works, i. 541.
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ing and the object of the Reformation. All excess of zeal, whether in behalf of the old or the new, was held in check; and all excesses and illegal demonstrations were chastised. On the other hand, concessions were gradually made to the pressure for reform: in December the shrined pictures in the churches were shut up, and every priest was left free to celebrate mass or not as he chose.

Even a solemn embassy from the diet to Zurich (in Febr., 1524) could no longer impose any restraint, much less the Pope's refusal to pay arrears of debt till after the abolition of the innovations. After the council thought they had waited long enough, on Whitsunday, in 1524, a more thorough reform of the Church was begun by the destruction of images. One after another all

Proofs of this may be seen in the decisions of the council, Fussli, ii. 81 ff.

The verdict of the council of the 19th Dec. (Bullinger, i. 189; Fussli, ii. 47, Note; Zwingle's Works, i. 568) was that all the priests should appear before the council on the 28th of December, and in case they had any thing to allege against the last disputation, there to bring it forward. The picture tablets were to be shut up, and images were to be no longer carried about. Afterward the decree against the mass and prohibiting all aspersions was read to the priests in presence of the council, the 28th December (see the decree in Fussli, ii. 43 ff.; Zwingle's Works, i. 581): at the same time, it was determined to send to the bishops of Chur, Constance, and Basle, to the University of Basle, and the other cantons, the Introduction published by the council, "that if they were then still inclined to conform their opinions to Scripture, they might do so, and return us a friendly answer. Thus answers might be obtained, and it would be seen what progress was made in the matter, in order that at Whitsuntide it might be taken in hand once more, and a conclusion arrived at pleasing to God and to the furtherance of His holy Word."

Bullinger, i. 157. Anshelm, vi. 227. The impression made by this embassy was weakened by the fact that their instructions did not agree; see Müller-Hottinger, vi. 474. The Zurichers gave their answer on the 21st of March in print (the conclusion and date are in Anshelm, vi. 227; the whole is in the Bericht an die Unterthanen, Fussli, ii. 231-261): but this made the confederates less favorable than before to the innovations; Anshelm, vi. 230.

See Wirz, i. 41, and the investigations prefixed to Zwingle's Judgment on these transactions, 1526, in Zw. Werke, ii. ii. 887. The Pope's manifestoes were always of the same import as the brief to the Zurichers, 11th Dec., 1525 (l. c. p. 890): Quod si id, quod Deus avertat, in his novis et impis erroribus perstare propositum vobis haberetis, quomodo possemus non solum erga vos uti liberalitate, sed pecunias illas, etiam si maxime vobis debitaes essent, juste et ple persolvere? Cum alienis a fide recta, nec quae ipsorum quidem patria et avita bona sunt, illis jure relinquque debeant.

A commission of the clergy had been already obliged to draw up a proposal about the images and the mass (Bullinger, i. 162; Zwingle's Works, i. 572). The council agreed upon this, but resolved (Bullinger, i. 172) "that at this time a beginning should be made with images, and they should be done away with; with regard to the mass they would wait a short time, and see meanwhile what measures could be conveniently taken, even if the matter of the images should be mismanaged, as it was natural for the uninformed and the confederates to fall into error." But with regard to images, an order of the council was issued on the 15th June, 1524, to the provincial authorities (Landvögte) (Bullinger, i. 173; Fussli, i. 142): It had determined "to do away with images and idols wheresoever they were held in honor;" no force was to be used, but it was
the objects and usages of superstition quickly disappeared; the monasteries were suppressed, and changed into schools and almshouses. The council secured the assent of its subjects by a public invitation to declare their opinion upon these proceedings; and it had now less to fear from the threatening aspect of some of the cantons, since the others, especially Berne, entered into more friendly relations with it.

The transformation in public worship at desired, that if a parish had set up images and pictures by common consent at its own expense, it might remove them, if the majority of the parishioners desired it to be done, but on condition that it should be done in the presence of the pastor and persons of good repute appointed for the purpose by the community, with decency and without tumult. If, however, any one had put up images at his own expense, he might take them into his own hands without hinderance. A commission was appointed at once in Zurich to remove the images (Fuseli, ii. 60): the work was begun on the 20th of June, and was quietly finished in thirteen days (Bernh. Weiss in Fuseli, iv. 49).

Compare Zwingle's account in his answer to Valentine Compar. 1525 (Works, ii. i. 58). The feast of Corpus Christi was abolished (Fuseli, ii. 59): a list of all that was done away with in 1524 is given by Bullinger, i. 160; Bernh. Weiss in Fuseli, iv. 57; Anshelm, vi. 225: "In May, this year, the honorable city of Zurich has quite abolished and done away with the popish mass, observance of times, saints, hymns and prayers for the dead, all idols and images, together with the decorations and the services which belonged to them. It has also buried its patron saints, St. Felix and St. Regula, with the bones of the rest of its dead. Next fell the popish confessional, anointing and consecration, monastic rules and vows. In their stead the holy sacraments of Baptism and the Supper of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ, were ordered to be celebrated with piety, according to their first institution, and in the German language, that all might understand. Daily preaching was also established, common prayer, public confession, teaching and instruction in Holy Writ in four languages. The poor and needy were provided for with alms, holy matrimony was allowed to all estates, open sin and licentiousness strictly forbidden and punished, and a public account of these transactions printed and made accessible to us all."

The abbess of Frauenmunster surrendered her convent to the council on the 30th Nov., with the reservation of a pension; Fuseli, ii. 74, 77. By the advice of Zwingle (Works, ii. ii. 327), the Augustines, Dominicans, and Franciscans were all placed together in the Franciscan monastery on the 3d Dec.; those that wished to learn a trade received back the property they had brought in; the rest were to die out. Fuseli, ii. 76, 78; iv. 79. With regard to the appropriation of monastic property, see Muller-Hottinger, vii. 71. On the 20th Dec., 1524, Zwingle gave up the higher and lower jurisdiction of the prebendal stalls at the great minster, but he reserved its property for the establishment of schools (Works, ii. ii. 342).

The Bericht des Rathes zu Zurich an ihre Unterthanen, was sich die Zeit hier für Veränderungen in der Religion zugetragen haben (of the 7th July, 1524; see Muller-Hottinger, vi. 478 A.); in Bullinger, i. 177. Fuseli, ii. 228. The answers, all approving, are in Fuseli, iii. 105.

After Zurich had begun the Reformation, Schaffhausen and Appenzell openly joined its party. The most ardent of their opponents, Schwytz, Uri, Unterwalden, Lucerne, Fryburg, and Zug, entered into a league at Baden on the 28th of June, "with all their power, so help them God, to stand by the old faith, and banish the new; also to have no fellowship with its adherents;" see Anshelm, vi. 281. The three states above mentioned were not summoned to the diet at Zug on the 11th July; however, threatening as this diet certainly was, Zurich still received from Berne distinct assurances of friendly feeling; see Muller-Hottinger, vii. 48. St. Gall, Baale, and Solothurn joined
Zurich was completed by the celebration, on Maundy-Thursday, 13th April, 1525, of the Lord's Supper again in its original simplicity in the great minster. This same year produced, for the establishment of the Reformation among the learned, Zwingle's work, *De Vera et Falsa Religione*; and for the instruction of the common people, the first part of the Zurich translation of the Bible, which the clergy of Zurich composed in Swiss-German.

Beyond the canton of Zurich the Reformation, for the present, was only carried out in Appenzell and the town of Mühlhausen. The free Appenzellers, to whom, since the year 1522, Walter Klarer, pastor at Hundweil, had preached the Gospel, after a violent struggle, granted to every parish the right of deciding for itself (1524). Out of the eight parishes of the canton, six at once came over to the Reformation, and began to change their Church constitution, undeterred by any considerations. Mühlhausen was

with Berne "forsooth as the strong Bear (Berne) had determined, in accordance with the hopes and efforts of the six cantons, Zurich must be considered a lesser Turkey, and must defend her creed not against the Word of God, but against fire and steel." An embassy to the three reforming cantons was resolved upon; but Berne spoke in the name of the ten districts much more mildly than Lucerne in the name of the six; Anshelm, vi. 232. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 50. Zurich justified her conduct again in a printed letter (of the 4th January, 1525, Bullinger, i. 233. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 74): see this in Fussli, i. 293.

3 The youth received the communion on Maundy-Thursday, the middle-aged on Good Friday, the aged on Easter Sunday; see Bernh. Weiss in Fussli, iv. 64. Anshelm, vi. 234. Bullinger, i. 233. The liturgy used on the occasion may be seen in Zwingle's Works, li. ii. 233. Why Zwingle delayed so long may be seen in Anshelm, vi. 203, on the year 1528: Luther and Zwingle had demonstrated the exceptionable authority of the canon, and the propriety of administering the Lord's Supper under both kinds and in the vulgar tongue. "The Lutherans had instituted a German mass, with German psalms and hymns, and certain ancient ceremonies, with a view to the introduction of a new or altered papacy. But Zwingle endeavored to restore the first constitution of the Church, and abolish every ordinance of man. With this view he would neither introduce a German mass nor church-music, but waited until he could firmly establish the Lord's Supper with the preaching of the pure Word of God, without any mass or devised ceremonies, according to the simple institution and usage of the Lord and the apostles; which he soon afterward effected."

94 Opp. iii. 145.

95 See a list of the editions in Simler's Sammlung, ii. 381. As early as 1524 the New Testament was printed at Zurich after Luther's translation; in 1525 the historical books of the Old Testament, according to Luther's translation, altered in some places; in 1529 the prophets, Hagiographa, and Apocrypha, were printed in a new translation, upon which Leo Judae and Gaspar Grossmann were chiefly employed. The first complete edition of the Zurich Bible was issued in 1581. See Hottinger's Helvet. Kirchengesch., iii. 294.

96 See the historical account by the reformer Walter Klarer, by what occurred in the canton of Appenzell in the time of the blessed Reformation, written in 1565, in Simler's Sammlung, i. 803. Wirz, i. 514, ii. 987. Müller-Hottinger, vol. 144.
won over to the Reformation by Ulrich of Hutten, and reshaped its forms of worship as early as 1523. Still a party of adherents of the ancient order, who relied upon the confederacy for support, imposed upon the council the necessity of caution.\(^{97}\)

In Berne,\(^{98}\) by the fiery, barefooted friar, Sebastian Meyer, and the more prudent priest, Berchthold Haller, a broad foundation was early prepared for the Reformation, and favored by the government;\(^{99}\) Niklaus Manuel, in his carnival-farce of 1522, could unmask, without restraint, the crimes of the papacy and the clergy.\(^{100}\) But the events at Zurich in the year 1523 made the ruling nobles suspicious of the Reformation as a source of disorder;\(^{101}\) and the government endeavored to uphold its influence by an intermediate position between the parties. The preaching of the Gospel was, indeed, freely conceded;\(^{102}\) but every attack upon ec-

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\(^{97}\) Matthias Graf, Gesch. der Stadt Mühlhausen, 2ter Theil. His Gesch. der Kirchenverbesserung zu Mühlhausen. Strasburg, 1818. 8.


\(^{99}\) Thus the council decided in favor of the pastor, George Brunner, who was accused by his dean of preaching evangelical doctrine in 1522 (see Anshelm, vi. 103); and another contemporary account in Simler, i. 461; Kuhn, s. 253 ff.; and soon after punished a citizen who had accused Sebastian Meyer of heresy; Anshelm, vi. 108.

\(^{100}\) There were three which were publicly acted in the streets; Anshelm, i. 107: "One, called the Todtenfresser, touching all the abuses of the papacy, on the priests' Faschnacht; another, on the contrast between the character of Jesus Christ and that of his so-called vicar, the Pope of Rome, on the old Faschnacht. Between these, on Ash-Wednesday, the Roman Indulgence, with the Bohnerdied, was dragged through all the streets and ridiculed. By this strange exhibition, which had never before been thought profane, a great nation was induced to consider and distinguish between Christian freedom and papal bondage. Among all the evangelical publications there is scarcely a book so often printed and so widely spread as these farces." They were printed at Zurich, 1525, Berne, 1540; but they had almost entirely disappeared, and accordingly were published again: Des Venners der Stadt Bern Niklaus Manuel Fastnachts spiele. Bern, 1836. 8; also in Niclaus Manuel, von Dr. C. Grünseisen. Stuttg. u. Tubingen, 1837. 8. s. 839.

\(^{101}\) Compare Note 78, above.

\(^{102}\) The mandate of 15th June, 1523, is in Anshelm, vi. 204: "That you and all persons who undertake and use the office of preaching, preach nothing else but the Holy Gospel and the free love of God, openly and without concealment, and in like manner what you can defend and prove from the true Holy Scripture, the four Evangelists, Paul, the Prophets, and the Bible—in short, from the Old and New Testament; and entirely desist from all other doctrine, controversy, and unprofitable trifling not agreeing with the Holy Gospels and Scriptures above mentioned, whether they be written or published by Luther or other doctors." Anshelm, vi. 207, remarks thereon: When the nobles, of whom the lesser council was composed, "who thought that by this mandate the doctrine of Luther, Zwingle, and their adherents, would be excluded, saw and heard that the new doctrine and preaching were only strengthened thereby: then they rued, and began to seek with all their might to hinder the observance of their mandate, which
clesiastical usages, and all controversy, were forbidden and punished with severe penalties. Thus Sebastian Meyer, the preacher of the Dominicans, was obliged to leave the city on account of his controversial sermons, as was also his adversary. Haller, on the other hand, and those of like opinions, were allowed to preach the simple Gospel, though the government of Bern, with the Catholic cantons, remonstrated against the alterations which had taken place in Zurich.

The governments of the lesser cantons, which were more or less inclined to the Reformation, followed this example of the powerful Bern. But they were obliged to be satisfied with hindering any violent ecclesiastical alterations, while they overlooked other infringements of the old order, in consonance with the views prevailing among their subjects.

Biel, where Thomas Wyttenbach preached the Gospel, following the example of Bern, dismissed eight married priests, and Wyttenbach among them, from their offices. But in 1525 the citizens carried through the free preaching of the Gospel, and procured the restoration of Wyttenbach.

In Basle, Wolfgang Fabricius Capito and Gaspar Hedio were the first preachers of the Gospel. When they departed, as early as 1520, others came in their place, especially John Oecolampadius, in 1522, as professor of divinity, and assistant minister at St. Martins. The cathedral and the university were against the Reformation; but the more it spread among the people so much the more were the authorities inclined toward it, although out of they dared not rescind from fear of their fellow-townsmen and the community. However, the greater council maintained the mandate inviolate."

103 See the mandate of the Thursday after St. Mark's day, 1523, in Füssli, ii. 271, in which that of the 15th June was confirmed; "yet with this addition, that priests who had married wives, or hereafter should marry, were to forfeit and lose their benefices. In like manner, that all persons who spoke abusively or contemptuously of the Mother of God and the saints, or ate flesh and other forbidden food on fast days, or otherwise practiced or preached from the pulpit such unheard-of customs, must expect punishment from us."

104 1524. Anshelm, vi. 246. Kuhn, 122 ff. Anshelm's own wife was punished, in 1523, for saying, "Our Lady was a woman like herself; requiring the grace of her Son Jesus Christ—else she could not be saved;" and Anshelm had so much to suffer in consequence that he left Bern; see Anshelm, vi. 209.


consideration for the other cantons, and a prudent regard for internal peace, all that they did in a public way was to grant it toleration. In 1524 they issued an ordinance to the same effect as the Bernese mandate of 15th June, 1523; yet they appointed disputations for Oecolampadius, 30th August, 1523, for William Farel, and Stephen Stör, Leut-priest of Liestal, 15th and 16th February, 1524; and conceded to Oecolampadius those conditions as to reform under which he accepted the ministry of St. Martins in 1524.

So, too, in Schaffhausen the Reformation was favorably introduced by Sebastian Hofmeister, a barefooted friar, after 1522, and in St. Gall by two laymen, Joachim Vadianus and John Kessler, though as yet unable to come into full activity.

107 See this in Wursteisen, book vii., cap. 13 (compare Note 102, above).
108 Erasmus ad Zuinglium, d. 31 Aug., 1523. Opp. vii. 308. Oecolampadius proposuerat, quaedam disputare, jamque schedas prodiderat. Jusseus est in aliud tempus prorogare. Nunc permision est disputare, quum Tolet. P. 310. Oecolampadius hiri disputavit, disputaturus denuo proximo dominico. He had prepared four concluding addresses to refute the following charges commonly brought against the Reformation: 1. That its adherents despised all teachers; 2. That the new doctrines abrogated all good works; 3. That they taught men to despise the saints; 4. That they allowed no validity to human laws. See Wirz, ii. 360. These theses he defended on two Sunday afternoons.

109 Both of these men were refused permission by the University; the Council granted it: see the mandate in Füsali, iv. 248. Farel’s thirteen theses impugn the false, and point out the true way of salvation; see Füsali, iv. 246. The Life of Oecolampadius, by S. Hess, s. 77. The Life of W. Farel, by Kirchhofer, i. 21. Stör, who had married, defended the marriage of priests in five theses. Bullinger, i. 152. Füsali, ii. 151.

110 His condition was, according to Wursteisen, vii. 15, “that he should be free with regard to the Word of God, to teach what it teaches, and condemn what it condemns; also, that he should be released from the popish ceremonies, which he said were unprofitable to the people; and one deacon only should be allowed him, of whose help he might avail himself in the administration of the holy sacraments, etc. Thus much was conceded to him by the patrons, and afterward sanctioned by the Council; but on the understanding that he should introduce no important innovation without previously informing them. When Dr. Hausschein (Oecolampadius) addressed himself to the Church service, he charged his deacon to baptize children intelligibly in the German language. They administered the Lord’s Supper in both kinds, with the knowledge of the Council. He taught that the mass was no sacrifice for the sins of the living and dead, or for those who were still in purgatory; but that full forgiveness of their sins was obtained once for all, by the passion and death of our Saviour Christ, for all believers. He warned the people against consecrated water, salt, palms, taper, wafers, and such things. He proved that it was against God to attribute any virtue to these things, and beyond God’s command to circumscribe the freedom of the Holy Ghost with such ordinances. This produced so great an effect that the chaplains of important churches discontinued these usages, and by degrees processions with crosses, carrying the sacrament, and ceremonies of the kind, were abolished, together with the mass.”


112 The principal source is the Chronicle of Kessler, extant in manuscript, Sabbatha
§ 3.

CONTROVERSIES PREJUDICIAL TO THE REFORMATION.

It was natural that the new-born freedom, following the slavery of a thousand years, should bring in its train not only constant warfare against the old principles, but also many conflicting developments, and even errors and abuses: hence came manifold struggles; but this, too, gave an appearance of truth to the accusation of its adversaries, that the Reformation led to endless revolt against all existing institutions. First of all, the fearless vehemence with which Luther treated even the monarchs who opposed themselves to the Gospel, contributed to strengthen this charge; and though they opposed him in a sphere where their authority ought not to prevail, yet it still seemed to threaten mischief to the truth.¹

George, Duke of Saxony, had most frequently to endure Luther's violent indignation, for his persecution of the Reformation.² Better deserved was the reply of Luther to Henry VIII., King of England, who had ventured to come right into the region of theology in his Adsertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum, 1521, in order to win from the Pope the title of a Defensor Fidei. Luther's rejoinder, Contra Henricum, regem Angliae, 1522,³ was conclusive, although it far overstepped all bounds of reverence and courtesy. But Luther's controversy with Erasmus, and the entire separation of the latter from the cause of the Reformation, were much more injurious than these other contests.

Erasmus, who has been very frequently considered the real author of the Reformation, did, indeed, accompany its first steps with

¹ Compare Luther's work on the Secular Authority, how far a man is bound to render obedience to it, 1523, in Walch's edition, x. 426.
² First, when George demanded of Luther, in consequence of his letter to Hartmuth v. Kronberg, March, 1522 (de Wette, ii. 161), whether he acknowledged it as his (Walch, xix. 593); a very severe answer of the 3d Jan., 1523 (de Wette, ii. 284). Compare, with regard to all Luther's quarrels with George, Walch, xix., hist. Einleit., s. 28. Georg u. Luther, oder Ehrenrettung des Herzogs Georg v. Sachsen, von M. A. M. Schulze. Leipzig, 1884. 8.
³ Walch, xix., hist. Einleit., s. 1 ff.
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sympathy; but at the same time, he took good care that his own ease and good understanding with his dignified ecclesiastical patrons should not be disturbed, and that the progress of learning, which was more to him than all things else, should not be viewed with suspicion by the powerful. After the Reformation seized upon the minds of men as an overpowering impulse, and did not, as he would have it, merely cause them to smile with friendly intelligence upon their former errors; and after the edict of Worms had not only pronounced the ban upon all Luther's adherents, but had also made them outlaws, he shrank back in affright, and looked forward with fear and anxiety to endless tumults. Thus he belonged to the Reformation by his convictions, but was kept on the side of the old Church by calculation and fear. He thus fell into an untenable intermediate position, in which he endeavored, by a double-tongued policy, to allay the suspicion with which he was regarded by both parties, and to satisfy the demands incessantly made upon him, by the adherents both of the old and of the new faith, to declare himself decidedly on their side. Zwingle

* See § 1, Notes 32, 56, 67; cf. Erasmi Ep. ad Leonem X. dd. 13. Sept., 1520 (Opp. ed. Lugd. iii. 1, 578): Esse video, quiquo magis communirent factionem suam, conati sunt causam bonarum literarum, causam Reuchlini, meamque causam cum Luther causa conjungere, cum his nihil sit inter se commune.—Lutherum non novi, nec libros illius unquam legi, nisi forte decem aut duodecim pagellas casque cartip. Ex his, quae tum degustavi, visus est mihi probe compositus ad mysteria literarum Venerum more explanandas, quando nostra haec setas immodice indulgebant argutis magis quam necessaria questionibus.—Ferme primus omnium odoratnssum periculum esse, ne res exiret in tumultum, a quo sic abhorrui semper ut nemo magis. Proinde minis etiam ego cum Joanne Frobenio typographo, ne quid operum illius excuderet. He writes more in detail in Ep. ad Campegium Card. dd. 6. Dec., 1520 (l. c. p. 594), in which he seeks especially to justify his letter to Luther (§ 1, Note 32). P. 596 is characteristic: Siquidem ut veritati nunquam fas est adversari, ita celare nonnunquam expediet in loco. Semper autem plurimum refert, quam in tempore, quam commodo et attemperate eam proferas. Quaedam inter se fatentur theologi, quae vulgo non expediat esse nisi, proexpedit eserri. P. 601: Si corrupti morae Romanae curiae postulant ingenios aequos ac praeceans remedium, corte meum aut mei similium non est bane provinciam sibi sumere. Malo bunc, quavis qualia est, rerum humanarum statum, quam novos excipit tumultus, qui sequens numero vergunt in diversa, atque patabatur.

and the rest of the Swiss were forbearing, from their old deference;

—In his articulis, qui damnantur in Lutheri libris, nihil video quod illi mecum conveniat, nisi forte quod a me moderate suque loco dictum est, ille dicit immodice. —Si hoc est congruere, congruet vinum aceto. Sed dices: hactenus non scripsi quidquam adversus Lutherum. Id quo minus fecerim, duo praecipuus fuerunt in causa, uti penuria, et imperitiae propriae conscientia. —Si pium est necere causae Lutheri, fortassis magis illi nocui, quam quisquam eorum qui odisissime reprimarunt, quique hominem convictissimis libellis procidentur. Primum, violentum illum aux seditemus scribendi modum constantem —improbavi. Non destit—dehortari plurimos, ut ab ea factione se abstinere.

but with Luther, who had always remained far removed from the stand-point of Erasmus,\(^6\) and whose whole personal character stood in decided opposition to the Erasmian refinement and indecision,\(^7\) he was soon brought into open variance.\(^8\) The ungenerous conduct of Erasmus toward Hutten at Basle, in 1522, and the controversy which thence arose, in which his relation to the Reformation was the principal subject of discussion,\(^9\) estranged him entirely

\(^6\) Compare § 1, Note 6.

\(^7\) Lutherus ad Spalatinum, dd. 9. Sept., 1521 (de Wette, ii. 49): Neque Capitonis, neque Erasmi indicium me tantillum movet: nihil alienum opinionesui apud me faciunt: quin et hoc veritus sum, ne quando mihi cum alterutro negotium fieret, quando Erasmum a cognitione gratiae longinquum esse viderem, qui non ad crucem, sed ad pacem spectet in omnibus scriptis. Hinc omnia putat civiliter et benevolentia quodam humanitatis tractanda gerendaque: sed hanc non curat Behemoth, nigh clique par sese emendat. Memini, me, dum in praefatione sua in N. T. de se ipso dicet: gloriam facile contentim Christianus, in corde meo cogitasse: O Erasme, falleris, timeo. Magna res est gloriam contemnet, Christianus.

\(^8\) Zwinglius ad B. Rhenanum, d. 25. Maj. 1522 (Opp. vii. i. 193): Accipimus paucis ante diebus, duellum inter Erasum atque Lutherum futurum: propendent enim omnia ad alassidium: stimulari hunc a Wittembergensibus, ut adulatorum aliquando profutus; illum a Romanensibus, ut haereticum sibi damnosassimum extinguat. Quae res quantur a mali datur sit Christianis, conjectura non opus habes.—Scis enim, quantae ab utrisque parte stent copiae, quantaque sit utrisque vel pugnandi vel claudendi solertia. Hanc prays Rhenanus to join with Pellicanus in mediating between Erasmus and Luther. He himself was with Erasmus at Basle about this time, probably with similar views; see the letter of Myconius to Zwinglie, l. c. p. 192, 195.

\(^9\) In a letter to Erasmus of 15th Aug., 1520 (published by Hagenbach in the Studien u. Kritiken for 1832; Heft 3, s. 633), Hutten already censures his pusillanimous conduct with reference to Luther. When he came to Basle in Nov., 1522, after the fall of Sickingen, Erasmus declined to receive him, to avoid his remonstrances, and that he might not be remarked upon for associating with him. Erasmus related this occurrence untruthfully in an Epist. ad Marc. Laurinum, dd. 1 Febr., 1523 (Opp. iii. i. 760), and at the same time entered at length upon his position with regard to the evangelical party and the reasons for it. Hutten's mortification now rose to indignation, and his Expostulatio cum Erasmo (July, 1523—Hutten's works by Münch, iv. 343) overwhelmed him with reproaches for his unworthy conduct, which Erasmus did not succeed in obliterating with his Spongia adv. Huttenicas Adspertines (Münch, iv. 403; Erasmi Opp. ed. Lugd. x. 1631). At the same time, Erasmus tried, in an ungenerous manner, to make the knight an object of suspicion to the Council of Zurich, where he lived, as one who had nothing to lose, and acted only from love of mischief and frivolity (in a letter of the 10th Aug., 1523, in Hess's Life of Erasmus, ii. 572; Münch, iv. 397), and petitioned the magistrates of Strasburg to punish his printer (dd. 27. Mart. and 23. Aug., 1524; Opp. iii. l. 783, 804). Here, again, he showed himself to be double-tongued, for to both these evangelical towns he alleged the interests of the Gospel as the reason: to Zurich,—"But this I write that he may not abuse your goodness in favor of a licentious and arrogant style of writing, which is highly injurious to the cause of the Gospel, to liberal arts, even to common morality." To Strasburg: venerator pietatem vestrarn, quod faveatis Evangelio, pro quo provehendo ego jam tot annis tantum exhausire laborum, tantumque sustineo invidiae.—Certe Evangelico negotio non parum obseruere, si videant homines, per occasionem Evangelii Republicae disciplinam fieri deteriorem.—Pro meo erga bonas litteras et erga rem Evangelicam affectum sincerissimo visum est hoc admonere. Ego res vehementer dislicuit ipsi etiam Luthero et Melanchthoni, qui intellgent nullos
from its adherents. From this time Erasmus complains incessantly of the hostility of the Evangelicals. The haughty style

...
in which Luther offered him peace\textsuperscript{12} could only have the effect, upon this ambitious man, of giving additional weight to the request which reached him at the same time from England, that he would take revenge upon Luther for his attack upon the royal author.\textsuperscript{13} And so, to assail the formidable Luther in the weakest

\textsuperscript{12} In April, 1524 (de Wette, ii. 498). E. g., Nihil causor, quod alieniorem te erga nos habueris, quo magis esset tibi integra et salva causa tua contra hostes meos Papistas. Denique non aeger tuli admodum, quod editis libellis in aliquot locis pro illorum gratia captanda, aut furere modum, nos acerbissule monomderis et perstrinzeris. Quando enim videmus, nonum esse tibi a Domino datum eam fortitudinem vel et sensum, ut monstris illis nostris libere et fiderner occurras nobiscum, nec il sumus, qui a te exigere audeamus id, quod vire et modum tuum superat. Qvia imbecillitatem tuam et mensuram doni Del in te toleravitimus et venerati sumus. — Sic hactenus stilum cohibui, ut cuanque puengeres me, cohibitururumque etiam scripsi in litteris ad amicos, quae tibi quoque lectae sunt, donec palam prodires. Nam utcumque non nobiscum sapias et plerique pietatis capita vel impio vel simulanter damnes aut suspenderis, pertinaciam tamen tibi tribuere non possim neque volo. Nunc autem quid faciam? uttrinque res exacerbatissima est. Ego optarem (si possem fieri mediator) ut et illi desinerent te impetere tantis animis, sine raptuque senectutem tuum cuncte pace in Domino obdormire. Id sane facerent mea quidem sententia, si rationem habuerant tuas imbecillitatem et magnitudinem causae, quae modulum tuum dudum egressa est, perpenderent: praeerat cum res jam eo pervenerit, ut parum sit metuendum periculum nostrae causae, si Erasmus etiam summis viribus oppugnaret, netum si aliquando spargits acientes et dentes tantum. Rursus si tu, mi Erasme, illorum inoffitatem cogitares, et a figuris illis rhetoricae tue salias et amarii abstineres, eti cum unum neque posses adeures nos assereres, intracta tamen dimitteres et tua tractares. Erasmus answered on the 5th May (Fortig. Sammlung von alten u. neuen theolog. Sachen, 1725, s. 545): Nee tibi concedo, ut magis ex animo bene cupias Evangelicae sinceritati, quam ego, cujus rei gratia nihil non perpetor, et hactenus omnium venor occasionem, ut Evangelium fiat omnibus commun. Caeterum quod tu imbecillitatem voces aut ignorantiam, partim constantia est, partim judicium. Tua quaedam legens valeb pertimesco, ne qua arte deludat Satanas animum tuum: rursum alia sic non capio, ut velim hunc metum meum esse falsum. Nolim proferi, quod ipse mihi nondum persuasi, multo minus quod nondum assequor. Hactenus rectius consilium negoti Evangelico, quam multij qui se iectant Evangelii nomine. Vide, per hanc occasionem exoriri multos perditos et seditiosos; video pennire bonas literas ac disciplinas; video discindi amicitias, et vereor, ne cruentus exoriat tumultus. Si tuus animus sincerus est, precor ut Christus bene fortunet quod agis: me nulla res corruam, ut scien promam Evangelium humanis affectibus. Nihil ad huc in te scripsi, facturus id magno Principum applausu, nisi vidissem hoc abaque jactura Evangelii non futurum: tantum eos repeli, qui constabant omnibus modis Principibus passim persuaderes, mihi tunc foedus esse, et mihi tecum in pericula convenire, et in libris meis esse quiquid tu doceres; haec opinio vix etiam nunc potest ex illorum animis revell. Quid scribas in me, non magnopere laboro: si meum spectem, nihil mihi accidere posset felicissimum paratus ex omnibus redgere rationem de ea, quae in te est, fide, quare negro foras, si quis discendi gratia tecum disputet? Fortasse Erasmus scribies in te magis profuerit Evangelio, quam quidam stolidi scribentes pro te, coet.

\textsuperscript{13} Erasmus ad Hier. Emserum, Note 17, below. He was chiefly influenced by a report which was spread about him by certain persons in England, that he had some share in Luther's work against Henry VIII. (Curtbert. Tonstallus ad Erasm. dd. 7. Jul., 1523, Opp. iii. i. 771). With what fear Erasmus undertook the work, and how highly he estimated his influence with the King's wish, may be seen in his Ep. ad Henricum Regem Angliae, dd. 4. Sept., 1523 (1. c. p. 778): Molior aliquid adversus nova dogmata, sed non assim edere, nisi relict am Germania, ne cadam, priusquam descendam in arenam.
part of his theological system, he wrote his work De Libero Arbitrio, in September, 1524. Luther replied with his usual bitterness in the work De Servo Arbitrio (Dec., 1525). Erasmus repaid, in like coin, in his Hyperaspistes (1526). Thus the renowned Erasmus now passed over into the ranks of the enemies.


15 T. Witenb. ii. 457; Jen. iii. 160.
17 As to the effect of his controversial work he writes, ad Jac. Sadoletum, d. 25. Febr., 1525 (Opp. iii. i. 854): non paucos revocavi a factione damnatae, et jam passim rednuntur literae, quibus declarant se persuasos libello De Libero Arbitrio ab hoc Lutheri dogmate descivisse. On the other hand, ad Hier. Emsor, 1527 (l. c. p. 1066): Quid mea distriua civilius? Quid profecit tamen, nisi quod Lutheranos excitavit ad majorem insaniem! Id non ignarus futurum, tamen morem gessi Regi et Card. Angliae, Pontifici et doctis aliquot amicis, non tacens interim quid esset sequiturum. Erasmus did not by any means satisfy Luther's violent enemies. Albertus Pius, Princeps Carpentiai, repeated in a letter to him, which had grown into a pamphlet (v. d. Hardt, Hist. Liter. Reform. i. 114 ss.), in 1526, the old accusation, that he was in truth the original author of the Reformation, and was bound to a continual warfare against Luther, p. 127: Quod in eum posses, modo velles, declarasti libello tuo De Libero Arbitrio, quo Lutherum non exagias, non perturbas modo, sed prosternis, enecas.—Quod si idem praesteteris dogmatibus in caeteris, jam non erit, quod suspicari possint homines, ullo pacto convenire tibi cum Luther0. Si autem praeterieris, hoc edito libello potius suspicionem adauxistii. Putabunt enim multi, si seque in caeteris dissensisses, pariter caetera teuisse refutatu.
of the Reformation, although he did not cease to recommend conciliatory measures toward it. 18

The controversy about the Lord’s Supper, and the division it made between the Saxon and Swiss reformers, was a much more grievous blow to the Reformation. Carlstadt, who had already, from the year 1521, played a principal part in the disturbances at Wittenberg, gave occasion for it. In the beginning of 1524 he forced himself into Orlamund as pastor; 19 and here, with a warfare against pictures and images which caused much commotion, he began what he considered a thorough reformation, as Luther seemed to him entangled in many errors, especially about the Lord’s Supper. 20 In Sept., 1524, he was obliged to leave Orlamund, and from Basle poured forth his indignation against Luther, whom he considered his persecutor, in a series of works against his doctrine of the Lord’s Supper. 21

18 Compare Erasmi Consilium Senatui Basil. in Negotio Lutherano, datum A.D. 1525 (in Erasmus Leben by Hess, ii. 577, in German, in Wurzelstein’s Basler Chronik, B. vii. cap. 13), e. g., Si Tigurinis persuaderi possit, ut imagines, formam Missae—reponerent, donec ex publico orbis consilio statueret super his, valde pertineret ad totius Helvetiae concordiam. Et tamen si id non possit persuaderi, nolim hac gratiam over! bellum, sed expectare potius occasionem. De sumptione Eucharistiae, si id pio affectu petatur ex consensu regionis tribus verbis, impetrabitur a Pontifice, cuius auctoritas certa ad hoc valebit hic, ut exclusat seditio nem civilis. De eia carnis idem sentio. Si rogetur Pontifex publico vestrae regionis nomine, nihil erit difficultatis.

19 Luther against the Himmlische Propheten, in Walch, xx. 227.

20 He defended his boisterous principles of Reform in a letter addressed to the recorde of Joachimsthal: "Ob man gemach fahren, und des Ergernis der Schwachen verschonen soll in Sachen, so Gottis Willen angehen, 1524. 4." (reprinted in Fussli’s Beyträge, i. 57). How far the inhabitants of Orlamund were led on by him is shown by their letter to Luther, in which they invite him to a personal conference (in Walch, xv. 2435), e. g., "You despise all persons who, at the command of God, destroy dumb idols and heathenish images, to which you oppose only a powerless, worldly-wise, and inconsistent argument, drawn from your own brain, and not founded on Scripture. But the fact that you so publicly censure and revile us, who are members of Christ grafted in by the Father, unheard and unconvicted, proves that you yourself are no member of this true Christ, the Son of God," etc. Accordingly, in August, 1524, Luther traveled to Jena and Orlamund by the desire of the Elector; compare the account "was sich D. Andr. Bodenstein v. Carlstadt mit D. M. Luther beredt zu Jena, und wie sie wider einander zu schreiben sich entschloschen haben. Item die Handlung D. M. Luther’s mit dem Rath und der Gemeinde der Stadt Orlamunde, am Tage Bartholomai daselbst geschehen" (by Mart. Reinhard, preacher in Jena), 1524. 4., in Walch, xv. 2422 and 2435.

21 Andreas Bodenstein’s son Carlstadt genannt Lebensgeschichte v. J. C. Fusslin, Francf. u. Leipzig, 1776, s. 82. A full list of Carlstadt’s writings is in Riederer’s Abhandlungen, s. 473. The works which relate to the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper are printed in Walch’s edition of Luther’s Works, xx. 188, 378, 2852.
Luther had, in former times, wavered with regard to this doctrine. But as he adopted, for his general guide and limit in his reform of the Church, the plain word of Holy Scripture and the practical demands of religion, so, on the other hand, he rejected all interimixture of merely speculative reason. Accordingly, he had restricted himself on this subject to the rejection of the *opus operatum* and of transubstantiation, because both of these dogmas were injurious to religion; but he had maintained the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, against which exception could be taken only on grounds of reason. When the view of the Lord’s Supper, as a memorial rite, was first maintained against him, with an evident wresting of the words of institution, by

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22 Luther to the Christians at Strasburg, 15th Dec., 1524 (de Wette, ii. 577): “I confess that if Dr. Carlstadt, or any one else, could have informed me five years ago that there was nothing in the Sacrament but bread and wine, he would have done me a great service. I have here, indeed, suffered such hard attacks, and been so wrung and wounded, that I would gladly have escaped from it, for I saw plainly that I could thus have dealt the Papacy the heaviest cuff. I have also had two men write to me on this subject more skillfully than Dr. Carlstadt, without torturing the Word so much after their own notions. But I am bound—I can not escape; the text is too strong there, and will not bear to be twisted out of its meaning with words.” As early as his work on the Adoration of the Sacrament, addressed to the Bohemian brethren in 1523 (Walch, six. 1593), Luther refuted all the different opinions which were afterward brought forward in the Sacramentarian Controversy, viz.: 1. That bread signifies the body; 2. That a participation of the spiritual body takes place; 3. The doctrine of transubstantiation; 4. That the Sacrament is a sacrifice and good work. “The third error is, that no bread remains in the Sacrament, but only the figure of bread. But this error has not much force, if it be only allowed that the body and blood of Christ are there with the Word. Although the papists have fought stoutly, and still fight, for this new article of theirs, though they reproach every man as a heretic who does not hold with them as necessary truth this monkish dream, upheld by Thomas Aquinas and sanctioned by Popes, that no bread remains. But since they press this point so strongly, of their own wanton will, without Scripture, we will only maintain, in opposition to and defiance of them, that actual bread and wine remain, together with the body and blood of Christ, and will gladly be reproached as heretics before such dreamy Christians and undisguised sophists, for the Gospel calls the Sacrament bread; thus, the bread is the body of Christ. By this we stand; truly it is enough for us against all sophistical dreams, that that should be bread which Scripture calls bread.”

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23 According to Petrus de Alliaco Card. Cameracensis; see De Captivitate Babylonica, § 1, Note 61, above.

24 According to Albr. Hardenberg (+ 1574) in the Vita Wesseli (prefixed to Wessel Opp. ed. Groning; Joh. Wessel, by Ullmann, s. 826), Carlstadt had drawn his doctrine of the Lord’s Supper from a work De Eucharistia, which Henry Ridius, president of the House of Brethren at Utrecht, had received from Cornelius Honius (Hoen), a distinguished jurist in Holland, and brought to Wittenberg and then to Zurich; this was afterward sometimes considered a work of Wessel’s, and sometimes was said to be about two hundred years old. Ullmann’s Joh. Wessel, s. 826, must be corrected here by Gerdes. Hist. Ev. Renovati I. Monum. p. 228. It will be proved in Note 27, below, that this work was brought to Wittenberg in the year 1521. Hardenberg, in his account, erroneously introduces at this time the events at Jena in 1524. But Carlstadt had not
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Carlstadt, who stood in close connection with the Anabaptists, at that time rising again into notice, and who was also carried away by many superstitious views, Luther was ready to see in this doctrine, as well as in the rejection of infant baptism, only the pride of reason going beyond Scripture; and he resisted both opinions as belonging to the same order of fanaticism.

On the other hand, Carlstadt’s conception of the Lord’s Supper corresponded well with the tendency of the theologians of the school of Erasmus to understand and explain Scripture in harmony with reason. Zwingle had long cherished this doctrine in secret. Erasmus himself was clearly inclined toward drawn from this work his marvelous explanation of the words of institution, corresponding so remarkably with that of the Cathari (Moneta contra Catharos, lib. iv. c. 8): “Eat the bread, for this my body which shall be given for you.” Moreover, in 1521, Carlstadt still maintained the real presence; see his work “Von Anbetung u. Ehrerbietung der Zeichen des N. T. 1. Nov., 1521” (Unsch. Nachr. 1718, s. 177). Bucer writes very truly to Boniface Wolfhardt, and the men of Augsburg, a.d. 1537 (from Zanchii Opp. in Gerdesii Scrinium v. 227): Hoc ego, fratres, ingenuedice, et coram Domino sic sentio, optandum piis, ut nihil unquam contra Lutherum de Eucharistia scriptum esset.—Jam in spiritualem manudicationem posuerat omnis, corporalem ultra admodum extenuat, ipsae corporae in externum opus submovet: ubi autem Carolstadius virum commovit, sicut persuaerat sibi, Carolstadium velle externum verbum et Sacramenta penitus e medio tollere, ita totus erat in evhehndis istis, sicut nihil in eo non vehementer: indeque factum, ut nos ipsi, et nostri Occolampadius et Zwinglius putaremus, eum externis rursus justificandum tribuere, quod ille tamen nunquam sensit.

24 Luther to the Christians at Strasburg, 15th Dec., 1524 (de Wette, ii. 578): “Yea, if even at this day it might happen that a man prove with sound arguments, that mere bread and wine were present, there would be no need to assail me with so much wrath. I am, alas, all too much inclined to this view, so much of the old Adam do I feel within. But Carlstadt’s fanaticism on this subject is so far from convincing me that my opinion is only strengthened thereby. And if I had not entertained it before, I should have concluded at once, from such lame and foolish trickery, without any Scripture, founded only upon reason and reflection, that his view could not be true.”


26 Capito and Pellicanus as early as 1512; see § 2, Note 9. According to the later Swiss historians (e.g., Hess in his Life of Zwingle, translated by Usteri, s. 21, and Huld. Zwingle, by Schuler, s. 24) Zwingle read, while at Glarus, Ratramn on the Lord’s Supper, and Wycliffe’s works; according to S. Hess (Sammlungen zur Beleuchtung der Kirchen-u. Reformationsgesch. d. Schweiz. Heft 1. Zürich, 1811, s. 20); also the works of Peter Waldo (?): however, I find no proof of this. This doctrine of the Lord’s Supper first appears in his works, in the letter to Wyttenbach, 15th June, 1528 (Opp. vii. 1.
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it: thus Carlstadt found much agreement with his doctrine in southern Germany and Switzerland, though not with his marvelous interpretation of the words of institution. Capito and Bucer, at Strasburg, showed themselves unmistakably influenced by it.


In the same year Leo Judae, in a work published under a false name, sought to prove the same fact from the earlier works of Erasmus; see Bullinger, i. 392; Hess, ii. 271. The words which Hottinger contributes from his manuscript are characteristic of this author's method of silencing himself and others with sophisms (continuation of Müller's Schweizergesch. vii. 131): Finge, in Eucharistia non esse substantiam corporis dominici, tamen Deus illum errorem nulli poterit imputare. Quum eum adoramus in Eucharistia, semper subest tacita exceptio, si illae vere est. Nobis enim non constat, an secerdos rite consecraverit.

29 They pronounced the controversy unimportant, as it only related to the spiritual participation of Christ; see Capito's Urtheil, was man halten u. antworten soll von der Spaltung zwischen M. Luther u. A. Carlstadt, in Luther's Werke by Walch, xx. 445; and Bucer's Grund u. Ursach us güttl. Schrift, der Neuerungen wegen an dem Nacht-male des Herrn zu Strasburg vorgenommen, Ibid. a. 458: both works belong to the year 1524. At the same time, the preachers of Strasburg wrote to Luther to draw him into an explanation upon the controversy, dated 23d Nov., 1524, in Kapp's Nachlese, ii.
Zwingle declared himself in favor of it in a letter to Matthew Alberus, preacher at Reutlingen; at first, indeed, only in confidence, but soon after also in public. To refute Carlstadt, Luther wrote against the Celestial Prophets in 1525; Bugenhagen’s work, Contra Novum Errorem de Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis Christi, was directed against Zwingle. Carlstadt, oppressed by want, and the suspicion of being concerned in the Peasants’ Rebellion, soon yielded once more, and returned repentant to Saxony, but the controversy awakened by him was continued by both parties in a violent series of works. Zwingle defended his doctrine in several works; Oecolampadius joined him; but he met with opponents in the Swabian preachers, led by John Brentz and Erhard Schnepf. Luther himself first appeared against the Swiss party

610. He answered by his letter to the Christians at Strasburg, 15th Dec., in de Wette, ii. 574.

30 Dd. 16th Nov., 1524. Opp. iii. 589. He argues from John vi. for a manducatio spiritualis: est, in the words of institution, means significant. The anxiety with which he opposes the publication of his opinion is unmistakable, p. 593: Nos enim nostra proferimus, non ut censeamus. Res enim tam est ardua, ut, nisi dominus dederit intellectum, frustra dicturi simus, quicquid tandem adduxerimus. And in conclusion: Adjuro te per Christum Jesum, qui judicaturus est vivos et mortuos, ut hanc epistolam nulli hominum communices, quam ei, quem constat sincerum esse in fide ejusdem domini nostri. The letter was first printed at Zürich in March, 1525.

31 In the Comm. de Vera et Falsa Religione, March, 1525 (Opp. iii. 145; the chapter “Von dem Nachtmal Christi” was published at the same time in a German translation also), and the Subsidium s. Coronis de Eucharistia, Aug., 1525 (l. c. p. 326). Compare Bullinger, i. 281.

32 Walch, xx. 186.

33 It appeared at the same time in German also; in Walch, xx. 641.

34 Probably without reason. An invitation from Münzer to join in his rebellion, sent from Altstadt to Orlamund, was refused from this place in a letter undoubtedly composed by Carlstadt; see Münzer’s Life by Strobel, s. 77. Afterward Carlstadt’s residence at Rothenburg, on the Tauber, furnished an occasion of accusing him of co-operation in the Peasant War; see Kapp’s Nachlese, iv. 561. He defended himself in the “Entschuldigung D. A. Carlstadt’s des falschen Namens der Aufruhr, so ihm ist mit Unrecht aufgelegt,” which Luther edited at his request in Wittenberg, 1525, with a preface (this may be seen in Walch, xv. 2466). Compare Fussli, Leben Carlstadt’s, s. 92; Leben Münzer’s von Strobel, s. 76.

35 Walch, xv. 2466.

36 Especially “Eine klare Underrichtung vom Nachtmal Christi:” 1526. Werke, ii. i. 426.

37 De genuina verborum Domini, hoc est corpus meum, juxta vetustissimos auctores expositione, lib. 1525. 8 (also in Pfaffii Acta et Scripta publ. Eccl. Wirttembergicae, p. 41). He sought to prove a trope in the word corpus: Hoc est figura corporis mei.

in a Preface\(^39\) in the year 1526, and thus a warfare was enkindled which brought into the bitterest opposition the reformers of both parties, who ought to have been united by the closest bonds in their common aim and common danger. The Swiss doctrine of the Lord's Supper also found support beyond the bounds of Switzerland,\(^40\) especially in southern Germany, Strasburg,\(^41\) and Ulm.\(^42\) Nevertheless, as these Churches remained in connection with the Church of Saxony, they were obliged to take an equivocal position.

The Reformation, however, was most injured in public opinion by the Anabaptist disturbances and the Peasant War, which also broke out at the same time.

The first beginnings of these evils are to be sought in the disturbances at Zwickau in 1521. Thomas Münzer,\(^43\) who, as pastor at Zwickau, had a large share in these disturbances, and was in consequence deposed, after a vain attempt to gain support among the Bohemians,\(^44\) had betaken himself to Altstadt, in Thuringia, with a view to advance far beyond the beginning made at Wittenberg, and there establish the kingdom of God upon earth in equality and community of goods, compelling, if necessary, the princes to submission by force.\(^45\) When these disturbances began

\(^{39}\) Prefixed to Agricola's Translation of the Swabian Syngramma into German; see the Preface in Walch, xx. 721.

\(^{40}\) For instance, in East Friesland, where George Aportanus, the first evangelical preacher at Emden, immediately adopted this doctrine; see Sittemann, in Vater's Kirchenhist. Archiv, 1824, iii. 36, 43.

\(^{41}\) See Note 29.

\(^{42}\) Where Conrad Sam (see § 1, Note 115) declared himself on Zwingel's side; see Weyermann, Die Bürger in Ulm, der Zwinglischen Confession zugethan, in Steudel's Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie, 1830, i. 142.


\(^{44}\) See the Intimatio, published at Prague, in Strobel, s. 19.

\(^{45}\) Disregard of the written Word of God, the dead letter, is the characteristic of his doctrine: man must hear the everlasting Word of the Father speak from within him: God utters his holy Word, that is, his only begotten Son, into the inmost soul: by this incarnation of Christ men are at once entirely deified by God, and even in this life, as it were, translated into heaven. On the other hand, he inveighs against the mere faith of the lips, and trust in outward baptism: faith is not given to those only who have
to attract more attention, Münzer was obliged to leave Altstadt in 1524, and withdrew beyond Nuremberg to Waldshut, on the borders of Switzerland, where he had already formed connections by letter. In Switzerland there were also many persons who longed for a speedier and more thorough reformation of the Church, and who particularly insisted upon the rejection of infant baptism, about which Zwingle had for some time been in doubt.

been sprinkled with water, Strobel, s. 48, 154, 159. In his history of the Anabaptists, Bullinger thus states Münzer's doctrine (Füssli's Beyträge, v. 186): "All preachers who preached the Gospel at this time are not sent of God, neither do they preach the true Word of God; but they are only learned in Scripture, and preach the dead letter of Scripture. Scripture and the external word of God are not the real true Word of God, for this is internal and heavenly, and proceeds immediately from and out of the mouth of God. A man must be taught by this Word from within, and not by Scripture and preaching. He also held baptism with water in little esteem; he even maintained that infant baptism was not of God; accordingly we must be baptized with a spiritual and more real baptism: nevertheless he did not, in the beginning of his anabaptism, have himself rebaptized, something hindered this. His disciples began to rebaptize before him. He was also baptized with his own blood, i.e., put to death. He also said it was false that Christ had made satisfaction for us, as the weak learners of Scripture maintained. The marriage and marriage-bed of the unbelieving and carnal was no undefiled bed, but whoredom and a devilish brothel. He taught that God revealed His will in dreams; he himself attached great importance to dreams, and gave out that they were the suggestions of the Holy Spirit. Accordingly, he and his followers were called the Heavenly Prophets, and Spiritualists or Geistler." He set up at Altstadt a league for the establishment of the kingdom of God upon earth; he destroyed a resort of pilgrims in the neighborhood, and summoned the nobles to join his side, else the sword should be taken away from them. Strobel, s. 45, 46, 51.

46 Münzer published at Nuremberg, in reply, his libel upon Luther, "Hochverursachte Schutzrede und Antwort wider das geistlose anftlebende Fleisch zu Wittenberg, welches mit erklärter Weysse durch den Diepstal der heil. Schrift die erbermdliche Christenheit alsoganz jamerlichen besudelthat." 4. Strobel, s. 64, 162.

47 Especially with Conrad Grebel. On his letter to Münzer at Altstadt, on the 5th Sept., 1524, see Zwingle's Works, ii. i. 374. [On Grebel, see Heberle, Die Anfange des Anabaptismus in der Schweiz, in Jahrbücher f. Deutsche Theologie, Bd. iii., 1858, s. 225-280.]

48 Grebel particularly; Zwingle's Works, ii. i. 373. At the second conference at Zürich, 26th Oct., 1523, Conrad Grebel, Simon Stumpf, and Balthasar Hubmeyer came forward with such like demands; see the Acts in Zwingle's Works, i. 528, 530. Wirz, ii. 163. All these, and also the fanatical iconoclasts, Niclas Hottinger, and others (§ 2, Note 74), afterward became Anabaptists. The village of Zollikon, where, as early as Whitsuntide, 1524, images and altars were destroyed in the church (Füssli, ii. 58), afterward became a principal residence of the Anabaptists.

49 Hubmeyer reproached Zwingle with having denied infant baptism in 1523, in a conference with him; see Füssli's Beyträge, i. 252, Anm. In his exposition of the articles, Art. XVII. (Works, i. 289), Zwingle says, in fact: "Though I well know that children were baptized from ancient times till now, this was not, however, so common as in our own day; but they were publicly instructed together in the word of salvation. And if they had a firm faith in their heart and confessed it with their mouth, they were baptized." Zwingle also confesses, in 1525, in the work "Vom Touf, vom Wiedertouf, und vom Kindertouf" (Werke, ii. i. 245): "I was so far led away by error as to think that it was much more becoming for children not to be baptized till they were come to
Münzer now connected his other fanatical doctrines with this view, which they had in common; Waldshut became the headquarters of fanatics, who soon spread from this place over the whole of Switzerland. Unfortunately, at this very time the great insurrection of the peasants broke out in southern Germany, and encouraged the Anabaptists to violent measures.

Even before the Reformation severe oppression had more than once driven the peasantry to revolt. The refusal to institute evangelical preachers now became in many places a new cause of discontent, and misunderstanding of evangelical liberty gave to it a religious character. After some isolated outbreaks in the year 1524, the peasants of the Abbot of Kempten rose, upon the first of January, 1525; and in a short time this insurrection of the peasantry spread throughout Swabia, Franconia, and Alsace. The XII. Articles in which the peasants stated their demands, and tried to prove them from the Gospel, favored the inference of a good age. William Roubli, pastor at Wytykon, was thrown into prison in August, 1524, for denying infant baptism in his sermons (Fuselli, ii. 64).

At this time the susceptibility to fanaticism was still further increased by external oppression. This town had called Baltasar Hubmeyer to be its pastor, against the will of the Austrian government; and when it proposed to eject him by force, the citizens of Waldshut called upon the reformed Swiss to render aid to the threatened Gospel, and several inhabitants of Zurich went thither in defiance of the prohibition of the Council. Bullinger, i. 223; Müller-Hottinger, vii. 10. Thus a numerous and susceptible circle of disciples to Münzer’s gospel of the free spirit was formed in this place. Anabaptism was a secondary doctrine to Münzer (see Bullinger, Note 45), and was first developed as a party sign in this circle.


Oechsle, s. 74 ff. Wachsmuth’s Anfänge und Kriege der Bauern im Mittelalter, in Raumer’s Hist. Taschenbuch, Jahrg. 5. 1834, s. 281. Ranke’s Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter der Ref. i. 214. In the year 1476, in the district of Würzburg; in 1492, the peasants of the Abbot of Kempten, and in the Netherlands; in 1493 in Alsace; after 1502, the Bundschuh, in the diocese of Spires; in 1513, the Arme Konz in Wirttemberg; in 1514 in the diocese of Augsburg and in Carinthia; in 1517 in the Windische Mark.

“‘The Reasonable and Just Articles of the entire Peasantry and subjects of the ecclesiastical and secular sovereignties, by whom they think themselves oppressed’ (reprinted in Strobel’s Beyträge, i. 7, Oechsle, s. 246): I. ‘First, it is our humble petition and desire, also our will and opinion, that for the future we should have power and authority; a whole community should choose and appoint a pastor. Also, that we should
CHAP. I.—REFORMATION. § 3. ANABAPTISTS.

evil-disposed persons, who said that the whole insurrection was the fruit of the Reformation; although it had found the ferment-

have power to depose him if he conduct himself improperly. The pastor thus chosen should preach us the Holy Gospel pure and plain, without any addition, or doctrine, or ordinance of man. If. Secondly, as the right tithe is appointed in the Old Testament, and fulfilled in the New, we are willing to pay a fair tithe of corn. Yet, as is fitting, the Word of God says plainly that, with a view to giving it to God, and distributing it to His people, it is required to be given to a pastor. We will that for the future our Church-provost, whomsoever the community may appoint, shall gather and receive this tithe; from out of this he shall give to a pastor, provided he be elected by an entire community, a decent and sufficient maintenance; the residue shall be distributed to the poor, resident in the same place. With regard to any further residue, it should be kept in hand, in case any one should have to leave the country from poverty, so that provision may be made from this superfluity that no land-tax may be laid upon the poor. Also, in case one or more villages have sold out their tithes, and have thus put themselves in the position of one entire village, there should be no injustice in consequence; but we will that the sum should be repaid in due time with proper interest. But if a tithe owner has not bought his right from the village itself, but his forefathers have appropriated the tithe to themselves, the people will not, ought not, and are not to make any further payment. Small tithe we will not pay at all, for God the Lord has made cattle free for all men.

III. Thirdly, hitherto it has been the custom for men to hold us as their own people, which is a pitiable case, considering that Christ has delivered and redeemed us with his precious blood shed for us, the peasant as much as the prince. Accordingly, it is consistent with Scripture that we should be free, and wish to be so. Not that we wish to be absolutely free and under no authority; but we take it for granted that you will either willingly release us from serfage, as true and real Christians, or prove to us from the Gospel that we are serfs.

IV. In the fourth place, it has been the custom hitherto that no poor man should have power, or be allowed to touch venison, wild fowl, or fish in flowing water, which seems to us quite unseemly and unbrotherly, but also selfish and not agreeable to the Word of God. In some places, also, the authorities will have us preserve the game to our own annoyance and great loss; the unreasonable animals destroy for no purpose our crops, which God suffers to grow for the use of man, and we must remain quiet; this is neither godly nor neighborly. For when God created man he gave him dominion over all animals, over the fowl of the air and the fish in the water. Accordingly, it is our desire, if a man holds possession of waters, that he should prove, from satisfactory documents, that his right has been unwittingly acquired by purchase, we do not desire to take it from him by force; but whosoever can not produce such evidence should surrender his claim to the community with a good grace.

V. In the fifth place, we are aggrieved in the matter of wood-cutting. For our nobles have appropriated all the woods to themselves alone; and if the poor man requires wood, he must buy it for two pieces of money. It is our opinion with regard to a wood which has fallen into the hands of lords spiritual or temporal not by purchase, that it should be reassigned to an entire community; and should be free in seemly wise to the whole community, that every man should be allowed to take from his house what he requires for fire-wood. Also, if a man require wood for carpenter's purposes, he should have it, but with the consent of a person appointed by the community for the purpose.

VI. In the sixth, a mitigation of feudal services. VII. In the seventh, of other services. VIII. Lowering of rents was demanded. IX. "In the ninth place, we are annoyed with a great evil in the constant making of new laws, so that we are not punished according to the case, but sometimes from great ill-will, sometimes from good-will. It is our opinion that we should be dealt with according to the old written law, with reference to the case, and not by favor. X. In the tenth place, we are aggrieved by the appropriation of meadows, and likewise of corn land, which at one time belonged to a community; these we will take again into our own hands, except it be that the land has
FOURTH PERIOD.—DIV. I.—A.D. 1517-1648.

ation already at work, and only influenced its external character. Luther, to whom the peasants appealed, recognized, in his exhortation to peace, the justice of many of their complaints, that he might impress upon them more vividly the injustice of rebellion.

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been rightfully purchased. XI. In the eleventh place, we will entirely abolish the custom called Todfall (right of heirloom), never again endure it, nor allow that widows and orphans should be thus shamefully robbed, against God's will, justice, and right, as has been done in many places, and by persons who should shield and protect them; they have disgraced and despoiled us, and if they have had but little authority to do so, they have assumed it; God will suffer this no more, but it shall be quite done away with, and for the future no man shall be bound to give either little or much. Conclusion: in the twelfth place, it is our conclusion and final resolution, that if one or more of the articles here set forth is not in agreement with the Word of God, we will rescind thereof, if it be made plain to us on Scriptural grounds. Or if an article be now conceded to us, and hereafter it be discovered to be unjust, from that hour it shall be dead and null, and have no more force. Likewise, if more articles of complaint be truly discovered from Scripture, we will also reserve the right of resolving upon these.*

Christopher Schappeller, pastor of Memmingen, was long considered the author of these articles; see, on the other hand, Schellhorn's Reformationsgesch. der Stadt Memmingen, s. 80: it was probably John Heuglin, matin-priest in one of the villages dependent on the imperial town of Ueberlingen; see Strobel's Beyträge, ii. 76. Besides these, particular districts alleged their own grievances; see Oechsle, s. 255, 258, 494. In Heilbronn the very dregs of the peasantry concerted an outline of a new constitution for the German empire (Oechsle, s. 163, 283), in which the so-called Reformation of Frederick III. (see vol. iii. p. 349, § 139, Note 14) was taken for the ground-work.

Luther's exhortation to peace on the Twelve Articles of the Peasants of Swabia. May, 1525 (Walch, xv. 58). E. g., To the Princes and Lords: "In the first place, we have no one on earth to thank for this unadvised rebellion but you, ye nobles and gentlemen, especially you ye blind bishops, mad priests and monks, who harden yourselves to this very day, and never cease raging and storming against the Holy Gospel, though ye know it is right, and can not gainsay it. Besides, in the exercise of your secular power ye do nothing else but tax and assess, to support your pomp and pride, till the poor man neither can nor may any longer bear it. Well, then, as ye are the cause of such wrath from God, undoubtedly it will come upon you also, unless ye mend yourselves in time. For this ye should know, dear sirs, God hath so made things that man neither can nor will long endure this madness of yours. Ye must change and yield to God's Word. If ye will not do this in a friendly and willing manner, ye will have to do it in a compulsory and destructive manner. If these peasants don't carry this out, others must.—But to the end that ye may sin more, and be shipwrecked without mercy, certain persons go about to lay the blame on the Gospel, saying that this is the fruit of my teaching. Well, well, revile as ye will, dear masters, ye wish not to know what I have taught, and what is the Gospel. But there is One at the door who will teach you right soon, unless ye mend your ways. Ye and all men must bear me witness that I have taught with all quietness, striven with all zeal against rebellion, restrained and exhorted your subjects with all diligence to render obedience and honor due, even to your tyrannical and insane dominion; so that this rebellion cannot have issued from me. But the prophets of murder, who are as much enemies to me as to you, are come upon this people, and have gone in and out among them for more than three years, and no one has checked and resisted them so much as I alone. So-God means now to punish you, and lets the devil rouse this mad people against you by his false prophets, perhaps He wills that I should no more have power to withstand. What can I or my Gospel do, which to this day has not only borne your persecutions, murders, and raving, but has always prayed for you, and helped to protect and administer your dominion among
His appeal was in vain. The suppression, however, of the insur-

the common people? One may yet counsel you, dear masters, that for God's sake ye will yield a little to this indignation.—Consider well beforehand, for ye know not what God will do, lest a spark go forth and kindle throughout Germany a fire which no man can put out.—They have set forth twelve articles, among which are some so remarkable and just that, before God and the world, they claim your concession, and verify Psalm cvi. ver. 40, they pour contempt upon princes.—To the peasantry: Hitherto, dear friends, ye have stated nothing more than what I confess, alas! to be all too true and certain, that the princes and gentry, by forbidding to preach the Gospel, and by oppressing the people so intolerably, have right well deserved that God should cast them down from their throne.—Nevertheless, ye must consider well, that ye take your cause in hand with a good conscience and with justice.—Firstly, dear brethren, ye take the name of God in your mouths, and call yourselves a Christian league or association, and set forth that ye will act and proceed according to divine right.—But, in the second place, it is easy to prove that ye are persons who take the name of God in vain and profane it. For here stands God's word, spoken by the mouth of Christ, Matt. xxvi. 52: 'They that take the sword shall perish by the sword.' This means nothing else than that no one shall resist authority at his own will; but as Paul says, Rom. xiii. 1, 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers (with fear and reverence).—In the third place, Yea, say ye, the higher powers are too wicked and insufferable; for they will not allow us the Gospel, and oppress us with all bitterness in our temporal concerns, and so destroy us body and soul. I answer, the fact that the government is wicked and unjust is no excuse for faction and rebellion. For to punish wickedness belongs not to every man, but to the secular power, which carries the sword, as Paul says, Rom. xiii. 4, and Peter, 1st Epist. ii. 14, that it is ordained of God for the punishment of evil-doers. So, too, the natural and universal law lays down that no man shall be his own judge.—With this divine law agrees, and Moses says, Deut. xxxii. 35 (Rom. xii. 19), 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.' True, the government does wrong in thwarting the Gospel, and oppressing you in your earthly possessions. But ye do much more wrong, in that ye not only hinder the Word of God, but trample it under foot, and seize upon His authority and rights, and set up yourselves above God. From Him the government derives its power and authority, yea, all that it has.—Hence there is an easy answer to all your articles. Although they might be all naturally just and equitable, still ye have forgotten Christian justice, in that ye have not carried and won them before God in patience and prayer; but have undertaken, arbitrarily and impatiently, to put force upon the government and extort them by violence; which is contrary to the laws of your country and to natural justice. Also, it is not a true profession of yours, that ye teach and live according to the Gospel. No one of your articles teaches any part of the Gospel; all aim at the preservation of your persons and property.—Exhortation addressed to both the Government and the Peasantry: Since, then, dear sirs, there is nothing of Christianity on either side, and no Christian question is at issue between you, but both sides, peers and peasants, have to do with questions of heathenish or secular right and wrong, and with earthly possessions, and moreover ye have sinned against God on both sides, and lie under His wrath, as ye have heard; so listen, for God's sake, to words of counsel, and decide the question with right and not with might, nor with fighting, to the end that ye may not bring endless bloodshed upon German lands.—Therefore, it is my faithful advice that certain counts and gentlemen be chosen from among the nobles, and certain councilors from the towns, that the question may be discussed and settled in friendly wise; that ye nobles abate something of your stubborn pride, which ye will have to concede at length, whether ye will or no; and relax a little of your tyranny and oppression, that the poor man also may have air and space to breathe in. Again, ye peasants, be ye also instructed, surrender and give up certain articles which ask too much and reach too high; in order that this question, if it can not be proceeded with on Christian grounds, may thus, at any rate, be settled in accordance with human justice and policy.
rection, which he himself now demanded, was in a short time accomplished, but for the most part with frightful cruelty. This agitation extended into Switzerland also: in the dominions of Zürich, Basle, and Schafhausen, peasants came before their rulers with importunate demands, but they were soon reduced to submission by measures of forbearance.

In this great insurrection of the peasants no traces of Anabaptist fanaticism were seen, although Münzer had some part in its commencement. But the Anabaptists in several places were thereby encouraged to adopt violent measures in order to carry out theirfanatical plans. Early in 1525 Thomas Münzer made his appearance again in Thuringia, where, supported by his former allies, he usurped authority at Mühlhausen in the character of a prophet, to bring about a complete reformation of Church and State, and endeavored to spread his authority in the vicinity by desolation and pillage. But the revolt was once more subdued

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55 Luther's work against the Robbing and Murdering Peasantry, in Walch, xvi. 91: "The peasants have incurred the guilt of dreadful sin, in three ways, against God and man, for which they have deserved death in body and soul many times over. First, they have sworn truth and fealty to their government, but have wantonly broken their allegiance. Second, they have commenced a rebellion, and rob and plunder religious houses and castles which are not their own. Thirdly, they cloak such hideous and dreadful sins as these with the Gospel. So now the government should press onward courageously, and wage this war with a good conscience, while a pulse beats in their veins.—Therefore, dear masters, come hither to deliver, hither to the rescue, have pity on the poor folk, stab, smite, throttle who can. If you perish in the work—well is it for you, a more blessed death you will never have hereafter." As this violent essay was considered by many as unchristian and too severe, Luther defended it in an official letter to Casp. Müller, Chancellor of Mansfeld, in Walch, xvi. 99.


57 Münzer's Confession, in Walch, xvi. 155: "In the Clegau and Hegau near Basle, he had set forth from the Scriptures certain articles upon government, and afterward deduced further articles from them: they would gladly have had him on their side, but he declined their offer. He had stirred up no insurrections, for they had been already aroused. Oecolampadius and Hugfeldus had appointed a place to preach to the people, so he had preached; that where there were unbelieving governors, the people also were unbelievers; which might be pleaded in justification."

58 As early as the 14th Aug., 1524, Luther warned the council and community of Mühlhausen against Münzer (de Wette, ii. 536).

59 Melancthon's Historie Thomas Münzers, b. Walch, xvi. 204 ff. Strobel's Leben Münzers, s. 74 ff. Münzer said, on his trial by torture (see his Confession, in Walch, xvi. 157): "He had stirred up this rebellion in order that Christendom might be brought to an equality, and that the princes and gentry, who would not stand by the Gospel, and join their league, when invited to do so fraternally, should be banished and put to death.—Their article was, omnia simul communia, i.e., all things should be common, and distribution should be made to every man according to his need as opportunity served. And whatsoever duke, count, or lord would not do this, after being summoned to do so, his head should be cut off, or he should be hung." Compare Münzer's letter
at the battle of Frankenhausen, 15th May, 1525, and here also was followed by a cruel revenge.

At the same time, Münzer's residence at Waldshut bore grievous fruit for the Swiss nation. Anabaptism developed itself with manifold evils first in the territory of Zurich, afterward it espe-
to the miners of Mansfeld (in Walch, xvi. 150): E. g., "Let not your sword cool in blood; forge Pinkespank on the anvil of Nimrod (i. e., the wicked nobles); cast his tower to the ground: it is not possible, so long as they live, that ye should be free from the fear of man. The Word of God can not be spoken to you while they rule over you. On! on! on! while ye have the day, God goes before you, follow," etc. He always signed his name Thomas Münzer with the sword of Gideon.

The hot-headed party first betook themselves secretly to Zwingli and Leo Judae (see Zwingle's Aussage vor den Nachgängern, d. i. Untersuchungsrichttern, in Füssli, i. 228. And his account in the work Vom Touf, vom Wiedertouf, vom Kindertouf, Works, ii. i. 231, and in the Elenchus contra Catabaptistas, Opp. iii. 362). It was Simon Stumpf, Grebel, and Felix Manz who invited them "to constitute a peculiar Church, in which should be a Christian people, living with all innocence, cleaving close to the Gospel, burdened neither with taxes, nor usury, nor any thing of the kind." On this occasion these expressions were used: "It were nothing unless the priests were put to death; Christians were neither bound to pay taxes nor tithes; all things must be common; there neither could nor should be any such persons in the Church except those who knew that they were without sin." When they were foiled in this attempt, they first began to impugn infant baptism; Zwingli Elenchus, p. 363. On this point they had several conferences with Zwingile; they appeared to yield, but soon after actually commenced rebaptizing: Zwinglius, i. c., states this fact with the remark, nihil per om-
em de infantium baptismato pugnam de catabaptismo proponeisse; videri hunc catabap-
tiam seditiosorum hominum esse veluti tesseram. At first, then, the question was only as to the fact whether infant baptism was agreeable to the command of Christ, not whether it was valid when once performed. Balthasar Hubmeyer's letter to Oecolam-
padius of Jan., 1525, designates this as the position of the question (Epistolarum Oecolam-
padii et Zwinglii, at the beginning of lib. ii.). Hubmeyer thus states his way of pro-
ceeding at this time in Waldshut: Loco baptismatis ego curo convenire Ecclesiam, indu-
cens infantulum, ac lingua vernacula interpretor Evangelium: Oblati sunt parvuli Matth. xix. Subinde imposito nomine prat tota Ecclesia flexis genibus pro parvulo.—
Si vero sunt parentes adhuc infirmi, qui volunt omnibus nervis baptizarii prolem; hanc baptizo, in opere infirmus sum cum infirmiusculis ad tempus, dum eruditur melius, sed in verbo non cedo illis in minimo apiculo. Afterward those fanatics at Zurich, more than ever exasperated by their conferences with Zwingli, proceeded to entirely denial of infant baptism, and so to rebaptizing, Zwingli Von d. Predigtamt, Works, ii. i. 306: "They first came from Zürich." The first man who allowed himself to be baptized by Grebel in Zürich was George Blaurock (Füssli, ii. 338); afterward many persons were baptized by Blaurock and Manz in Zollikon, where John Brödli was minister (ibid. s. 266), and now the fanaticism of the party broke out openly. Zwingli Elenchus (Opp. ii. 364): Magnis examinis in urbeb advolant, poeita zona, salice aut reste cineti, in foro atque trivis, ut ipsi jactabant, prophetantes. De antiquo dracone, quem me vole-
bant, deque ejus capitibus, quibus religiosus verbi symmystas, omnia implebant. Justi-
tiam atque innocentiam omnis commendabant, ab eis peregre nimium prefecturi; communia se habere jam omnia et gloriamabant, et allia, ni idem fecerint, ultima com-
minabantur. Per plateas Voce, Voce, portentose, Voce Tigiro clamabant. Quidam Jona-
nam imitati adhuc quadraginta dieum inducias urbi dabant. In Lent, 1525, Brödli and William Rübbi being driven from Zollikon, betook themselves to Schafhausen; the latter afterward went to Waldshut (see Brödli's letter, in Füssli, i. 217 f.): here he began to rebaptize, and carried with him Hubmeyer, who was still wavering, so that he
cially attacked St. Gall, but it also affected other cantons. The authorities proceeded at first with great leniency. An attempt was made to reclaim the erring by writings, and several religious conferences. As, however, civil order continued to be threatened, they passed from mild to severe measures, and at length was baptized himself, and on Easter-day baptized about 300 men (Hubmeyer's Aussage, in Füssli, iii. 241). At the end of March, 1525, Grebel came to St. Gall, and here soon found numerous disciples (Alte Reformationsgesch. v. St. Gallen, in Simler, i. 129).

Zwingle especially dedicated his work Vom Touf, vom Wiedertouf, and vom Kindertouf, of the 27th May, 1525, to the community of St. Gall (Works, ii. i. 230). Hubmeyer wrote in answer Von dem christl. Tauf der Glaubigen. Then followed: Ueber Doctor Balthazar’s Toufbüchlein wahrhaftige gründete Antwort durch Huldr. Zwinglin, in Nov., 1525 (Werke, ii. i. 337).

At Zurich, on the 17th Jan., Zwingl. ad Vadianum, dd. 19. Jan. (Opp. vii. 386; Bullinger, i. 239), on the 20th March (Bullinger, i. 239), on the 6th to the 8th Nov., 1526 (Bullinger, i. 294; Muller-Hottinger, vii. 94; Zwingle's Works, ii. i. 940). At Basel on Whit-Monday, 1525 (Simler, i. 492).

On the doctrinal views of the Anabaptists, see Bullinger, in Füssli, v. 181. Zwingli in Catapostatarum Strophas Elenchus, 1527 (Opp. iii. 357). The Anabaptists maintain that they are the only true Church, well-pleasing to God and the community of Christ, and teach that they who are received by rebaptism into their community should have no communion with the Evangelical or any other Church. In the so-called Evangelical Church something of the Gospel is preached, but no one mends therein, and all the people are impenitent, and held fast in sin and vice. So the deficiency is not only in the lay folk, but also in the Church officers, both as regards their person and their office. As regards their persons, because they have not been rightly and duly called to their office; because they have not those qualities which Paul requires in a bishop, 1 Tim. iii.; further, because they do not teach others; lastly, because they receive stipends and benefits and do no work for them, and so are belly-preachers. Also, there is a great deficiency as regards their office, in the matter of doctrine and administration of the sacraments. In matter of doctrine, because it depends upon the preaching of one; whereas Paul says, that if a revelation be made to one who is sitting by, the first speaker shall hold his peace, and suffer the other who sits by to speak. The preachers do not stand by the Word of God alone, but fix a meaning on Scripture, whereas Scripture may not be explained by any private interpretation. The sermons of the preachers are much too restricted; for they teach Christ hath made satisfaction for sin, and man is justified before God by faith and not by works, whereas in this wick-ed world man should practice nothing more than good works. Thus, also, the preachers teach, that it is not possible for man to keep the law, whereas the whole of Scripture commands us to keep the law. The charity according to which all possessions should be held in common is not rightly taught by the preachers, insomuch as they maintain that a Christian man may have property and be rich, whereas charity has all things in common with the brethren. Also, the preachers intermingle the Old and New Testa-
ments, whereas the Old Testament is done away, and is no more binding on Christians. — It is not true, as the preachers say, that souls, after the death of the body, go straight to heaven, for they sleep till the last day (Zwinglius, 1. c. p. 438: Catabaptistae docent mortuos dormire et corpore et animis usque in diem judicii, propter qua dormiens verbo ignorant Hebraeos pro moriendo verbo uti). The preachers yield too much to the governing powers, of which Christians have no need, as they only entail suffering.
to capital punishment. Thus the public disturbances were soon

Christian may not be a ruler. The government should not, and must not, interfere with religion and matters of faith. Christians resist no power, according to their requirements. No one should be compelled to believe by any force or constraint, nor any one put to death for the faith. Christians defend not themselves, so they wage no wars, and do not obey the government in this point. The Christian's conversation is Yes, yes, and Nay, nay; oaths are sinful and unjust. Moreover, the office of the preachers is deficient in the administration of the Sacraments; for they baptize infants, whereas infant-baptism is of the Pope and the devil. Anabaptism, on the contrary, is the only true Christian baptism, as being administered to persons who make confession, repent, and to such as are instructed and capable of understanding. The preachers make no distinction, and do not keep sinners away from the Lord's Supper, and employ no excommunication. (in Zwingl. l. c. p. 390: Excommunicari debent omnes, qui, posteaquam—in unum Christi corpus baptizati sunt,—cadunt in peccatum.—Debent ergo hujusmodi admoneri bis in occulto; terto publice pro ecclesia debent corrigi juxta praecptum Domini. Hoc saeculi fieri debet juxta ordinationem—divini spiritus ante fractionem panis, ut omnes unanimitur—unum panem frangere atque edere possimus, et de uno calicexbibere.)—They naturally disowned the name of Anabaptists, as they declared infant-baptism invalid; they rather called this Anti-baptism (Fussli, iii. 229). But they wished to restore the sacraments in general to their original institution; see the Confession of George Blaurock (Fussli, i. 264): "I am the introducer of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, together with my elect brethren in Christ, Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz. Accordingly, the Pope, with his faction, is a thief and murderer; in like manner Luther, with his faction, is a thief and murderer; Zwingile, also, and Leo Judae, with their faction, are thieves and murderers." With regard to the elements of the Lord's Supper, they held the Zwinglian opinion (see Balthasar Hubmayer ad Oecolampad. in Jo. Oecol. et Huld. Zwinglii Epistoll. lib. ii. init.; Jac Kautz, in Fussli, v. 150). But they often celebrated it in their own houses, imitating more exactly the Supper as it was instituted (Fussli, i. 267, ii. 362 ff.). But their doctrine of the Spirit was of principal importance; Zwingl. l. c. p. 426: ubi ubi lubet, scripturam negant et spiritum suum jactant. Hans Denk had collected some supposed contradictions in Holy Writ, which could only be reconciled by the Holy Ghost (in Fussli, v. 189): so much the more extraordinary was the literal interpretation which they put upon some passages of Scripture; those, for instance, on oaths, the sleep of death, etc. The belief in a final restoration was also widely spread among them; Zwingl. l. c. p. 488: tam Daemonem quam impios ommes beari: this Hans Denk taught at St. Gall (Simler, i. 189). The insane doctrines of the Anabaptists of St. Gall were censured even by Grebel and Manz; see Franz, Schwärmer. Graualscenen, s. 83. Many of their doctrines bring vividly to mind those of the sect of the Free Spirit, e. g., that God works all in the regenerate, that they have no occasion to pray (Simler, i. 142; compare vol. iii. p. 174, N. 8). Fussli (Kirchen u. Ketzerhistorie der mittleren Zeit, iii. 255) regards the Anabaptists in general as a continuation and revival of the sects of the Middle Ages: he is hardly right in so general a conclusion. The first impulse was probably received from Bohemia; the fanatics of Zwickau were a revival of the Taborites. The manifold erroneous doctrines were the natural result of the doctrine of the inner light, behind which the lust of the flesh soon concealed itself. Some few of the earlier sects may have become connected with them, but only such as would coalesce with the new system.

Immediately after the first conference (see Note 68), in January, 1525, a decree of the Council was issued at Zürich, that all persons should have their children baptized or leave the canton (Fussli, i. 189). Soon afterward the principal authors of disturbance were thrown into prison (ibid. s. 205 anm.); they succeeded in breaking out of their prison, and now announced that, like the Apostles, they had been set free by an angel (Fussli, i. 249, Anm., iii. 252). In March, 1526, an order was passed at Zürich that all
suppressed: nevertheless, the Anabaptists from this time forth maintained themselves in concealment, spread in all directions, and endeavored with great zeal to make secret proselytes. Anabaptism was everywhere punished with death; but its victims bequeathed to the faithful an encouraging history of martyrdom, rather than an intimidating example.

All these events were eagerly seized upon by the enemies of the Reformation as so many proofs of the fact that it taught men to reject all authority, and thus incited to disobedience and rebellion against the temporal as well as the spiritual powers, while it deprived faith of all sure guidance, and led to endless dissensions and all sorts of fanaticism. The ordinances of the German empire; the first passed by the Diet of Spires, in April, 1529, in Boehmer Jus Eccles. Protestantium, iv. 1109 ss. 67

persons who practiced Anabaptism should be drowned (Füssli, i. 270, Anm.). The other states also which were inclined to the Reformation followed this example. Abschied der Stadte Zurich, Bern, u. St. Gallen, Sept., 1527, in Simler, i. 449. Felix Manz was drowned at Zürich in 1527; George Blaurock whipped out of the country (Bullinger, i. 381; Füssli, iv. 259, 263); Hubmeyr was burned to death at Vienna in 1529 (Schelhorn Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica, Ulm, 1738, p. 150. H. Schreiber's Taschenbuch für Geschichte u. Alterthum in Süddeutschland. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1859, s. 1).

66 The ordinances of the German empire; the first passed by the Diet of Spires, in April, 1529, in Boehmer Jus Eccles. Protestantium, iv. 1109 ss. 67

67 These were adorned with miracles, described and published, e. g., the account of the execution of certain Anabaptists at Rothenburg, in the Neckar, in 1527; in Füssli, ii. 374. Compare Veessenmeyer, in Vater's Kirchenhist. Archiv. 1826, iv. 458.

68 Erasmi Hyperspistos, lib. i. (Opp. x. 1256): Habemus fructum tuispiritus, res usque ad cruantam stragem progressa est, et metuimus atrocia, ni Deus propitius averterit.—Non agnoscis hosce seditiosos, opinor, sed illi te agnoscent, et jam compertum est, multos, qui se jacabant Evangelii nomine, fuisset seditiose instigatores. Quorum conatus successisset, fortassis exitissent qui probarent, quod nunc re male gesta detestatur. Tu quidem libello in agricolas saevissimam suspicionem abs te depuluiisti, nec tamen efficis, quo minus credant homines, per tuos libellos, prae sistim germanice scriptos, in oleatos et rasos, in Monachiis, in Episcopis, pro libertate evangelica contra tyrannidem humanam, hisce tumultibus fuisset data occasiorem. Non tam male de te sentio, Luthere, ut existimem, te huc destinasses tua concilia, sed tamen jam pridem cum hanc fabulum ordereris, o calami tua violentia cepi conjecturam, rem huc exituram. Cochlæus ad ann. 1528, fol. 64 b. Nulla unquam facto fuit ita seditiosa, pestilens, nefaria, quae sic religionem omnem tollere, leges omnes obruere, mores omnes bonos corruptere, republicas omnes evertere machinata sit, ut nunc ista conjuratio Lutherana, quae et sacra omnia profanat, et profana contaminat. Quae ita Christum praedicat, ut ejus Sacramenta conculcit; ita Dei buccinat gratiam, ut arbitri libertatem destruat; ita fidem extollit, ut operibus bonis detrahat, et invehat peccandi licentiam; ita misericordiam sublevat, ut justitiam deprimat; et malorum omnium causa causam inevitabilem non in Deum aliquem malum, quod Manichaei saltam commenti sunt, sed in unicum illum vere bonum rejiciat. Quia cum ad hunc modum impie divina tractari, velut a coelo dejectus serpens, virus effundit in terras, in Ecclesia commovet dissensionem, leges omnes abrogat, Magistratus omnes enervat, laicos in sacerdotes concitat, utrosseque adversus Pontificem, populos adversus Principes: nec aliud plane molitur, quam ut (quod omen avertant Superi sollemnes primum populus tan quam pro libertate bellum indicat Proceribus, deinde ut Christiani contra Christianos, spectantibus et irritantibus Christi hostibus, pro Christi fide ac religione depugnut.
CHAP. I.—GERMAN REFORMATION. § 4. 1525.

§ 4.

GERMAN REFORMATION TO 1530.

The opponents of the Reformation, stimulated by these disturbances, of which we have given a narration, were disposed to threaten its violent suppression; and the circumstances of the times seemed to favor this intention. The Emperor, at the battle of Pavia, Febr. 24, 1525, had made a prisoner of his violent opponent, Francis I.; every thing indicated that he would now turn his power against the Reformation.\(^1\) In the Peace of Madrid, 14th Jan., 1526, both princes expressly avowed this purpose.\(^2\) Several powerful German princes were also ready to act in concert with them, and had already held consultations in Dessau, July, 1525, with this object in view.\(^3\)

Thus Duke George, in a letter to the Landgrave Philip, throws the whole blame of the Peasants' Insurrection upon the preachers alone, "who have preached the Lutheran Gospel so loud and clear, that no one could help perceiving it must bear such fruit as is now before our eyes" (see Rommel's Philip der Grossmuthige, ii. 88). Philip replied to this charge in 1528 (ibid. s. 85): "Your highness writesthat the rebellion has risen from Lutheranism; with this I can not agree: there is no occasion to prove, as every one knows well, where the rebellion arose. Thus, I have punished no Lutheran with the sword, but wicked, rebellious persons, who do not hold Luther's doctrine. This is shown by his manifold works. The Gospel, which must now be called Luther's doctrine, teaches no rebellion to the peasants, but peace and obedience to all men. Accordingly, among those people and in those regions which adhere to the Gospel called Lutheran, there is less rebellion, in some places none at all, than in those which persecute the Gospel." This defense is valid even in relation to the perplexities of our own times.

\(^1\) The Emperor commissioned the Bishop of Strasbarg for southern Germany, Duke Henry of Brunswick for northern Germany, to open the matter to the zealous Catholic estates; see the Instruction, dated Seville, 23d March, 1526, in Rommel's Philipp d. Grossmuthige, iii. 13, in Neudecker's Urkunden, a. 10; cf. Seckendorf, ii. 44. He intends to return from Spain, through Rome, to Germany, so that "we may root out and extirpate such unchristian, evil, licentious doctrines and errors, and restore and establish the Holy Empire in unity." Compare his Letter to his brother Ferdinand, 26th March, 1526, in Von Bucholtz's Gesch. der Regierung Ferdinand I., ii. 369.

\(^2\) J. Dumont Corps Universel Diplomatique du Droit des Gens, iv. i. 399. In the introduction the object of the peace is given thus: pour pouvoir convertir les annees communes de tous Roys, Princes et Potentats Chrestiens à la repulsion et ruine desdits mescreants insides, et extirpation des erreurs de la Secte Lutherienne, et des autres Sectes reprouvées. They agree, No. xxvi. p. 405, that they will entreat the Pope to call a general congress of all princes, pour dresser tous les moyens convenables pour lesdits Turcs et Infideles que contre lesdits Heretiques alieanze du greme de la sainte Eglise.

\(^3\) Banmer's Gesch. Europa's seit dem Ende des funfzehnten Jahrh. i. 310 ff.

George of Saxony, Erich and Henry of Brunswick, Joachim of Brandenburg, Albert of Mayence; Seckendorf, ii. 42; Luther to J. Brismann, 16th Aug., 1525 (in de Wette, iii. 22); Rommel, i. 137; ii. 98.
The progress of the Reformation, however, was not restrained by these dangers. In Saxony, Frederick the Wise, who had only permitted, but not aided, the new order of things, died, the 5th May, 1525; his brother and successor, John the Steadfast, came forward at once as a zealous adherent and defender of the Reformation. Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, also declared for it; and Albert of Brandenburg, Grand Master of the German Order, who had for a long time been inclined to it, came out, as the secular Duke of Prussia, openly in its favor, after the larger part of the population of that land, and its two bishops also—the first example of the kind—had confessed the new doctrine.

Philip of Hesse, a young, energetic, and keen prince, at once endeavored to form a league of the evangelical princes against the imminent dangers; but the most perilous time was already passed when the League of Torgau, 4th May, 1526, came into being for defense and protection against their opponents.

Luther ordained the first evangelical preacher on the 14th May, 1525 (Seckendorf, ii.29), and married Catherine von Bora the 13th June, 1525. (On some contemporaneous writings against this marriage, see Veesenmeyer, in Vater’s Kirchenhist. Archiv, 1826, s. 167; against later calumnies, see Walch's Gesch. d. sel. Frau Cath. von Bora, 2te Aufl., Halle, 1752; 2ter Thell., 1754; and Gieseler's Essay, in the Zeitschrift f. ge- bildete Christen, Heft i. s. 106.) The Elector, in 1525, enjoined upon persons holding office, and 24th June, 1526, upon patrons among the nobility, to lay before their parochial clergy Luther's German mass for observance, and in case they could not themselves preach, to recommend to them Luther's church postills; Seckendorf, ii. 48.


Handlungen u. Ausschreiben von den Ursachen des Teutschen Kriegs Kaiser Carls V. wider die Schmalkaldischen Bundes-Oberste Anno 1546 u. 1547, by F. Hortleder (Frankf. 1617; 2te Ausg., Gotha, 1645, 2 Theile, fol.), Th. 1, Buch viii. cap. 2; Luther's Werke, by Walch, xvi. 696. To this compact, concluded at Gotha the end of Feb., 1526, and ratified at Torgau, 4th May (Ranke's Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter d. Ref., ii. 350), only the Elector John and the Landgrave were parties. It reads, that it is "leider öffentlich am Tag, was viel und mancherley Praktiken eine Zeit hero, sonderlich von den Geistlichen, und ihren Anhängern im hell. Reich gesucht und fürgenommen seynd worden, dasselbig heil. gottlich Wort wiederumb zu verdrucken, zu vertilgen, und ganzlich aus der Menschen Herzen und Gewissen, so es möglich gewest ware, zu reissen." Hence they bind themselves "allein zu Schutz und Rettung der Unsern,—dass wir
For the steps taken by the Emperor against the Reformation were now hindered by a new war with King Francis I. (who had been too deeply humbled), in alliance with the Italian princes, the Pope at their head, who were in peril from the imperial preponderance—La Sainte Ligue of Cognac, 22d May, 1526. Not only did the Emperor need all his forces for this new war, but forbearance toward the evangelical party would now appear to him to be a matter of policy, in order to hold the Pope in check. Besides this, there was danger from the Turkish invasion of the borders of Germany; the King's brother-in-law, Louis, King of Hunga-

9 Banmer's Gesch. Europaseit dem Ende des 15ten Jahrh.i. 813. The original document (in Dumont, iv. 1. 451) gives as the object of this league, that a—vera et stabilis pax inter Christianos principes may be attained; the adhesion of the Emperor, too, is to be demanded, though on condition that he give up the fruits of his victories; otherwise he is to be forced to this, and besides to lose Naples.

10 On the relation of the Emperor with the Pope, compare their correspondence; Ranke's Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter d. Ref. ii. 324; the letter of the Pope to the Emperor, 23d June, delivered 20th Aug. (in Raynald. 1526, No. 11, in full; in Jud. le Plat Monumenta ad Hist. Conc. Trid. spectantia, ii. 240), and the answer of the latter, 18th Sept., 1526 (Brown App. ad Fasciculum Rerum Expetendarum et Fugiendarum, p. 684, in le Plat i. c. p. 247), boast respectively of their own services, and reproach each the other. The Emperor, among other things, accuses the Pope thus: Galliae Rex profiteatur quod abs te solicitatus, antequam ex Hispaniis domum rediret, novum foedus inierit, et indiciocognovitse iliuma jnrisjurandivinciploquo in tenetur. Deinde bellum insulati prius quam literae, quibus illud denuncias, mihi essent redditae, et eo spectasti, quomodo non solum Italia tota me depelleres, verum etiam ab Imperii dignitate deijceres.—Sed vide, quanta sit rei indignitas. Meas a regnis atque principiis plus emolumenti atque annuæ pecuniae Romam deservit, quam ex reliquis populis omnibus. Id demonstrari potest ex illis Germaniae principum postulatia, quando de curia Romana graviter conquistavit, remedium adhiberi volebant: ego autem pro mea in Ecclesia Romanam observantia quierimoniam illorum tunc posthabui, etc. A prolix apology of the Emperor to the Pope, 17th Sept., in Raynald. 1526, No. 22-43, in which he at last demands a general council to decide their disputes. He also wrote for this purpose to the cardinals, 6th Oct. (Raynald. 1526, No. 45 ss.; Brown, p. 687): hortamur,—ut quae de indictione concilii a Pontifice petimus, eo negante, aut plus sequo differente, vos debito ordine procedentes praestare non differatis. All the documents relating to this matter were published together: Pro divo Carolo.—Imp.—Apologetici Libri duo ex Hispaniis allati cum alii nonnullis. Mogunt., 1527. 4. (cf. Schelhorn Amoenitates Hist. Eccl. et Liter., ii. 378), reprinted in Goldasti Politicas imperialibus, Part xx. sec. viii. f. 863, and Part xxii. sec. i. f. 984. Cf. Ranke, Fürsten u. Völker von Südeuropa, ii. 190 ff.
ry and Bohemia, was already pressed to extremity, and the empire could render him aid only as it was at peace within itself.

Under these circumstances the Diet of Spires\(^1\) lost the threatening aspect which it at first wore, in proportion as the time for it drew on. The Emperor himself could not be present; his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, opened it on the 25th June, 1526; and the evangelical princes were so full of good courage, that they here, for the first time at a diet, came forward openly as adherents of the new Church.\(^12\) Though some sharp controversy ensued between the two parties, yet the imperial interests so forcibly demanded the maintenance of peace, that the Recess of the diet, 27th Aug., 1526, put off the decision to a general council, and in the mean time each estate was instructed as to its observance of the Edict of Worms.\(^13\)

The entanglement of the opponents of the Reformation in other quarters now procured for the Reformers some years of quiet progress. After Louis, King of Hungary and Bohemia, had fallen at Mohacz, 29th Aug., 1526, the Archduke Ferdinand was forced to defend his claim to the succession in Hungary against the Count Von Zips and the Turks; and his election in Oct., 1526, as King


of Bohemia, by putting him at variance with the Dukes of Bavaria, separated the most violent enemies of the Gospel. The Emperor was at work in Italy, and his conflict with the Pope reached its highest pitch, when the latter had no sooner made than he faithlessly broke his promise, forced upon him by the Colonnas, to abandon the league, Sept., 1526. An imperial army took Rome by storm, May 6, 1526, and for several months the Pope was a prisoner.

Thus, in these years, the struggle against the Reformation was continued only in some Catholic states by the persecution of individual confessors, making the new Church illustrious and strong through martyrdom. The evangelical princes remained undisturbed, and were able to unfold and develop in a fitting order the new ecclesiastical institutions of their countries.

The bold Philip of Hesse led the way, in the Synod of Homberg, Oct. 21, 1526, in justifying the Reformation and appointing a Church order; also by announcing that an evangelical university

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14 These highly important relations between Austria and Bavaria were first fully illustrated from the archives in A. S. Stumpf's Baiern's politische Gesch., Bd. i. Abtheilung i. (München, 1818. 8.) s. 31 ff.; Ranke's Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter d. Reform., ii. 414.

15 Raumer's Gesch. Europas seit d. Ende des 15ten Jahrh., i. 318; Ranke, ii. 372.

16 Myconii Hist. Reform., s. 81; Raumer, i. 322; Ranke, ii. 392.

17 King Ferdinand's mandate against the Lutherans, dated Ofen, Aug. 20, 1527 (in Walch, xvi. 438).—At Munich, a minister, George Wagner (Carpentarius), was burned, Feb. 8, 1527. Special attention was aroused by the execution of Leonhard Käs (Luther calls him Kaiser), Aug. 18, 1527, by order of the Bishop of Passau; see Münch's Verm. hist. Schriften, ii. 1; cf. Luther's Letter of Consolation to the prisoner, May 20 (de Wette, iii. 179). The articles for which he was condemned are in Spalatini Annales, p. 97; cf. Winter's Gesch. d. Evangel. Lehre, in Baiern, i. 285. Even the famous Bavarian historian, Aventinus, was forced to pass some time in prison in 1529; ibid. s. 259.—Adolph Clarenbach and Peter Flysteden were executed in Cologne, Sept. 28, 1529. The history of their martyrdom was also published in 1529; see J. A. Kanne, Zwei Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Finsterniss in d. Reformationszeit. Frankf. a. M., 1822, s. 89; Mohnike, in Illgen's Zeitschrift f. d. hist. Theologie, Bd. v. St. i. s. 248.—In Kapp's Nachlese, i. 30, may be seen how the lords of Einsiedel were persecuted by Duke George.—Elizabeth, spouse of the Elector Joachim I. of Brandenburg, was obliged to flee to Saxony (Seckendorf, ii. 122), being severely treated on account of the confession of the Gospel. Luther's public Letter to the Elector, Oct. 5, 1528 (de Wette, iii. 382), to permit the expelled Wolf Hornung to recover his family and possessions.—George Winkler, preacher in Halle, for distributing the Lord's Supper under both forms, was cited to Aschaffenburg by the Elector of Mayence, and murdered on his journey back, in May, 1527. Luther published an epistle: Trostunge an die Christen zu Halle über Herr Georgen ihres Predigers Tod, 1527. 4., in Walch, x. 2260. Later he spoke to them words of comfort on account of their being denied the receiving of the Lord's Supper in both forms, April 26, 1528 (de Wette, iii. 305).

would be founded in Marburg, which was actually opened July 1, 1527. Immediately afterward the government of the electorate of Saxony undertook the organization of its ecclesiastical affairs, which had until then been left to the congregations alone, and consequently been in a state of entire confusion; a general Church Visitation was appointed, 1527 to 1529, and a suitable order of worship established. The same thing was done by the Margrave, George of Anspach and Bayreuth, in concert with the imperial city of Nuremberg, in accordance with the Articles of Visitation in Avignon, defended before the Synod, Paradoxa ad ecclesiarum reformationem in Synodo Hessiaca ab eo proposita et asserta (reprinted in Sculteti Annal. Evan. ad ann. 1526, in v. d. Hardt, v. 68); his doctrine upon the eucharist, Tit. viii., is clearly inclined to the Zwinglian view. Conf. Franc. Lamberti Epist. ad Colonenses, Colloqui ann. 1526, Hombergi in Hassia habitum Historiam exponens. Erphord., 1527 (reprinted in the Unschuld. Nachrichten, 1714, s. 30, and cum Adnot. G. C. Draudii. Gissae, 1730. 4.). The Church order here agreed upon appeared under the title Reformatio Ecclesiarum Hassiae juxta certissimam sermonem Dei regulam ordinata in ven. Synodo—Hombergi celebrata (in F. C. Schmincke Monum. Hass., ii. 588). Rommel's Philipp d. Grossmütthe, l. 143, ii. 103.


10 Luther to Spalatin, Febr., 1529 (de Wette, iii. 424): Miserrima est ubique facies Ecclesiarum, rusticis nihil desertibus, nihil scientibus, nihil orantibus, nihil agentibus, nisi quod libertate abutuntur, non conuentes, non communicantes, ac si religione in totum liberi facti sint: sic enim papistae neglexerunt, nostra conmentunt, ut horrendum siit Episcoporum papistarum administrationem considerare. In his Preface to the Shorter Catechism (Walch, x. 1): "This Catechism, or sum of Christian doctrine in such a short and simple form, I have been forced and pressed to make by the lamentable need I found when I was of late a visitor. Help, O God! for how many sad things have I seen! the common people, especially in the villages, knowing nothing at all about Christian doctrine, and many a pastor wholly unfit to teach them; and yet they are all called Christians, have been baptized, and received the holy sacraments: they can neither repeat the Lord's Prayer, nor the Creed, nor the Ten Commandments; they live on like the dear cattle, and unthinking swine; and yet, now that the Gospel has come to them, they have learned right skillfully how to misuse all their freedom. O ye bishops! how will ye ever answer for it to Christ, for having let the people wander away so shamelessly, and for having never one moment made proof of your office?" Seckendorf, ii. 102, cites from the records of the Visitation in the district of Altenburg, where there were about one hundred pastors: Inter illorum pastores non nisi quatuor inventi sunt a Visitatoribus, qui missas adhuc veterum ritu celebrarent. Vigintiquire rudes et inepti, multique concubinarii et potatores deprhenensi sunt. Erhardus Matthis Hainae in aede parochialis evangelico more docebat, in filiali, quam vocat, missificabant. Luther accordingly, from an early date, appealed to the Elector John to regulate the ecclesiastical order, 81st Oct., 1525, in de Wette, iii. 39, 80th Nov., 1525, s. 51, 22d Nov., 1526, s. 185; the two last epistles enforce the need of a visitation of the Churches.

11 Several documents about this visitation are in Kapp's Nachlese, i. 171; cf. Seckendorf, ii. 100; A. G. Rosenberg's hist. Abhandlung von der ersten Kirchenvisitation in der Evangelischen Kirche. Breslau, 1754. 4.
agreed upon in the convention at Schwabach, June 14, 1528. In the cities of Brunswick and Hamburg the ecclesiastical affairs were set in order by John Bugenhagen, 1528, called from Wittenberg for this purpose. Of the Saxon Visitation we have the imperishable fruits in Melancthon's Instructions to the Visitors, addressed to the pastors in the electorate of Saxony, and containing a summary of doctrine, an order of Church government, and principles of education, published before the Visitation, 1527; and in Luther's two Catechisms, occasioned by the results of these investigations, 1529.

In other countries the Reformation pressed forward without cessation. Among its most important victories was its introduction into Sweden by Gustavus Wasa, at the Diet of Westerås, 1527, and the concession to it by Frederick I. of Denmark of equal rights with the old Church, at the Diet of Odense, in 1527.

The evangelical Church, having thus become more fully developed within, and more widely extended without, was in a condition to encounter the perils by which it was still menaced. The account given to the Landgrave, by Otto von Fach, of a Catholic...

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26 In Walch, x. 1. That the Larger Catechism was composed before the Shorter appears from the sixth sermon of Mathesius (s. 148), as also from the fact that the Larger is referred to in the Preface to the latter. Both were written by Luther in German; but they were translated into Latin in 1529—the Shorter by Joh. Lonicer, the Larger by Vinc. Opsopoeus. Chr. F. Illgen, Comm. iv.; Recolitur memoria utriusque Catechismi Lutheri. Leipzig., 1829–30. 4.

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league secretly framed at Breslau, May 12, 1527, had at least the
effect of preserving the vigilance of the evangelical princes,
and making their Catholic opponents cautious. But the real
danger began after the Emperor had decisively gained the upper hand
in Italy. The imperial propositions for the diet that sat at Spires,
March, 1529, and the hostile attitude of the Catholic estates at
this diet, proclaimed the renewal of the former struggle. The
direct attack was, however, postponed until the Emperor could
bring to an end his foreign war. In the mean time, the plan of
the Catholics was to shut up their foe in fixed bounds; this they
did by the majority of Catholic votes in the final decree of the
diet, forbidding all further internal development, as well as external
propagation of the new doctrine. Against this decree the evan-

27 As is alleged, by King Ferdinand, the Electors of Mayence and Brandenburg, the
Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg, George, Duke of Sax-
ony, and the duke of Bavaria. The document is in Spalatin’s Annals, s. 102 b.; Hor-
tledor, Th. i. Buch 2, cap. i.; Walch, xvi. 444. But all these princes denied, in the most
unequivocal terms, the existence of this league: see their public Declaration in Hor-
tledor, cap. 3 ff.; Walch, xvi. 464; cf. Neudecker’s Urkunden, s. 25, 60, and his Acten-
stücke, i. 29. On the contemporaneous literature, see the Altorferische liter. Museum,
Bd. i. St. i. s. 48. The original document of the league could hardly have been invent-
ed by Pack; it was probably a project drawn up by a counselor of Ferdinand. Luther
to Job. Hess (de Wette, iii. 351): Ducis Georgii Proceres planefatentur, suisse fœcus
hoc non omnino chimaeram, sed literas et exemplum prae manibus haberi, quod nunc
ventert falsus Principum nomine et sigillo fictum videri. Rommel’s Philipp der Gross-
muthige, i. 210; ii. 202.

28 The Landgrave, at the head of an army, forced the Bishops of Bamberg and Würz-
burg and the Elector of Mayence, June, 1528, to pledges of peace and indemnity for
the costs of the war. At the same time, the Elector of Mayence, in the camp at Hitzkir-
chen, June 11, 1528, was forced to renounce ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Saxony and Hesse
to the time of peace in religious affairs. See the agreement in C. Ph. Kopp, hessische
Gerichtsverfassung, Th. 1, s. 107; No. 46 in the Beylage.

29 Historic von der evangel. Stände Protestation u. Appellation wider u. von dem
Reichsabschied zu Speyer 1529, dann der darauf erfolgten Legation in Spanien an Kays.
Maj. Karlu V., wie auch ferner dem zu Augspurg übergebenen Glaubensbekennniss,
aus Fürstl. Sächs. Archiv-Actis u. bewährten Historiciis verfasset, und mit denen darzu
des Reichstags zu Speyer, i. d. J. 1529 (the first division of his Beyträge zu der Gesch.
der Reformation), Strassburg u. Leipzig, 1830, mit einem Anhange meist ungedruckter
Actenstücke. The most important documents are also in Walch, xvi. 615 ff.

30 In Walch, xvi. 628. It was first determined to pray the Emperor to call a general
council, or at least a national assembly, within the space of a year; then it proceeds
upon the final decree of the Diet of Spires (see Note 18), as follows: “Nachdem—der-
selbige Artikel bey vielen in grössern Missverständ und zu Entschuldigung allerley
erechrecklichen neuen Lehren und Secten seithero gezogen und ausgelegt hat werden
wollen, damit dann solches abgeschnitten, und weiterm Abfall, Unfried, Zwietracht und
Unrath vorkommen werde: so haben wir uns—entschlossen, dass diejenige, so bey ob-
gedachtetem Kais. Edict (von Worms) bis anhero blieben, nun hinfüro auch bey demsel-
ben Edict bis zu dem künftigen Concilio verharren, und ihre Unterthanen darzu halten
gelical estates presented a Protest, April 19, 1529, and in addition, on the 22d of April, an Appeal; in this way they for the first time came forward as Protestants against their opponents.

sollen und wollen. Und aber bey den andern Ständen, bey denen die andere Lehre entstanden, und zum Theil ohne merklichen Aufruhr, Beschwerd und Gefahrde nicht abgewendet werden mögen: so soll hinfür alle Neuerung bis zu künftigem Concilio, so viel möglich und menschlich, verhütet werden. Und sonderlich soll etlicher Lehre und Secten, so viel die dem hochwürdigen Sacrament des wahren Fronleichnams und Bluts unser Herrn Jesu Christ entgegen, bey den Ständen des heil. Reichs Deutscher Nation nicht angenommen, noch hinfür zu predigen gestattet oder zugelassen: desgleichen sollen die Aemter der heil. Mess nicht abgethan, auch niemand an den Orten, da die andere Lehre entstanden und gehalten wird, die Mess zu hören verboten, verhindert, noch dazu oder davon gedrungen werden.” Anabaptism is then forbidden on penalty of death.

31 The great Instrumentum Appellationis, in which are also comprised the earlier monstrosities of the evangelical estates and their Appeal; in Muller, s. 52; Walch, xvi. 364; Jung, Actenstücke, s. lxxx. They demand that the earlier decision of the empire, in 1526, remain in force, since otherwise peace could hardly be maintained: they can not justify the observance of the Edict of Worms and the maintenance of the mass, for if they did they would condemn their own doctrines; though they are ready to render obedience to the Emperor in all obligatory matters, “so seynd doch dieses solche Sachen,—die Gottes Ehre und unser jedes Seelen Heil und Seligkeit angehen und betreffen, darin wir aus Gottes Befehl, unser Gewissen halben, denelben unsern Herrn und Gott—vor allem anzusehen verpflicht und schuldig seyn, der unzweifelthlichen Zuversicht, Ew. Königl. Durchlauchtigkeit, Liebden, und ihr die andern werdet uns—darin freundlich—entschuldigt halten, dass wir mit—euch— in dem nicht einig seyn, noch in solchem dem mehreren, wie etlichmalen auf diesem Reichstag hat vorgewandt werden wollen, gehorchen, in Bedacht und Ansehen, dass wir solches vermösg des vorigen Speyrischen Reichsabscied, der sonderlich in dem angezogenen Artikel laut darthut, dass solcher Artikel durch eine einmuthige Vereinigung (und nicht allein den mehreren Theil) also beschlossen worden; darum auch ein solcher einmuthiger Beschluss von Ehrbarkeit, Billigkeit und Rechtswegen nichts, dann wiederum durch eine einhellige Bewilligung geändert werden soll, kann und mag, zusammendem, dass auch ohne das in den Sachen, Gottes Ehre und unserer Seelen Heil und Seligkeit belangend, ein jeglicher für sich selbst vor Gott stehen undRechenschaft geben muss; also dass sich des Orts keiner auf dem andern minders oder mehrers machen oder beschliessen entschuldigen kann; und aus andern redlichen, gegründeten, guten Ursachen zu thun nicht schuldig seyn.” Against the repudiation of the Zwinglian doctrine of the Eucharist, by the final decree of the diet, Luther and Melancthon had nothing to object (see their Judgment, in Walch, xvi. 364): however, the Landgrave, with Melancthon’s concurrence (see Rommel, l. 234; Melanch. ad Camerarium, d. 17. Maj., ed. Bretschneider, l. 1067 sq.), brought about also a protest against the issuing of any such decision by the diet; especially because those “so dieselbe Sach berühren, nicht erfordert noch verbhört worden sind; und ist wahrlich wohl zu bewegen und zu betrachten, wann solche schwere und wichtige Artikel aussershalb des künftigen Concillii vorgenommen, oder darin ohne notdürftig und gebührlich Verböhe aller der, so die Sach berührt, ein Erkenntniss oder Ordnung zu machen unterstanden, zu was Gilmpf und Unrichtigkeit solches Kais. Maj.—uns und andern Ständen des Reichs kehret und verstanden werden möchte.” The appeal is made “zu und vor die Römische Kais. und christl. Maj. unserm allergnädigsten Herrn, und dazu an und für das nächst künftig frey christlich gemein Concilium,—vor unser Nationalzusammenkommen, und dazu einen jeden dieser Sachen bequemen unpartheyischen und christlichen Richter.” The Protest and Appeal were made by the Elector, John of Saxony, George, Margrave of Brandenburg, Ernest, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, and Wolfgang, Prince
Soon after this the Emperor concluded a treaty with the Pope at Barcelona, June 29, 1529, and with France the Peace of Cambray, Aug. 5, 1529. The Protestants could now discern the approach of misfortune in the conditions made at Barcelona, and in the way in which their ambassadors were received at Piacenza, in September, 1529.

The Landgrave Philip now addressed himself earnestly to the work of forming a league of defense among all the states adhering to the Reformation—a measure urgently demanded by the circumstances of the times. His efforts, however, were wrecked by the hesitation of the Lutheran theologians, to whom a league with the Sacramentarians appeared altogether objectionable. All in

of Anhalt. Fourteen cities of the empire acceded to it: Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempen, Nordlingen, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Isnau, St. Gall, Weissenburg, and Windsheim.

Dumont Corps Universel Diplomatique, iv. 1, 5: Quum sanctissimo Domino nostro cura etiam major rerum spiritualium et pastoralis officii, quam temporalium esse debeat;— multi autem exorti sint, qui et de fide catholica male sentiant, et a religione doctrinique Christiana omnino deviaverint, aliquoque in eundem errorem deducere contentur; nec minus Caesareae Majestatis cordi sit, ut huic pestiferi morbo congruum antidotum preseparari possit: ideo actum extitit, et conventum, quod Caesar, ac serenissimus Hungariae Rex, ejus frater, his melioribus ac congruentioribus modis et formis quibus fieri poterit, ac cum ea qua deecet dexterritate et industria omnem operam possibilem adhibebunt in hujusmodi erroribus, si fas sit, sedandis, errantiumque animis alliendiis, ut ad rectos Christianae religionis tramites reedant, ipsaque religionem, et fidem, apostolicamque sedem verbo aut facto laedere seu perturbare non praemunant. In qua re ipsa etiam sanctissimus Dominus noster salubris omnis spiritualibus antidotis commissus gregi, ovibusque errantium, tanquam communis pastor et pater consulis, omnem possibilibus medeland pariter adhibere consubitur. Quod si pastoris vocem non audiverint, Caesarisque mandata neglexerint, et in hisce erroribus obstinatibus et pertinacibus permanserint; tam Caesar, quam Ser. Hungariae et Bohemiae Rex contra illos eorum potentissimis viim dixistit, illatamque Christo iuriam pro viribus ulciscensur; curbitique sua Sanctitas, ut castetri Christiani Principes, et potissimum qui id feceris ingredi volent, tam sancto operi etiam pro viribus assistant. But in the Introduction to the treatise it is said, that all princes were to be invited to take part in the same. In the Peace of Cambray the Treaty of Madrid was confirmed, so far as it was not thereby distinctly annulled, and consequently the positions cited above in Note 2.

Müller, s. 143 ff. Walch, xvi. 542 ff.

Diets at Rothach (1st June), Salfeld, and Schleiz; see Müller, s. 298.

Compare Luther's Epistle to the Elector John, 22d May, 1529 (de Wette, iii. 454), and his opinion in favor of the Convention of Rothach (Müller, s. 280, with the conclusion, there wanting, in de Wette, iii. 465). In the last he says: "Zum andern ist fählich des Landgrafen halben, weil es ein unruhiger Mann ist. Mocht er abermal, wie er jenes Mal thät, etwas anfassen, Stift, Kloster sturmen ohn unsern Willen: so mussten wir hinnach, und mitthat oder mitgethan [haben] alles, was er that.—Zum vierten ist unchristlich der Ketzerey halben wider das Sacrament: denn wir sie nicht konnen im Bund haben, wir mussten solche Ketzerey mit helfen stärken und vertbeidigen, und wenn sie verttheidigt wurden, sollten sie wohl ärger werden, denn vorhin." To the objection that they were still one in all matters, excepting that single point: "Es ist allzu viel an dem einigen.—Er ist nicht weniger ein Unchrist, wer einen Arti-
vain were the urgent representations of the Landgrave; in like manner, the Conference of Marburg, which he brought about between the Swiss and Saxon theologians, Oct. 1, 1529, failed in its

kel längnet, denn Arius oder der einer.—Spricht man abermal: dieser Bund betreffe nicht die Lehre, sondern soll wider äusserlich Gewalt, die man wider Recht furchnet, diesselben jene sich auf Erkenntniss erbioten: Antwort: Das halb nicht; denn man weiss, dass uns der Widertheil um keiner Ursache willen angreifen will, denn um der Lehre willen. Drum lasst sichsich nicht gläuben, dass wir wider unrecht Gewalt solchen Bund machen. Und dass sic sich auf Erkenntniss erbioten, hilft uns nichts; denn wir wissen und halten, dass sie unrecht haben, und mgen solchs nicht mit ihnen in Zweifel oder Erkenntniss setzen, darum wir nicht mit guthem Gewissen konnen mit ihn handeln, wir mussten solch ihr Erbioten auf Erkenntniss auch bewilligen und bestätigen, und also gleich mit ihn von unsemer gewissen Erkenntniss auf ihren Zweifel oder ungesehen Wahn fallen. Das wäre denn mehr, denn halb wo nicht gar unsern Glauben verläugnet."

In a Letter to the Landgrave, in August (in Neudecker's Urkunden, s. 114), Luther counsels against a war with the Emperor, as unjust, precipitous, and perilous. Compare his Epistle to the Elector, July, 1529, in Müller, i. 258; Walch, xvi. 645:

"Es ist auch von nothen, dass wir uns nicht so liederlich von einandertrennen lassen, ob -Hum unsere Gelehrten um leichter odersonst disputirlicher Sachen willen, daran ill'ih unser Glaube oder Seligkeit nicht gelegen, zweihellig seyn. Denn so das, würd es alle Jahre neue Zwiespalt gebaren; denn je von Tagen zu Tagen und Jahren zu Jahren viel unnöthiger und disputirlicher Zweyunge in der Schrift hin und wieder sich zwischen den Gelehrten begeben. Und darzu seyn unsere Gelehrten der Sachen, die Hauptartikel, den Glauben und unsere Seligkeit belangende, einig. Wenn nun hierüber wir uns von einander trennen lassen, so unsere Gelehrten zweihellig würden; wie oft hätten denn euer Liebe und wir uns von einander thun müssen," etc. The Landgrave personally was undeniably inclined to the doctrine of Zwingli, as was also his admirable theologian, Francisc Lambert; see Note 18.

37 The Epistle of Invitation to this conference is in Monum. Hassiaca, t. iii.; Analecta Hass. Coll. x.; Neudecker's Urkunden, s. 95. Luther replied to the Landgrave, the 23d of June, that he would come, but had no hope of success (de Wette, iii. 478, after the original in Neudecker, s. 92). So, too, Melanchthon (who, even on the 14th May, advised the electoral prince to refuse them permission to go; ed. Bretschneider, i. 1064), cf. his Epistle to the Landgrave, i. c. p. 1077 (after the original in Neudecker, s. 90). The Opinion on the conference, usually ascribed to Luther, is by Melanchthon; see de Wette, iii. 475; Bretschneider, i. 1055 sq.—Reports about the Marburg Conference from the Lutheran side; Melanchthon, in German, to the reigning Elector (or rather to the electoral prince; see Riederer's Nachrichten, ii. 109), ed. Bretschneider, i. 1098; and to Duke Henry of Saxony, i. c. p. 1102; Justus Jonas to Reiffenstein, Latin, i. c. p. 1095; Jo. Brentius to Schradinus, Latin., in Paffii Acta et Scripta publ. Ecclesiae Wirtembergicae, p. 208; Andreas Osianer to the Council of Nuremberg, in German, in Riederer's Nachrichten, ii. 110; by an unknown person, who, however, was present at the conference, in Wigandus de Sacramentariismo, p. 424: from the Reformed side by Rudolphus Collinus, professor in Zürich, in Hospiniani Hist. Sacramentaria, ii. 74; Zwingle's kürzere Bericht, ibid. 77; Oecolampadii Epist. ad Hallerum, ibid. 83. The fullest account is in Heinr. Bullinger's Reformationsgesch., ii. 228 (also in Fussil's Beyträge, iii. 150). Cf. Hospinianus, l. c. Rommel, Philipp d. Grossm. i. 247; ii. 218. On the result of the conference, see Luther's Letters to Nic. Gerbelli, his wife, and Agriculta, Oct. 4 and 12 (de Wette, iii. 511), and to J. Probst, June 1, 1530 (de Wette, iv. 26). In the last he says: Multis vero verbis (Sacramentarii) promiserunt, se velle nobiscum extenus dicere, Christi corpus verae esse in coena praesens, at spiritualiter tantum, ut vos fratres dignaremur appellare, et simulare ita concordiam: hoc quod Zwinglii palam lachrymans coram Landgravio et ordinibus rogabat, dicens in haec verba: Es sind keine Leut auf Erden, mit denen ich lieber wollet eins seyn, denn mit den Witten-
effecting the desired result; the fifteen articles there compared seemed so very unsatisfactory to the adherents of Luther, that, on the requisition of the Elector, Luther and the theologians who adopted his views felt themselves obliged to offset them by other articles containing the pure doctrine in full. Subscription to

They were drawn up by Luther; see Osiander, in Riederer, i. 120. They were subscribed, Oct. 3, by the theologians there present, and immediately published in several places by Zwingle (Füssli's Beyträg, iii. 179), by Osiander (Weber's Gesch. d. Augsb. Confession, i. 9); on another old edition, see Fortgesetzte Sammlung v. alten u. neuen theol. Sachen., 1743, s. 165. It is remarkable that the reprints of these Marburg Articles in the editions of Luther's Works (Walch, xvii. 2357), and those afterward issued by the Lutherans (Chytraeus, Seckendorf, etc.), contain only fourteen articles; the 14th, upon infant baptism, being omitted. The last article reads: "Wir glauben und halten alle von dem Abendmahl unseres lieben Herrn Jesu Christi, dass man beyde Gebrauch nach der Einsetzung brauchen soll; dass auch die Messe nicht ein Werk ist, damit einer dem andern, todt und lebendig, Gnade erlange; dass auch das Sacrament des Altars sey ein Sacrament des wahren Leibes und Blutes Jesu Christi, und die geistliche Niessung desselben Leibes und Blutes einem jeglichen Christen vornehmlich vonnothen. Desgleichen den Brauch des Sacraments, wie das Wort von Gott dem Allmächtigen gegeben und geordnet sey, damit die schwachen Gewissen dem Glauben und Liebe zu bewegen durch den heiligen Geist. Und wie wol aber wir uns, ob der wahre Leib und Blut Christi leiblich im Brot und Wein sey, diese Zeit nicht verglichen haben, so soll doch ein Theil gegen den andern christlichen Liebe, soferne jedes Gewissen immermehr leiden kann, erzeigen, und beyde Theil Gott den Allmächtigen fleissig bitten, dass er uns durch seinen Geist in dem rechten Verstand bestätigen wolle, Amen."
the latter was demanded at the Schwabach Convention, Oct. 16, 1529, as a necessary condition of participation in the league (the Schwabach Articles). And then, although the cities of the Oberland, attached to the views of Zwingle, at once receded from the negotiations, yet those parties who remained could not come to any agreement among themselves.

The summons issued by the Emperor at Bologna, January 21, 1530, for the assembling of a diet at Augsburg, referred, indeed, to the religious dissensions in a mild and conciliatory tone. But as the Emperor, at his coronation in Bologna, Febr. 24, 1530, unter meinem Namen sollten ausgehen." These Schwabach articles were afterward sometimes confounded with the Schwabach Visitation-articles of 1528 (Note 22), until Von der Lith published the latter. That those Seventeen Articles, published in 1530, are the Schwabach, was discovered by Frick (Seckendorf’s Ausfuhrl. Historie der Lutherthums, s. 968); cf. Weber’s Gesch. der Augsb. Confession, i. 10 ff., where there is an exact reprint of these articles in the appendix. Those Seventeen Schwabach Articles (also in Walch, xvi. 681) are a recasting of the Fifteen Marburg Articles, marked by the addition of the peculiarities of Lutheranism; hence the two series of articles often agree verbally. The doctrine of the Lord’s Supper (Art. X.) is thus given: “That the true body and blood of Christ are truly present in the bread and wine, according to the word of Christ, this is my body, this is my blood, and is not bread and wine only, as the opposite party now alleges.”

40 See the final decree at Schwabach, in the Appendix to Weber’s Gesch. d. Augsb. Confession, Th. 1.

41 The theologists of Wittenberg now advised against all resistance to the Emperor; see Luther’s Bedenken to the Elector John, Nov. 18, 1529 (de Wette, iii. 526), and March 6, 1530 (ibid. s. 560); the protocol of the Convention at Smalcald, in Strobel’s Miscellaneen, iv. iii.; the decree of Dec. 3, in Müller, s. 383, Walch, xvi. 690; the proceedings at the Diet of Nuremberg, Jan. 6, 1530, in Müller, s. 836, Walch, xvi. 695. Strasbourg, however, Jan. 5, concluded a defensive league with Zürich, Bern, and Basle; Sleidanus, lib. vii. ed. Am Ende, p. 892.

42 From Ferdinand’s Epistle, addressed to the Emperor just before (in Bucholz’s Gesch. d. Regierung Ferdinand I., ii. 482), it is evident that both of the brothers were well inclined to strictness, and were restrained only by circumstances. Ferdinand, in fact, was afraid that if Charles did not soon come the princes would elect a new king of Rome. The imperial summons is in Müller, s. 412; Walch, xvi. 747; Förstermann’s Urkundenbuch zu der Gesch. des Reichstags zu Augsburg, i. 1. The diet was convened to counsel about resistance to the Turks: “furter wie der Irrung und Zwielspalt halben in dem heil. Glauben und der christl. Religion gehandelt und beschlossen werden mug und solle: und damit solchs dester besser und heilsamlicher geschehen mug, die Zwietschachten hinzulegen, Widerwillen zu lassen, vergangene Irrsal unserm Seligmacher zu ergeben, und Fleiss anzukehren, alle eine jeglichen Gütbedunken, Opinion und Meinung zwischen uns selbs in Liebe und Gütlichkeit zu boren, zu verstehen, und zu erwogen, die zu einer einigen christlichen Warheit zu bringen und zu vergleichen, alles so zu beiden Theilen mit recht ist ausgelegt oder gehandelt abzuthun, durch uns alle ein einige und wahre Religion anzunehmen und zu halten: und wie wir alle unter einem Christo seyn und streiten, also alle in einer Gemeinschaft, Kirchen und Einigkeit zu leben.”

43 This was preceded, on the 22d of February, by the crowning with the iron crown. There is an exact description of all the solemnities of the coronation, by the papal Master of Ceremonies, in Raynald. 1530, No. 7 sq. Cf. H. C. Agrippa De duplici Coronatione Caroli V., in Scharldi Scriptt. Rerum Germ., ii. 286.
had negotiated very earnestly with the Pope on this matter, and as the wishes of the latter were not unknown, the Protestants had sufficient reason to fear the issue."  

In order, however, in accord-

"Cf. Oratio de Congressu Bononiensi Caroli Imp. et Clementis Pont. in Ph. Mac- 
lanchthonis Orationum t. v., p. 87. The Orations of the Pope and of the Emperor there 
given are not authentic in form. The narrator says: nec vero existimetas hanc narra-
tionem singi, sed vere institutam esse hanc deliberationem, adhuc multi norunt, qui 
terfuerunt, qui et sententiae summam et verba quaedam nostris amicis narratur. 
Qua de re sententiae summam fideliter recitabo, etiam si verba omnia referre non pos-
sum.—Coelstinus (Hist. Comit. 1530 Augustae celebrat., i. 10) has incorporated both 
of these orations, preceded by that of the imperial chancellor, Mercurinus Gattinara, 
referred to in the Oratio of the Emperor as having been previously delivered; but he adds 
to it the remark: quamvis orationis eiu exemplum desideratur, non est tamen nobis 
obscurem et ignotum, haec ipsius praeceps praecepta fuisse, et clarissimum virum in hanc 
fere sententiam verba fuisse. Accordingly, all three of the orations are rhetorical 
amplications of the materials; and it is therefore remarkable that Müller, s. 492, and 
Walch, xvi. 734, give them as the ones actually delivered at Bologna. According to 
other testimonies, a formal league was concluded at Bologna, of the following purport 
(Franc. Guicciardinus lib. xix. p. 908): Caesar et Ferdinandus, ut haereticum in via 
reducant operam dante, et Pontifex sacrare mediatum adhibere: quod si pertineat 
deliberatione, Caesar et Ferdinandus eos armis cogere, et Pontifex, ut caeteri christiani 
Principes ipsos pro viribus juvent, operam dato. On the circumstances, see Andr. Maur-
roccni Hist. Venetae lib. iv. (in Raynald. 1530, No. 49): Concilium novatorum petebat: 
is erat perversorum hominum — livor, illud in Pontificem odium, ut non ad conur-
mandam, sed ad convellendam religione concilium postulare. Quae 
res Clementem permovebat, ne tam facile Caesari Germanorum nomine concilium pe-
tenti assentiretur, veritus no illo ad labefactandam et penitus convellendam pontificiae 
majestatis auctoritatem abutertur. Quae 
res nonnullam moras necetbat.—Verum 
quo minus probare concilium Pontifex videbatur, eo magis Germani, qui se Protestantes 
vocabant, instare ac flagitare, ne Clemens majora in dies incrementa suscipienti malo 
arms occurrendum esse sibi in animum induceret. Qua de re modo graviorum 
Imperatoris egit, pecuniaeque vim obtulit, verum ea se mente esse, Reipublicae (Ven-
teae) Oratori significant, cunctosque Christianos Principes ad pium pro avita religione 
bellum susciendum impellendo censure: quae gravissima in re Senatus sit sententia, 
exquiere, consilium ab illius prudentia petere. Senatus, qui a bello atque armis ab-
stinendum arbitrabatur, ne jactata diu Christiana republia hac tempestate in majores 
procellas ac turbinem incidere, Pontificia egregiam mentem extollet: caeterum ad 
atem belli nisi necessitate adactos descendere minime probare.—Tanta in re vel Sena-
tus auctoritate vel rationibus permutatos Pontifex belli consilia abjecit; cum praesertim 
ec temporum condito esse, ut potius in communem hostem arma vertenda, quam in 
propria viscera saeviendam esseque, cum indicies Sollmannum ingentes copias in Panno-
niam reversurum, Viennam oppugnatarum rumor afferret: neque Caesar ab isi con-
scius abhorret, potiusque concordiae rationes inveniri, quam armis decerni cupiebat, 
in id summopere intentus, ut Ferdinandum fratern procercus subjurgiis Romanorum Re-
gem crearet: quocirca religionis causam in futurum concilium distulit. No wonder that 
suspicious reports of these negotiations came into Germany. Thus, May 17, 1530, in a 
letter of George Curio, there came from Venice to the Elector of Saxony the tidings 
(Coelstini Hist. Comitiorum ann. 1530 Augustae celebratorum i. fol. 42, verso f.), 
Italos in eo toto esse, omnesque suas actiones et consilium eos dirigere, ut Ger-
mania vi et armis opprimatur, fundamenta deleatur et eradicetur. Rumorem illic quoque 
surrexisse, Romanum Imperatorem conjunctis cum Pontificis viribus et foedere facto 
Lutheranos illico oppressurum, ac nisi paruerint, ei et armis coacturum esse. That the 
Roman Curia did, in fact, not cease advising the Emperor to violent measures is proved 
by the Instructions which the papal legate, Campeggio, handed to him at the Diet of
ance with the summons, to be prepared with an exhibition and defense of the new doctrines, the Elector not only asked from his theologians their opinions in writing (The Torgau Articles), but also took with him to the diet the theologians, Spalatin, Melanchthon, Justus Jonas, and Agricola, while Luther, being outlawed, was obliged to remain behind in Coburg, the nearest Saxon city. Thus the Elector, on the 2d of May, entered into the city of Augsburg, where an unusually large number of persons were present at the diet, in which, as it appeared, a final decision was to be made upon the religious matters so long kept in suspense.

§ 5.

CONTINUATION TO THE RELIGIOUS PEACE OF NUREMBERG, 23d JULY, 1532.


II. Contemporaneous Reports. Reports of the ambassadors of Nuremberg present at the diet, published in part in Strobel's Miscellaneen literarischen Inhalts, ii. 1, iii. 193.

Augsburg (Ranke, Fürsten u. Völker von Süd-Europa im 16ten u. 17ten Jahr., ii. iii. and iv. 266). The Emperor was exhorted to unite with the Catholic estates, to work against the Protestants, at first with promises and threats, and then by violence, and, after their suppression, to establish an Inquisition.—By confiscations money enough might be gained for the war with the Turks.

44 Letter of the Elector to Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen, and Melancthon, Mar. 14, 1530 (in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch zu d. Gesch. des Reichstages zu Augsburg im J. 1530, i. 40): A high necessity demands "daß wir aller der Artikel halben, darum sich angezeigter Zwiespalt, beide im Glauben, und auch in andern äusserlichen Kirchenbrauchen und Ceremonien erheilten, zum furderlichst dermassen gefasst werden, damit wir vor Anfang solches Reichstages beständiglich und grundlich entschlossen seyn, ob oder welcher Gestalt, auch wie weit wir und andere Stände, so die reine Lehre bey ihnen angenommen und zugelassen, mit Gott, Gewissen und gutem Fug, auch ohn beswerlich Ergerniss Handlung leiden mugen und können." The theologians were to hand in their opinions at Torgau to the Elector on the Sunday Oculi.—Formerly it was generally taken for granted that, in consequence of this demand, the Schwabach Articles were again presented, and that on this account they were also called Torgau Articles. Only Bertram (Hall. Anzeige, 1786, s. 447) and Weber (Gesch. d. Augsb. Confess., i. 16) opposed this view, and rightly; for the injunctions of the Elector would not have been satisfied by the Schwabach Articles, which gave a representation of the Christian faith in opposition to the Zwinglians. Förstemann (in the work cited before, i. 66) has published several written summaries of doctrine (reprinted in Melancth. Epistol. ed. Bretschneider, iv. 973) by theologians of this period, which he holds to be the Articuli Torgavenses. According to Bretschneider, p. 981, the articuli non concedendi were the first of these (s. 90), and the last eight are lost.
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As the Emperor was slowly journeying from Italy to Augsburg, where the princes were awaiting his coming, the most violent opponents of the Protestants, Duke George of Saxony and Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, went to meet him, that they might enlist him more fully against the Reformation.¹ His hostility was made manifest, even before his arrival, in the reproaches he addressed to the Elector of Saxony;² and, on the very day of his arrival, in his exhortation to the Protestant princes to take part in the procession of Corpus Christi on the next day.³ Their determined bearing, however, soon convinced him that nothing was to be gained by fear and threats.

Melancthon had made use of his six weeks of leisure, after his arrival in Augsburg, in completing a Confession, on the basis of

¹ Spalatin's Annals, s. 132; Seckendorf, ii. 156, s.
² Comp. Bruck's Geschichte, in Förstemann's Archiv, i. i. 28 ff. The Instructions of the Emperor, May 25, to the Counts of Nassau and Nuenar, sent to the Elector, in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, i. 220; they contain reproaches about his (the Elector's) non-observance of the Edict of Worms, a summons to Munich, and a demand that the Protestant sermons in Augsburg be suspended.—The answer of the Elector, ibid. s. 224. —Immediately after his arrival in Augsburg, the Emperor commanded that no preachers should speak in public but those appointed by himself; see the Report on this point, ibid. s. 267. The report of the Nuremberg ambassadors, in Melanchth. Opera, ed. Bretschneider, ii. 118; that of Brenz, ibid. s. 114; Spalatin, s. 133; Brück, s. 38 ff.
³ Brück, s. 26. Coelestinus, i. fol. 80, verso ss.
the Schwabach and Torgau Articles, in which the doctrines and principles of the new Church were so exhibited as to be intelligible to all, and yet in a conciliatory spirit. 4 Religious matters

4 The Schwabach Articles are the basis of the first part of the Confession, containing the articles on the faith; the Torgau, of the second part, on abuses. The Confession, in its first draft, completed as early as May 11 (see the Elector's Letter to Luther of this date, in Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, i. 190): "Nachdem ihr und andere unser Gelehrten zu Wittenberg auf unser genädigs Gesinnen und Begeh die Artigkel, so der Religion halben streitig seind, in Verzeichnus bracht, als wollen wir euch nicht bergen, dass litz allhie Mag. Ph. Melanchthon dieselben weiter ubersehen und in einen Form gezogen hat, die wir euch hiebey ubersenden. Und ist unser genädigs Begehren, ihr wollet dieselben Artigkel weiter zu ubersehen und zu bewegen unbeschwert seyn, und wo es euch demassen gefällig oder ichtwas darvon oder darrzusetzen bedächtet, das wollet also darneben vorzeichen." Luther answered, 15th May *(de Wette, iv. 17): 'Ich hab M. Philippens Apologia uberelesen: die gefallet mir fast wohl, und weiss nichts dran zu bessern, noch andern, wurde sich auch nicht schicken; denn ich so sanft und leise nicht treten kan.' The Emperor's arrival being delayed, Melanchthon used the time in making a more careful revision of the different articles. Mel. ad Lutherum, dd. 22. Maj. (ed. Bretschneider, ii. 60): In Apologia quotidie multa mutamus: locum de votis, quia erat exilior justo, exeml, supposita alia disputatone eadem de ro paulo ubiore. Nunc de potestate clavium disputo. The Confession was first presented in Latin, and only in the name of the Elector. It was thus communicated to the delegates of the cities on the 31st of May; the Nuremberg ambassadors sent to the Council of Nuremberg on the 8d of June (Mel. Opp. ed. Bretschneider, ii. 88), "Abschrift des sächsischen Rathschlags (that is, of the Saxon proposals about the Confession to be handed in) Lateinsch, und ist die Vorrede oder Eingang darbei. Aber es mangelt hinten an einem Artikel oder zweiern, samt dem Beschluss, daran die sächsischen Theologoi noch machen.— So dann solcher Rathschlag ins Teutsche gebracht, wird der E. W. auch unverhalten bleiben." The Confession was then, by the desire of the Protestant princes and cities, made in the name of all of them, translated into German, and in this form communicated, June 14, to the delegates of the cities *(Ex diario, in Cyprian's Hist. der Augsburg. Confession, s. 249)*. This German Confession was the one sent by the Nuremberg ambassadors, June 15 (Bretschneider, ii. 105): it had not the preface nor the conclusion; but the articles on Faith and Works were added, which are not in the above Latin copy. These ambassadors reported, 19th June (I. c. p. 112): 'Der Beschluss— ist noch nicht gemacht. Denn wie sich Philippus Melanchthon vemehmen lasst, wird vielleicht die Sach zu keinersoweitlaufige Handlung gelangen, sondern noch enger eingezogen und kürzer gefasst und gehandelt werden.' The secretary of the Emperor, Alphonsus Vellesius, had begun negotiations with Melanchthon (Mel. ad Camerarium, June 19, in Bretschneider, ii. 119; the Nuremberg Report, June 21, ibid., p. 122; Spalatin's Report, in Walch, xvi. 912), in order to ascertain more exactly what the Lutherans wished; and had demanded of him to write down for the Emperor 'the articles which the Lutherans desired to have, in the shortest manner.' Whether Melanchthon handed in any thing in reply, and what it was, is uncertain. At any rate, it is not the essay given by Coelstius, fol. 98, b., with the conjecture, even then disputed by Chytraeus, that it was composed for that occasion. (This essay is reprinted and commented on in the work: Ph. Melanchthon's Unterschied der Evangel. und Papistischen Lehre, edited by Strobel. Nürnberg, 1783. 8.) These negotiations undoubtedly delayed the completion of the Augsburg Confession. So that when, on Wednesday, June 22, the Protestant princes were called upon to hand in their Confession on the 24th, no clean copy of it was on hand, and they at first asked for delay (Brück, s. 50 f.). The German Confession, after Melanchthon had made changes in it up to the very last moment (Nuremberg Report, 26th June, in Bretschneider, ii. 129): 'Gemeldete Unterricht, so viel die Glaubensartikel belastet, ist in der Substanz fast dem gemäss, wie wir es E. W. vor zugeschickt, allein
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were the first subject brought before the diet; and the work of Melancthon, the Augsburg Confession, was read in German in the session of the diet on the 25th of June, 1530, and handed to the Emperor in both German and Latin. By this Confession

dass es noch in etlichen Stücken gebessert, und allenthalb aufs glimpflichste gemacht — ist"), was engrossed and laid before the Protestant estates (L. c. p. 127; ex diario, in Cyprian, s. 250). The Latin Confession appears to have been handed in in Melancthon's writing (Weber's Gesch. d. Augsb. Confess., i. 51). Of the German Confession, the proper original one, there appears to have been, on the 25th of June, only the draft presented to the Emperor; the copy made for Nuremberg was not yet finished (the Nuremberg Report, June 25, in Bretschneider, i. 129). Since these copies, now, and the others intended for the Protestant estates, were made from Melancthon's draft, in itself hardly legible, and made more illegible by many alterations, it is not surprising that the copies still extant, which the estates took with them on their return home, deviate here and there from one another.—The Confession was subscribed by the Elector, John of Saxony, George, Margrave of Brandenburg, Ernst, Duke of Luneburg, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, and the two cities, Nuremberg and Reutlingen. Cf. Kollner's Symbolik der Luther. Kirche. Hamburg, 1837, s. 158.

On the reading of this by the Saxon chancellor, Dr. Bayer, see Spalatin's Annalen, s. 134 ff.; Brück, s. 55. The Emperor gave the German copy, as the authentic one, to the Elector of Mayence for the imperial archives; the Latin he retained. The latter, with all the original acts of the diet, came afterward to the Council of Trent, and was not returned (Weber's Gesch. d. Augsb. Confess. i. 238); if it is still extant, it is probably to be found only in Rome. The Latin copy was kept by the Emperor, and deposited in his archives at Brussels, where, according to the testimony of several witnesses, it was still to be found, 1560-68 (Weber, i. 76 ff.). The Emperor requested that the evangelical estates should not have the Confession printed without his knowledge (Brück, s. 55). Editions of it were, however, at once issued in several places (six German and one Latin are known; see Weber, i. 358); and as these were made from copies of earlier drafts, and were incorrect, Melancthon published an edition in 1530, during the session of the diet, in both German and Latin, in Wittenberg (Proef. Nunc emittimus probe et diligenter descriptam confessionem ex exemplari bona fide); it was issued in 1531, in 4to, with the Apology annexed. The subsequent editions by Melancthon are altered; but the first one has been often since reprinted as the authentic copy (Weber, ii. 23). But the stricter Lutherans mistrusted even this first edition of Melancthon. The Elector Joachim II., of Brandenburg, therefore caused a comparison to be made by Coelestinus, 1566, with the alleged original in the imperial archives in Mayence (Weber, i. 109); and the Elector August, of Saxony, had an attested copy of it made in 1576. This is the source of the German text in the Corpus Brandenburgicum, and in the Concordia; but the alleged original was only a poor copy, put in the place of the original, which did not come back from Trent; yet it was considered to be the original work (Weber, i. 137, 162, 187). Afterward even this copy was lost, and the German edition of Melancthon of 1540, also found in the Acts of the Empire, has been held to be the original. The Duchess of Weimar, in 1767, received a copy of this, and Weber published an edition, Weimar, 1781, which he erroneously thought to be the Augsburg Confession after the original copy in the imperial archives. He found many opponents, especially Panzer and Bertram; was convinced of his mistake, and made it good by his Kritische Geschichte der Augsb. Confession aus archivalischen Nachrichten, 2 Theile. Frankf. a. M., 1783-84. 8.—As to the Latin text, Coelestine's allegation, in his Hist. Com., ii. 169, that his edition was after the original in the imperial archives, is incorrect (Weber, i. 65, 70); the text of the first edition of Melancthon is adopted in the Concordia. Thus a German text, most nearly conformed to the original, is to be got from the first edition by Melancthon, and such copies of it as are still extant, made at the diet for the Prot-
several of the estates of the diet may have received a more correct conception of the Reformation; the ecclesiastical abuses, which it censures, were acknowledged by many; but, as a matter of course, it did not do away with the objection taken by the opponents of the Reformation to the separation of the hierarchy from the Church, and to the Augustinian theology of the reformers. The Emperor, who expected more advantage from rapid and decisive action than from debates, had a Confutation prepared by the Catholic theologians, the chief of whom were John Eck, Conrad Wimpina, and John Cochlaeus. After this had been read, on the estant estates. For the Latin text, the first edition by Melancthon is the only sure basis. Förstemann, in his Urkundenbuch, has published the German Confession after the second Ansbach MS. (i. 369); the Latin, after Melancthon's first edition (i. 442), with various readings from the best MSS. Kollner's Symbolik d. Luth. Kirche, s. 226.

6 Spalatin's Annalen, s. 140: Duke William of Bavaria afterward said, "They had told him nothing beforehand about this matter and doctrine." Bruck, s. 59: Many of the nobles declared that they "had heard very different representations of the affairs of the Elector, the princes, and the cities, from those gathered from the public reading of the Confession."

7 Melanchthon ad Lutherum, dd. 27. Jun. (ed. Bretschneider, ii. 145): Sublevamur sententiis Moguntini, Augustani et Brunsvigii, neque hi valide pugnant. Bavari eti dicebantur facti auditu confessione placabilliores, tamen a Georgio et Joachimo non dissentiunt. Hi sunt duces, et quidem acerrimi, alterius partis. Justus Jonas ad Lutherum fere 29. Jun. (i. c. p. 154): Dicitur Episcopus Augustanus (Christoph v. Stadion. Cf. on him, Altdorffisches Literar. Museum, i. 108, 810; Zapf, Chr. v. Stadion, Zürich, 1799) in privatis colloquis hujusmodi edidisse vocem: iulia qua recitata sunt, vera sunt, sunt pura veritas, non possimus inficiari.—Saltzburgerensis (Matthäus Lang, cardinal) dicitur in privato colloquio hanc vocem edidisse: vellem quomque peciem, conjugium Kbraerne; vellem mittam or formavit esse; vellem Kbernem inibi se et aliis traditionibus esse, et totum orinem sic stare; sed quod unus Monarchus debeat nos reformare omnes, hoc est turbare pacem, hoc non est ferendum. When Melanchthon spoke before his conscience, he said to him: "Was Conscienz, der Kaiser wird contraurationem reipubicae nicht leiden." According to Luther's Warning to his dear Germans (Walch, xvi. 1888), the same cardinal also said to Melanchthon: "Ach was wollt ihr doch an uns Pfaffen reformiren; wir Pfaffen sind nie gut gewest." In the further deliberations of the committee of the Catholic princes, they were warned by the Bishop of Augsburg, Aug. 6 (see Spalatin's Nachricht in Walch, xvi. 1655), "dass sie darauf sehen sollten, und wider Recht nichts handeln, denn es sei ja wahr, dass die Lutherischen wider keinen Artikel des Glaubens halten; darum soll man auf Mittel und Wege trachten zum Frieden der Kirchen." He was violently opposed by the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Elector of Brandenburg, so that the Elector of Mayence had to reconcile them.

8 The first draft of it was handed in to the Emperor June 13, who, however, demanded a shorter and milder form (Cochlaeus de actis Lutheri, fol. 227, b.; Spalatin, s. 148). Of this first draft, which had 280 pages (according to Spalatin), John Cochlaeus has given the sections on the first four articles of the Augsburg Confession in his Philippica quattuor in Apologiæ Melanchthonis, Lips. 1584. 4 (republished in Strobelt's Beyträäge, i. 413). A later revision is in Formula Confutatorum Aug. Conf. cum Latina tum Germanica, ed. Chr. G. Müller. Lips. 1808. 8. In the form in which it was read it may be found in Andreas Fabricii Harmonia Aug. Confess. Colon. 1678. fol.; in Coelestini Hist. Comit. Aug. celebrat., iii. 1; and in Chytraei Hist. A. C., p. 178. Kollner, s. 397.
3d of August, he wanted to look upon the whole affair as concluded. In the mean time, however, the sudden departure of the Landgrave Philip, Aug. 6, gave him additional evidence that the new faith was already too deeply rooted to be set aside by statecraft. No less unadvisable did it seem to make use of force; for, in contrast with the fresh enthusiasm of the Protestants, the Catholic party was lame: partly because the Protestant complaints about ecclesiastical abuses were quite generally confessed to be justified; partly by the doubt whether they could be sure of the support of their subjects in a religious war; and in part from their mistrust of the Emperor, and the fear that his power would, in the end, be enlarged by a domestic war. Accordingly, upon the demand of the Catholic part of the diet, a smaller commission was appointed to seek a reconciliation. The negotiations were begun with the best will on the 16th August, the Protestant Confession being the point of departure. The Catholic divines, Eck, Wimpina, and Cochlaeus, as well as the Protestants, Melancthon, Brenz, and Schnepf, showed themselves very ready to accommodate their dogmatic formulas in the discussions upon the twenty-one doctrinal articles—the first part of the Confession; so that at last there were only three questions on which they could not unite.

9 On the negotiations, see Brück, s. 71, and from him Müllers Hist. v. d. evangel. Stände Protestation, s. 698. — Walch, xvi. 1281.—Handlungen des weiteren Ausschusses der Cathol. Fürsten mit den Protes, um die Zeit abzulegen. — Brück, s. 77; Müller, s. 700; Walch, xvi. 1630. The Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, who was the most active in this committee, is reported to have said (Spalatin, s. 151): "Wo dieser Churfürst zu Sachsen—der neuen Lutherischen Lehre nicht würde absehen, so würden Kays. Maj. ihm und ihren Anhängern nach Landen und Leuten, Leib u. Leben, Ehre u. Gut, auch Weibern u. Kindern zutragen." The same is told by Coelstinus, iii. 26, who does not give the name of the speaker.

10 Brück, s. 79 ff. Müller, s. 709. — Walch, xvi. 1652. — Rommel's Philipp d. Grossmütige, i. 269; ii. 246.

11 The height to which this opposition had risen on the part of the dukes of Bavaria, who supported John von Zapolia, and were opposed to the Election of Ferdinand as King of Rome, is shown by a scene in the diet, in which the Emperor and Duke William of Bavaria were the actors, as related by Stumpf in his Beraln politische Geschichte, i. 1. 57. On their doubts about their subjects, see the declaration of the Bavarian dukes to the Emperor, 1528, in Stumpf, i. 102.

12 The report of these transactions is in Brück, s. 89 ff., Müller, s. 741. The acts are given most fully in Walch, xvi. 1656, Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, ii. 219.

13 See Spalatin's account in Walch, xvi. 1668; the minute of the evangelical party, as to the articles in which they agreed, ibid., s. 1673; the report of the Catholics, ibid., s. 1714; remarks of the Protestants on the latter, s. 1730. On the articles IV., V., and VI., on Justification by Faith, the Catholics repeated the positions already advanced in their Confutation: opera nostra ex se nullius sunt merit, sed gratia Dei facit illa digna esse viae aeterna:—fides parit bonos fructus, fides sine operibus mortua est; quod vero
In the negotiations upon the second part of the Confession the Protestants made advances on several points: much of the old order in government and usages, the power of the bishops,\textsuperscript{14} ceremonies, fasts, and festivals, as human ordinances, they declared themselves ready to restore,\textsuperscript{15} and they also promised to spare the cloisters; on the other hand, they could not consent to a restriction of the permission to celebrate the Lord’s Supper under both forms,\textsuperscript{16}

\[\textit{justificationem soli fidei tribuunt, ex diametro pugnat cum Evangelica veritate, opera non excludente. Hence they were ready, according to their report (s. 1715), to teach “that we become just through faith. But not alone through faith; for such a doctrine is not found anywhere in the Holy Scriptures, but rather the opposite. On this account it was at length agreed that the word }\textit{sola} \text{ should not be used; but it should be taught that justification, or the forgiveness of sins, comes through grace (per gratiam gratum facientem), and through faith in us, and through the Word and sacraments, as instruments.” This was, in fact, the formula of union; but the Protestants, in their Remarks (s. 1730), contradict the ground here given for not using the word }\textit{sola}; \text{ they maintain that their opponents had also conceded that the forgiveness of sins was not through works or merit, but through faith and grace, to which they would have the sacraments added; thereupon the Protestants had let the word }\textit{sola} \text{ drop, because they did not wish by it to exclude grace and sacraments, but only works. The difference came out again distinctly in the twentieth article. They agreed “that good works must be done; that they are necessary; and that when they proceed from faith they are well pleasing to God, and that God, according to his promise, will reward them. But whether our good works are meritorious, and how far we may rely upon them, they were not able to agree.” So, too, they did not fully come together on the twelfth article: the Protestants, indeed, conceded the three parts of repentance, viz., contritio, confessio, satisfactio; “yet in the matter [of confession] we must look to the absolution, and believe that sin is forgiven us on account of Christ’s merits”; as to satisfaction, they agreed “that sin is not forgiven on account of it, so far as concerns its guilt. But they were not united on the point, whether the satisfaction was necessary to the forgiveness of sins, so far as the punishment is concerned.” In fine, upon the twenty-first article they agreed, “that all saints and angels in heaven pray to God for us; and again, that we should celebrate the memory and festivals of the saints, in which we pray to God that the intercession of the saints may be of service to us.” They disagreed about the invocation of the saints: the Protestants held it to be “a doubtful and dangerous thing,” and would not consent to it; “first, because the Holy Scripture did not command it; secondly, because great and perilous abuses spring from it.”)

\textsuperscript{14} The Protestants, however, made this addition, s. 1688, 1729: “Doch damit ungebilligt der öffentlichen Missbräuche, dass die Bischöfe nicht Fleiss haben, dass man recht predige, dass die Sacramente ernstlich und christlich gehandelt werden, dass tüchtige Leute ordint werden, dass die Priester ein züchtig Leben führen, dass man den Bann in vielen Sachen missbraucht,” u. s. w.

\textsuperscript{15} Brück, s. 96. The opinion of the evangelical part was: “wenn allein die Lehre von dem bästistischen Theil geltten, auch nit nottig gemacht wollet werden, das Gott nit zwinglich oder nottig zu Vorstrickung u. Fahung der Gewissen haben wollet; was sie alsdann in auserlichen Dingen than sollten u. konnten, das ane Vorlegung der Lehre u. des Glaubens zu Äinlichkeit dienstlich, des an ihnen kein Mangel sein solit, alles zu tragen u. zu dulden, op es wol nit nottig, noch sie dasselb schuldig wären, allain um Lieb u. Eintracht willen.”

\textsuperscript{16} The Catholics would only concede (s. 1719) that the pastors, with the papal permission, “allein ihren Pfarrkindern, und allein an denen Orten, da es bis bieher etliche Jahr in Brauch gewest, das Sacrament—unter beyder Gestalt denen, so es begehren,
nor to the restricted marriage of priests;\(^{17}\) nor would they re-establish the canon for masses and the private masses, with which was connected the doctrine of purgatory.\(^{18}\) The restoration of the episcopal authority had also, for the Protestants, a very suspicious side. It was to be anticipated that the episcopate, dependent on Rome, which was not at all bound by these negotiations,\(^{19}\) would

\(^{17}\) The Catholics said (s. 1271) that, although the priests, on account of their vows and consecration, could not lawfully be married, yet they would bear with priests now married until a council should convene, but only in places where the marriage of priests was the custom. And further, before the meeting of this council no more should be married; and whoever wished to give up his estate of marriage should be allowed to do so; and, in place of the married priests, unmarried ones should be instated as soon as possible. It should also be proposed to the council to decide "whether it were not well henceforth to concede that married men might be admitted to the priesthood and ordained, in the way in which it was long since a usage in the first Church for some hundred years." The Protestants rejected these limitations, because the marriage of priests was to be held to be Christian and right. S. 1732: "God has appointed this means and medicine, for them to use who can not refrain. Hence he tempts God who has not the gift of chastity and yet does not avail himself of God's ordinance."

\(^{18}\) S. 1722: "Damit nicht ein Wortgeschien von den Worten hostia, oblatio, sacrificium, oder Opfer sich erhebe," the Catholics made the distinction, "dass Christus in dem Osterlammlein im A. T. figurlich geopfert; und dass nachmals derselbe Christus am Stamme des Creuzes gelitten, sich selbst Gott dem Vater ein wahrhaftig Opfer für die Sünde der Menschen aufgeopfert; aber jetzt in dem Opfer der Messe werde er mysteri-aliter et representative, d. i. sacramentlich u. wiedergebäuchlicher Welse, in der Kirchen täglich geopfert, zur Erinnerung und Gedächtniss des Leidens und Sterbens Christi, einmal am Creuz vollzogen." The Protestants declared themselves ready to make use of the customary ceremonies and ecclesiastical apparel; but they would only allow of the public masses, "darinnen etlichen aus dem Volke, so zuvor verhört, das Sacrament christlich gereicht wird. Die Privatmesse aber, welche sie dieser Meinung gehalten, dass sie andern Vergebung der Sünden ex opere operato damit verdieneten, verwerfen wir, denn es ist offenbar, dass solche Application wider die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens streitet. Denn so die Messe, auf diese Meinung applizirt, Vergebung der Sünden ex opere operato operato verdienet, folget, dass die Gerechtigkeit nicht aus dem Glauben, sondern aus den Werken komme. Item, so jetzt erst in der Messe das Opfer für die Sünde geschiehet, wozu hat denn der Tod Christi gedient, oder ist das Leiden u. Sterben Christi nicht genugsam zu Bezahlung unserer Sünde?—Item Christus spricht: das thut zu meinem Gedächtniss.—Wie kann aber den Todten solch Sacrament nützlich seyn, diesselben in ihnen das Gedächtniss Christi durch die Priester nicht kann erweckt werden?"

\(^{19}\) Pallavicini Hist. Conc. Trid., iii. 4, 3: The Cardinal Campeggio, in a report to Rome, gave five chief demands of the Protestants: the Lord's Supper under both forms; the marriage of priests; the omission of the canon in the mass; the retaining of the con-
soon endeavor to effect a complete return to the old state of things. Those controversial points in which the Catholic party appeared to have yielded were rather evaded than settled; the general expressions of union were such as to allow afterward of a Catholic interpretation, which could easily be enforced as their true sense by the ecclesiastical authority. Hence the Protestant statesmen took the ground, that there should either be no concession, or at least that the restoration of the papal and episcopal power was inadmissible. Melancthon, whose anxious fears undoubtedly had

\[\text{facated church property; and the calling of a council. In a Consistory, July 6, it was determined to yield nothing.} \]


How far Melancthon went for the sake of peace is shown by his negotiations with the papal legate, Campeggio. He wrote to him, July 6 (Bretschneider, ii. p. 170): Dogma nullum habemus diversum ab Ecclesia Romana.—Parati sumus obedire Ecclesiae Romanae, modo ut illa pro sua clementia, quia sepe erga omnes gentes usa est, pausa quaedam vel dissimulet, vel relaxet, quia jam mutare ne quidem se velimus queamus.—Nullam ob rem aliam plus odii sustinemos in Germania, quam quia Ecclesiae Romanae dogmata summa constancia defendimus. The 7th Jul., p. 173: Pauca rebus vel condonatis, vel dissimulatis posset constitui concordia, videlicet si nostri utraque species Coenae Domini permitteteret, si conjuga sacerdotum et monachorum tolerarentur. Hoc si aperte concedi non videretur utile, tamen prætextu aliquo dissimulare possent, videlicet quo res extrahatur, donec Synodus convocetur. In the same spirit were composed the propositions which he sent to the legate, Aug. 4 (1. c. p. 246). When he here uniformly asserts that the Protestant doctrine is the old and genuine doctrine of the Roman Church, he can not intend to mislead any one about the nature of this doctrine, so far as it was contained in the Confession which was just about to be presented. Up to the time of the Council of Trent a great variety of opinion was tolerated in the Catholic Church, especially in the doctrines on anthropology and soteriology now contested; and that strict Augustinianism which the Protestants insisted upon had by no means been formally rejected. Even the Cardinal Campeggio is reported to have said that the division in respect to doctrine was, for the most part, only a dispute about words (Salig, in. 227). In order, now, to make the Protestant estates inclined to union, the theologians who acted in the sense of Melancthon declared to them (see their Opinion, Aug. 25, in Bretschneider, ii. 281) that the doctrine should remain free, the Lord’s Supper be under both forms, that private masses should be rejected, and the marriage of priests retained; but that in all other ecclesiastical ordinances concessions could be made. Especially did they use all means to make the princes inclined to the restoration of the episcopal jurisdiction. S. 283: “Die Ordnung dass die Bischoffe über die Priester als Superattendenten gefast sind, hat ohn Zweifel viel redlicher Ursach gehabt. Denn die Priester müssen Superattendenten haben. So werden die weltlichen Fürsten des Kirchenregiments in der Länge nicht warten; ist ihnen auch nicht möglich; dazu kostet es sie viel, so dagegen die Bischoffe ihre Güter darum haben, dass sie solch Amt ausrichten. Auch gebürt uns nicht, diese Ordnung, dass Bischoffe über Priester sind, welche von Anfang in der Kirche gewesen, ohne grosse und dringende Ursache zerreissen. Denn es ist auch vor Gott fährlich, Politien ändern und zerreissen. Dann wiewohl der Papst ein Antichrist ist, so mogen wir doch unter ihm seyn, wie die Juden unter Pharoa in Egypten, und hernach unter Caipha, so uns dennoch rechte Lehre frey gelassen wird.” Melanchthon ad Camerar., dd. 81. Aug. (1. c. p. 384): Aegre patiuntur civitates reduci in urbes illam Episcoporum dominationem. Et sapient, sed quo ore eripiemus eis, si nobis permiserint doctrimam? Quid? Quod omnia quasi largiti sumus, habent ejusmodi exceptions, ut hoc metuat, ne Episcopi existiment offerri ἡμαρα ἡωρλ ἀλ φι-των: sed quid potuimus alius? Quanquam, ut ego quod sentio dicam, utinam, utinam possim non quidem dominationem confirmare, sed administrationem restituere Episcoporum? Video enim, qualem simul habituri Ecclesiam, dissoluta πολεμία ecclesiastica. Video postea multo intolerabiliorum futurum tyrannidem, quam antea unquam fuit.
concessions; some even viewed him as a traitor to the common cause. But Luther, who from Coburg was constantly sending

23 Such like reports were disseminated very early. Rosellius writes to him from Venice as soon as July 6 (ed. Bretschneider, ii. 227), that he had heard, to cite a factum Cardinali Campegio,—toque tuaque omnia judicio et sapientiae Pontificis maximi subjecisse; in the same way, Aug. 1, p. 243, and exhorts him to steadfastness. The negotiations for union afterward gave occasion for mistrust; see Landgrave Philip to Luther, Aug. 24 (in Neudecker’s Urkunden, s. 159): “wir sehen es darvon an, dass sich die Sach so seltsam zugetragen haben, seie Philippi Melanchthonis Kleinmutigkeit Schuld. Sie haben sich auch in ihren übergeben Articula zu viel begeben.” The Nurembergers were particularly displeased with Melanchthon; see the letter of the Nuremberg ambassador, Hieronymus Baumgärtner, to Lazarus Spengler, 18th Sept. (Lebensbeschr. Lazar Spenglers v. Hausdorff, s. 72): “Philippus ist kindischer, denn ein Kind worden.—Die andern sächsischen Theologen doren wider den Philippum nit öffentlich reden, denn er den Kopf demmassen gestrecket, dass er neulich gegen den Lünneburgerischen Canzler gesagt: “Wer sagen darf, dass die nächst übergebenen Mittel nit christlich, der lüge, als ein Bösätziger.” On Sept. 15 (s. 75) new complaints about “the theologians running about and unchristian doings.” They treated secretly with the opponents, made unchristian proposals, which could not be fulfilled, in order, as it seemed, to maintain peace, and afterward to do what they pleased. “Uff diesem Reichstag kein Mensch bis uff den Tag dem Evangelio mehr Schadens gethan, dann Philippus. Er ist auch in solche Vermeusenheit gerathen, dass er nit allein niemand will hören anderst davon reden und raten, sonder auch mit ungeschickten Fluchen u. Schelten herausfährt, damit er jeandern erschreck, und mit seiner Estimation und Auctoritet dämpfe.” Spengler is therefore asked to write to Luther. That he had done this before appears from Luther’s answer, Aug. 28 (de Wette, iv. 158); he also wrote about it to George Vogler, Chancellor of the Margrave of Brandenburg (Veessenmeyer’s kleine Beyträge zur Gesch. des Reichstags zu Augsburg, 1530. Nürnberg, 1830. 16. s. 32 ff.). Wenc. Link now wrote on this account again to Luther; see his reply, 20th Sept., in de Wette, iv. 167. Melanchthon ad Lutherum, dd. 1. Sept. (ed. Bretschneider, ii. 330): Non credas, quanto in odio sim Noricis, et nescio quibus aliis, propter restitutam Episcopis jurisdictionem. Ita de suo regno, non de Evangelio dimicant soci nostri. Bomgartnerus scriptit, me, si quanta maxima pecunia voluisset a Romano Pontifice conductus essem, non potuisse meliorem rationem suspiciere restituentes dominationis Pontificiae, quam hanc esse judicent homines, quam institutum. Ego nullum adhuc articulam deserui, aut abjici, qui ad doctrinam pertineat; tantum stomachantur de politicis rebus, quas non est nostrum erpere Episcopos.—On the other hand, Melanchthon was also accused afterward of false dealing by the opponents; see Cochlaei Philipp. i. (see above, Note 8) p. 10 (in Raynald. 1530, No. 84): Plane intelligit Tus Majestas, hominem istum blandiloquentiae hypocrisiae sua vulpina improbius obius Augustas in comitis, quam aperit conviciis et amarentiis et procul delituecens et absens Lutherus. Hic enim conueto more convitabatur, plebisque odio in clerum excitabat instar leonis rugientes ferocios. Ille vero instar draconis insidentis fraudes intenderes, non plebem, sed magnates hypocrisi sui circumvenire satagebat.—Cumque nos quando querere mar Augustas super violentis et seditiosa libris Lutheri, quis unum post illius mittebat illum eo quoque tempore, quo nobis non parva erat spes tollendae discordiae, Philippus blandius respondebat, non attendendum esse quid Luthers scriberet, sed quid Principes Lutherani Caesaris proponerent, quid facere, quid agnosceret vellent. Quam subdole vero erigit cum Legato nemo multum novit quam Legatus ipse. Qui lascrymis primum precibusque illius non satis sidens, jussit illum petitionem suam in scriptis tradere: nec tamen omnem per hoc vulgarum fraudem praecavere potuit. Didicit enim paulo post, illi nihil sidendum esse, posteaquam audivit, illum—in odium theologorum, quibus respondendi negotium commiserat Majestas Tus,—jactitasse, Legatum ea admipisse, in quibus maligno adversarentur theologi.—Tanta est utrisque impudentia, ut et Philip-
his advice and judgment, did not misunderstand his true companion. Although he had from the beginning seen with a clear eye the danger of these negotiations, and had demanded an unconditional peace instead of any attempts at union, he still acknowledged that what Melancthon yielded was in itself allowable;

24 Excepting that for a short time he seems, through the complaints of the Nurembergers (above, Note 23), to have feared that Melancthon might be misled by the crafty arts of the opposite party to yield too much; but he was convinced that what was against the Gospel would at once be repelled by him anew. See his Letters, Aug. 28, to Spalatin (de Wette, iv. 155): Jam in insidiis versari causam nostram, ipsi videtis.—Ipsi enim nostras concessiones large, largius, largissime accipient; suas vere stricte, strictius, strictissime dabunt. Summa, mihi in totum displicet tractatus de doctrinae concordia, ut quae plane sit impossibilis, nisi Papa velit Papatum suum aboleri. Satis erat, nos reddidisse rationem fidei, et petere pacem.

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and defended him against unjust accusations, and sought to inspire the timid with his own cheerful courage. However, those articles, which we have spoken of above as those in which they could not agree, were so important to both parties that the projected union failed on account of them; and even the negotiations of a still smaller committee, from Aug. 24 to 29, led to no result.

On July 11 the four cities excluded from the Protestant league, Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, also handed in a Confession of their own—the Confessio Tetrapolitana, which manifestly speaks only of the *dolus et lapsibus* into which Melancthon might be brought by the *insidiae* of the opponents; see Gieseler's Essay: *Etwas über den Reichstag zu Augsburg, im Jahre 1530.* Hamburg, 1821. 8°. Compare the letters of the same date to Justus Jonas and Lazarus Spengler, s. 157 ff.—Yet here throughout we find only general caution and anxiety, but not disapprobation of what had been already done. Where Luther had occasion to speak upon the debated points he wholly agrees in theory with Melancthon, but holds that union could not be effected. Thus he wrote upon an Opinion of Melancthon's about the Pope (Melanchth. Opera, ed. Bretschneider, ii. 318): 

"Wenn der Papst solchswollen ging, so achte ich, wir Lutherischen wollten seine Ehre und Uberkeit besser schützen und handhaben, denn der Kaiser selbst u. aller Welt. Denn wir könnten thun ohne Schwert, mit Gottes Wort und Kraft, welches der Kaiser mit der Faust, ohne Gottes Kraft, endlich nicht erhalten kann." Compare Luther's Bedenken von den Compositionsmitteln (Spalatin's Annalen, s. 270; Walch, xvi. 1700). It is there said about the jurisdiction: "Es ist ein vergeblich Ding, dass man von der Jurisdiction handelt: denn wo sie uns nicht leiden, und nichts nachlassen, sondern stracks immerhin verdammnen wollen; so können wir keiner Jurisdiction von ihnen gewarten, ohn das Meisters Hansen (the executioner). Wol ists wahr, wo sie unsere Lehre wollten leiden, u. nicht mehr verfolgen, so wollten wir ihnen keinen Abbruch thun an ihrer Jurisdiction, Dignität, oder wie sie es nennen. Denn wir begehrn freylich nicht Bischof, noch Cardinal zu seyn, sondern allein gute Christen, die sollen arm seyn."


27 As to the Elector and other companions in the faith who were active at Augsburg, cf. his letters written from Coburg to Augsburg. Especially did he inspire the hearts of his followers with his own boldness by the heroic song: *Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott,* which was composed at this time at Coburg, according to the testimony of his contemporaries, Hieronymus Weller, Sleidanus (liber xvi., sub fine), Chytraeus (Saxonia, ad annum 1530); see Riederer's Treatise on the Introduction of the German Song into the Evangelical Lutheran Church, published at Nuremberg, 1759, s. 305 ff.

28 Brück, s. 105. Müller, s. 800. Walch, xvi. 1733. Förstemann, ii. 290.

in like manner was responded to, Oct. 17, by a Confutation.\textsuperscript{30} The Confession sent in by Zwingle made the most unfavorable impression,\textsuperscript{31} and was answered by Eck in the most reckless style.\textsuperscript{32}

The Protestants demanded a council; the Emperor acceded to the demand, but wished that, provisionally, the old ecclesiastical ordinances should be re-established.\textsuperscript{33} After threats and negotiations\textsuperscript{34} had been tried in vain, the final decree of the diet was drawn up in the sense of the Catholic majority, without allowing the Protestant rejoinders to be heard, or the Apology for the Confession,\textsuperscript{35} drawn up by Melancthon, to be received.

\textsuperscript{30} The Confutation written by Faber, Eck, and Cochlaus, was first published by Müller, Formula Confutationis August. Confessionis, Lips., 1808, p. 191. On the discussions at and after the reading, see Sleidanus, lib. ii., ed. Am Ende, p. 429. The Strasburg divines prepared a "Vindication and Defense in writing" against the Confutation, which was published with the Confessio Tetrapolitana in 1531.


\textsuperscript{33} See these negotiations from Sept. 7, in Brück, s. 155; Müller, s. 842; Walch, xvi. 1794.

\textsuperscript{34} Negotiations for peace between Georg v. Truchsees and the Baden chancellor, Hieron. Vehus, Brück, s. 155; Müller, s. 866; Walch, xvi. 1815; Förstemann's Urkundenbuch, ii. 415.

\textsuperscript{35} When, on Sept. 22, the first decree of the diet, concerning the faith (in Walch, xvi.
The final decree of the diet, published Nov. 19, allowed to the Protestants time for consideration until April 15, 1531; and intimated forcible measures if this period should pass without their yielding. Although, from the bearing of the strongest Catholic

1848; Förstemann, ii. 474), was read in public (see the account in Brück, s. 183; and in Förstemann, from the Acts of the Margravate of Brandenburg, ii. 473), Dr. Brück, in the name of the Protestants, contradicted the assertion that their doctrine had been sufficiently refuted, and handed in the Apology. The Emperor, just on the point of receiving it, was led to refuse its reception by a sign from his brother (Brück, s. 184; Spalatin's Annals, s. 197). The Apology, in its shorter form, as it was to have been presented at Augsburg, is extant in two Latin recensions: the one is in Chytraeus, p. 337; the other in Förstemann, ii. 489; in German, by the latter, s. 530. Melanchthon thereupon revised it, and published it with the Confession in Wittenberg, 1531. 4. (above, Note 5): this revision was afterward received in the symboical books; Köllner's Symbolik, s. 419.

The decree is in Müller, s. 997; Walch, xvi. 1925. After an introduction on the object of the diet, the first topics introduced are the religious dissensions and the reading of the Augsburg Confession. "Und wiewol wir nach gehabtcm beständigen Rath trefflicher Theologen u. Schriftgelehrten aus vielen Nationen solch ihr Bekenntnis mit dem Evangelio u. heiliger Schrift mit gutem Grund widerlegen u. ableinen lassen: so hat doch solches so viel nicht verfangen, dass sie sich mit uns, Churfürsten, Fürsten, u. andern gemeinsen Ständen in allen Artikeln verglichen hätten." Hence it was decreed: "dass sie sich zwischen hie u. dem nächstkünftigen 15ten Tag des Monats Aprils bedenken sollten, ob sie sich der unverglichenen Artikeln halben mit der christlichen Kirchen, päpstlicher Heiligkeit, uns u. den andern Churfürsten, Fürsten u. gemeinsen Ständen des heil. Reichs, auch andern christlichen Häuptern u. Gliedern der gemeinen Christenheit, mittlerzeit der Erörterung eines nächstkünftigen Concilii nachmals bekennen und vereinigen wollen, oder nicht. Und dass sie uns ihrer Gemüths unter ihren Lasiegn vor Ausgang abgeschieden fünfzehnten Tages verständigen: mittlerweil wolten wir uns darauf auch bedenken, was uns zu thun gebühre, u. alsdann ihnen unsere Meinung gleichfalls eröffnen." In the mean time, the Protestant princes were not to allow any thing new on matters of faith to be printed in their lands, to entice none to join their sect, to allow the free use of their churches and worship to those of their subjects that adhered to the old faith, and to work, in common with the Catholic princes, against the Sacramentarians and the Anabaptists. Since no council had for a long time been held, and "yet very many abuses and causes of complaint may for a long time have been penetrating into our common Christianity," therefore the Emperor promises, "bey päpstl. Heiligkeit, u. allen christl. Königen u. Potentaten so viel zu verfügen, dass zu christl. Reformation ein gemein christlich Concilium innerhalb 6 Monaten, den nächst nach Endung dieses unser Reichstags, an gelegene Malstadt ausgeschrieben, u. das zum förderlichsten u. aufs längste in einem Jahre nach solchem Ausschreiben gehalten soll werden." In fine, the Protestant princes were to restore the despoiled cloisters and other spiritualities "ohne alle Mittel u. zum förderlichsten." "Es haben aber der Churf. v. Sachsen u. seine Mitverwandten abgeschied wolten in ohne allen Abschied nicht annehmen wollen, sondern abgeschlagen, und darauf zum Theil von hinnen verrückt." Next about the Confessio Tetrapolitana. Since the four cities of the empire "im Glauben sich von der gemeinen Christenheit abgesondert, und die schwere Irrsall wider das hochwürdige Sacrament, dergleichen der Bildstörung u. ander Sachen unterzogen,—so haben wir—darauf ein Gegenbericht in dem Evangelio u. heil. Schrift gegründet, thun verfassen, den wir ihnen—öffentlich haben fürlesen, sie darauf gnädiglich erinnern—lassen, dieweil sie ob solcher unser Confutation ihren Irrsall klärlich vermerken,—dass sie von demselben grausamlichen Irrthum abständen." The copy of the Confutation asked for by the cities had indeed been refused; but yet the repetition of the public reading of it had been enjoined, and the demand re-
powers, it might have been inferred that these threats could hardly be carried into execution, yet the Protestants saw the necessity of putting themselves into a condition for defense. The doubts previously entertained as to the lawfulness of a league of defense against the Emperor were set aside. At a congress in


On the other hand, the Emperor and the other estates had united in remaining by the old faith, and rejecting all the errors and novelties that had pressed in. As examples of such were alleged the doctrines, that in the sacrament of the altar the body and blood of Christ were not essentially, but in figure, present; that every one is bound to receive it under both forms; that the mass is blasphemy toward God; further changes in the mass, and abolition of feasts and fast-days; rejection of infant baptism, which others also allow to be performed by laymen; despising confirmation and extreme unction; destruction of images; the doctrine that there is no free-will, but that all is by necessity; that there should be no magistrates among Christians; that mere faith saves, without love and good works; demolition of cloisters, churches, and altars; abolition of ceremonies; doing away of preaching in the Mendicants' cloisters; persons compelled by magistrates and lords to hear, not the old, but the new preachers; confiscation of ecclesiastical possessions; arbitrary procedures about the cloisters; abolition and institution of preachers, and abolition of the jurisdiction of bishops. It is plain that this confused mixture, in which the proper views of the Protestants are placed alongside of errors which they vehemently opposed, would naturally arouse their indignation.

In the last general assembly of the princes, Sept. 23, the Elector Joachim, in the name of the Emperor and the Catholic estates, did, in fact, deliver a menacing address (Brück, s. 190; compare Förstemann's Archiv, ii. 607), in which the Protestant doctrine is declared outright to be heretical and fully refuted; and then followed the menace, that if the Protestant estates would not accept the decree, the Catholic “sich zu Kais. Maj. alsgchorsame Furstendes Reichsvorpflicht, ihre Leibu. Gutu. alles Vormugen darzusetzcn, dumit dicscr Sachengeholfen mochtwerden, wie dann auch Kais. Maj. ih- en ihnen hinwieder frestliche Zusagung gethan, all ihr Vormugen darrusetzen, Königreich u. Lande, auch aus dem heil. Reich nit zu ziehen, bis dieser Handel zum Ende bracht wurde,” etc.; and there is no manner of doubt that this threat, avowed in the presence of all the Catholic princes, as Joachim afterward declared (Brück, s. 205), was determined upon by all the Catholic estates; and yet Mayence, Treves, the Palatinate, Duke George of Brunswick, and Louis of Bavaria, hastened at once to assure the Elector that this by no means expressed their sentiments, and that they were very far from intending a war of aggression (Brück, s. 208 ff.; Spalatin, s. 198).

Opinion of the jurists of Wittenberg, Walch, x. 656: When a judge goes on with a process, after an appeal has been taken, he may be resisted by force. So, too, with one who decides beyond the bounds of his jurisdiction, and beyond his judicial powers. Hence, in such a case, the same holds good of the Emperor. The Opinion of the theologians rests on that of the jurists (ibid., s. 660 ff.): “weil das Evangelium bestûtigt weltliche leibliche Regimete, so soll sich ein jeglicher Fürst gegen seinen Herrn oder Kaiser halten vermûge derselbigen natûrlichen und weltlichen Regimete und Ordnungen,” about which the jurists are just the persons to be heard. Against unjust violence, even when it proceeds from the Emperor, the rulers themselves are bound to protect
Smalcald, to which were also admitted the four cities that held to the Zwinglian views, a protest was adopted against the purpose of the Emperor to have his brother Ferdinand chosen King of Rome; the Emperor was petitioned to prevent the ordinances for restitution by the imperial exchequer and the highest court of judicature; and it was determined to send a written justification of their positions to the other Christian kings. At a new assembly, March 29, 1531, the Smalcald League for six years was formed for mutual defense. The League was still further strengthened by an alliance at Saalfeld, Oct. 24, 1531, with the dukes of Bavaria, in opposition to the election of Ferdinand as King of Rome; and also in union with Bavaria, at the cloister Scheyern, May 26, 1532, by forming another treaty with France and with Denmark.

Under these circumstances the Emperor did not dare to carry into execution the threats of the final decree of Augsburg. The necessity of rest and peace became, however, still more imperative in consequence of their irritation of Soliman, in the spring of 1532, into Hungary and Austria with an immense armament. The electors of Mayence and of the Palatinate undertook to mediate; negotiations were set on foot at Schweinfurt, and afterward at Nuremberg. The confederates of the Smalcald League at length assented to Luther's proposal to restrict the peace to those who at their subjects. Compare Luther's Letters to Wencesl. Link, 16th Jan., 1531, in do Wette, iv. 212, and to Laz. Spengler, 16th Febr., 1531, ibid., s. 221.


Documents in Hortleder, i. 8, 8. Walch, xvi. 2170. The first confederates were the Elector John, the Dukes Philip, Ernst, and Franz, of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, Counts Gebhardt and Albrecht, of Mansfeld, and the cities of Strasburg, Ulm, Constance, Reutlingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Biberach, Isni, Lübeck, Magdeburg, and Bremen. Rommel, i. 296; ii. 269.


Mémoires et Négociations de Guil. du Bellay (translatés en Français par l'abbé Cl. Fr. Lambert. Paris, 1753, 7 voll. in 12), livr. iv. Stumpf, i. 93. Urkundenbuch, i. 28. Rommel, i. 298; ii. 259.

Rommel, i. 386; ii. 257. Stumpf, i. 92, 97.

Raumer's Gesch. Europa's seit dem Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrh. i. 433.

Walch, xvi. 2183. Rommel, i. 299; ii. 272.
that time confessed the principles of the Reformation; and thus the Religious Peace of Nuremberg was brought about, July 23, 1532. This provided that religious matters should remain in the same state in which they then were, until they could be settled by a council or a new diet.

It is true that only an imperfect state of peace was thus attained; yet a period of quiet develop-

Luther's Judgment on the question, whether it should be insisted upon that those should also be included in the peace who should in future confess the Augsburg Confession; in de Wette, iv. 369, 387, 380. His letter of June 29 to the Elector, s. 382; to the electoral prince, s. 384. He remarks, in opposition, s. 372: "Wir willigen hiermit nicht, dass den Andern das Evangelium soll verboten oder gewechset werden, sondern suchen einen zeitlichen Frieden fur uns, sollen u. konnen auch mit Recht nicht andere Oberkeit zwingen, dass sie die Ihren sichern sollten unsers Gefallens.—Wenn wir nu mit freundlichem Suchen u. Vermahnen nicht konnen erhalten, dass der Kaiser die Seinen sichern soll, so konnen wir nicht mehr thun, u. sind entschuldigt.—Zum vierten, so ist ja ein jeder Christ schuldig, das Evangelium auf eigen Fahr zu glauben u. zu be-

kennen.—Zum funften, quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne feceris:—Nu wollte keine Ober-

keit dieses Theils, dass andere Nebenfursten sie zwingen sollten, mit ihren Untertha-

nen zu machen was sie wollten." To the elector, s. 382: "Furwahr, wo Kaiserl. Maj. solche Artikel bewilligt, wie wir sie irt—verandert; so hat seine Kaiserl. Maj. gung

gethan, u. wird hinfuerder beyde Schuld u. Unglimpf unser seyn. Denn Gott grosset

uns gnudiglich; danken wir ihm nicht, so werden wir uns hochlich versundigcn, dazu


wollten mit Ernst einen guten, harten Brief hinaus den Unsern schreiben, u. treulich

vermahnen, sie wollten doch auch ansehen, wie viel u. gnudig die Kais. Maj. uns nach-
glit, u. s. w."

In Hortleder, i, 1, 10. Walch, xvi. 2210. In this are omitted the previous demands of the Catholic party (s. 2185), that beyond the Augsburg Confession there should be no further innovations, and that the Protestants should not stand by the Zwingians and Anabaptists. The Protestant demand, that the peace should also extend to their future allies in the faith, was, in fact, completely set aside by the explicit enumeration of the estates comprised in this peace. Besides the general statements about the peace, and the obligation of the Protestants to aid against the Turks, the following article is the only one of importance: "Dazu hat die Rom. Kais. Maj. zu mehrern. bestandigerEr-

haltung solches obgemeldeten gemeinen Friedens gnudiglich bewilligt u. zugesagt, dass

Ihre Maj. alle Rechtfertigungen in Sachen den Glauben belangend, so durch Ihre Maj.

Fiscal, u. andere wider den Churfursten zu Sachsen u. ihre Zugewandten angefangen

worden, oder noch angefangen werden mochten, einstellen wolle bis zu nachstkünfti-

gem Concilio, oder so das Concilium nicht gehalten, durch die Stände in andere Wege
darain gesehen werden." Against Rommel, i. 311, it is to be noted that this assurance is also adopted, word for word, in the imperial confirmation of the peace, Aug. 2 (Walch, xvi. 2238); it did not belong in the mandate of Aug. 3, since this only prescribes to the estates what they are required to do in consequence of the peace. The Landgrave Philip would not, for a long time, recede from the demand to include the future confessors of the Reformation (Rommel, i. 305; ii. 274; iii. 45 f.; and the Judgment of the Hessian divine, in Neudecker's Urkunden, s. 199), and found also other objections to the treaty. Thus he justly thought that the assurance, as given above, was too indefinitely expressed, and would have preferred to have said: "dass in Sachen, den Glauben und Religion, u. was daraus fleusst, u. dem anhangt, belangend, mit allen gerichtlichen Processen, Execution, u. Handlungen, so von dem Kaiserlichen Fiscal oder auf jedmans Anhalten fürgenommen seyn oder werden mochten, stillgestanden werden müssse" (Schmidt's Gesch. d. Deutschen, xii. 51). Consequently he did not at once accept the peace, but submitted to it Aug. 13 (Rommel, i. 311; ii. 276).
ment was again insured to the Reformation. The enhancement of the moral power of the Smalcald confederates was also a no less valuable result of this peace; for the concessions thus made to them, after such definite threats, would necessarily heighten their own self-reliance and the respect felt for them by others. Immediately after the conclusion of this peace occurred the death of the Elector John the Steadfast, Aug. 16, 1532; he was succeeded by his son, John Frederick.

§ 6.

THE SWISS REFORMATION TO THE SECOND PEACE, IN NOVEMBER, 1531.

Joh. von Müller and Robert Glutz Blotzheim's Geschichten Schweizerischer Eidgenossenschaft, continued by J. J. Hottinger, Bd. vii. Zürich, 1829. [Other works; see above, p. 11, 12.]

When Zürich came to a decisive separation from the Roman Church almost all the other confederates seemed ready to unite in forcing it to recede from its innovations; but the views and aims of the several cantons were so different that they could not work together with earnestness. The decrees of the Diet of Lucerne, Jan. 28, 1525,1 were intended to remedy the universally-acknowledged defects in church government and discipline, and

1 See these in Bullinger, i. 213; extracts in Müller-Hottinger, vii. 159.
thus to satisfy the longing for a reformation without rending the Church. But they did not go into effect; to some they seemed too insignificant, to others too presumptuous; thus the discussions about them only served to bring out in bold relief the internal division between the zealous Catholic cantons and those that were wavering. In proportion as the former held fast to the old order of things, avowed their hatred of Zürich, and endeavored, in their domain, to extirpate with fire and sword all the seeds of the Reformation; in the same degree were the latter repelled by them, and made more inclined to the side of the Reformation, for they felt deeply the necessity of ecclesiastical reforms, while at the same time they were unwilling to have domestic peace disturbed by them. The Catholic cantons now acceded to the proposal of Dr. Eck to demolish the innovations by a disputation, and, after long conferences, brought this about at Baden, May 19, 1526. Zwingle himself could not appear there without endangering his life; in his stead Oecolampadius took the lead of the Reformed
theologians. In this Catholic region it seemed as though the numerous Catholic party, appearing with great pomp, would dazzle the eyes and intimidate the heart by its confident bearing; but the quiet and firm rejoinder of Oecolampadius made a deep impression upon the wavering, and the result of the disputation, though the Catholics boasted of victory, was decidedly favorable to the Reformation. The Grisons had not taken any part in the discussion; nor did it prevent them, in the summer of 1526, from granting entire religious freedom. This favorable issue was most apparent in Berne. After the Reformed party, in the election of the council, 23d April, 1527, had got the preponderance in the government, the popular favor toward the Reformation was expressed without restraint. The council appointed a new disputation at Berne, for Jan. 6, 1528, which was numerously attended, and

Werke, ii. ii. 424): the seven hostile places did indeed send to him a safe-conduct to Zurich (see ibid., s. 409); Zwingle, in reply, again recounted the reasons why he could not come to Baden, but declared himself very ready to dispute in a safe place (ibid., s. 462).

7 Protocols were written out by five Catholic scribes, which were afterward for a long time kept back by the Catholic party. The first report appeared from the Reformed side, from minutes made at home after each session by Thos. von Hoffen, city clerk of Bern: "Wahrhaftige Handlung der Disputation in Obern Baden" (Strasburg, 1526); this was attacked by the Catholic party as false (see Hottinger's Helvet. Kirchengesch., iii. 328). Thomas Hübner next published the protocol made by Hans Huber, clerk at Lucerne, after comparison with the other four: "Die Disputation vor den XII. Orten einer lobl. Eidgenossenschaft wegen der Einigkeit in christlichen Glauben— von wegen der Einigkeit in christlichen Glauben— und zu Baden— gehalten. Luzern, 1527. 4." (Comp. Veesenmeyer's Beyträges zur Gesch. der Literatur u. Reformation. Ulm, 1792, s. 66.) The four other protocols are now in Zürich; a comparison of them proves that this edition is correct (Müller-Hottinger, vii. 84). Morner also published a Latin edition: Causa Helvetica orthodoxae fidei. Disputatio Helvetiorum in Baden superiori, etc. Lucernae, 1528. 4. (See Altdorffisches Literar. Museum, i. 542.) On the disputation, see Bullinger, i. 348; Lebensgesch. Oecolampadis von S. Hess, s. 181; Müller-Hottinger, vii. 83. Two satirical poems on this conference against Eck and Faber, one by Manuel; see in Niclaus Mantel von Grünsen, s. 408, comp. s. 216; Bullinger, i. 357.

8 Conference at Huls, Jan. 1526. Bullinger, i. 315. The acts drawn up by Seb. Hofmeister, in Füssli, i. 337; Müller-Hottinger, vii. 148. In summer religious freedom was decreed; the decrees in P. D. R. de Porta Hist. Reformationis Ecclesiarum Raetiarum (Tomi ii.; Curiae Raetorum et Lindaviarum, 1772-75. 4.), i. i. 146.

9 Cf. § 2, Note 99. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 102. Bertold Haller oder die Reformation von Bern, by Melch. Kirchhofer, Zürich, 1828, s. 88. The previous council, on Whit-suntide Monday, 1526, had promised the seven cantons (see in Müller-Hottinger, vii. 456; comp. Bullinger, i. 361) to remain by the old faith, and to abolish the article, "ein jeden im Glauben zu lassen, so ihn gut dünkt." The preaching of the Gospel was at once made free (Mandat in Bullinger, i. 890).

10 Handlung oder Acta gehaltener Disputation zu Bern im Uechtländ. Zürich, Apr., 1528, in 8. and 4. Reprinted in Strasburg, 1528. 4.; Bern, 1608. 4. Extracts from these acts in Zwingle's Works by Schuler u. Schultehes, ii. i. 70. A short account is given by one who was present—Martin Bucer praef. Commentarii in Joannem (reprinted in Scul-
issued in such a decisive victory for the Reformation that it was at once introduced by the authorities.11 This change on the part of the powerful Berne decided the cantons that had until now been wavering. The revolution which followed was more violent in proportion to the unwilling delay which had been imposed upon the majority inclined to the Reformation by the political relations of the government. St. Gall signalized its change by banishing the obstinate opponents of the Reformation, and by its severe treatment of the steadfast Catholic nuns.12 In Basle the struggle was renewed, on the part of the Reformers, with great zeal;13 until at


length, Feb. 9, 1529, with arms in their hands, they compelled the Catholic members of the government to resign, and commenced the general introduction of the Reformation by the destruction of images and pictures. Divine worship was at once established in the new order; the theological faculty was filled with new teachers; and the cloisters were abolished. In Glarus the numerous adherents of the Reformation began with violent measures immediately after the conference at Berne; these were opposed by equal violence from the other side; civil war was imminent; but by a treaty (April 25, 1529), as previously in Appenzell, it was left free to every parish to decide for or against the Reformation.

Now that the imbittered Catholic cantons renounced the league with their evangelical confederates, the latter were forced to plan the means of defense. For this purpose Zürich and Constance made an alliance, 25th Dec., 1527, under the name Burgher Rights; Berne and St. Gall joined it in 1528; and in 1529, Biel, Muhlhausen, and Basle. The most zealous of the Catholic cantons, Lucerne, Zug, Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden, aroused a revolt of the Bernese upper lands against the Reformation; and Unterwalden even aided it. As this attempt was fruitless, the revolt being at once suppressed, those five cantons entered into negotiations with Austria, till now regarded as a hereditary foe, and concluded with King Ferdinand a league, April, 1529, for the maintenance of the old faith.

The common lordships, that is, those belonging to several cantons, furnished uninterrupted occasions for dispute; for in these, both of the religious parties, each supported by the cantons of its

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14 On these occurrences, see Oecolampadii Ep. ad Capitonem, dd. 13. Febr., in Hottinger Hist. Eccl., ix. 12.
15 "Ordnung, so eine ehrename Stadt Basel den 1ten Tag Aprilis in ihrer Stadt u. Landschaft für bin zu halten erkannt. Darin wie die verworfene Misbräuche mit wahren Gottesdienst ersetzet, auch wie die Laster zu christlicher Täperseit unträglich, Gott zu Lob abgestellet u. gestraft werden sollen, begriffen ist, als man zählt 1529. 4. ;" in Bullinger, ii. 82.
16 Bullinger, i. 418. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 222; the document, s. 463.
17 Already at the Diet of Lucerne, 18th July, 1526; see Bullinger, i. 362; Müller-Hottinger, vii. 165.
18 Bullinger, ii. 8, 26, 46, 63. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 223 ff.
20 Bullinger, ii. 48. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 225, die Urkunde s., s. 469.
own faith, were often in violent contest. This state of things was worse than open war. To put an end to it, Zürich, inspired by the fiery Zwingle, declared war against the five cantons by which it had been so often injured; the occasion being the sending of an armed force by Unterwalden into the free localities.

The armies were already face to face when a peace was made by the mediation of the other cantons, which did not, indeed, correspond with the wishes of Zwingle, though it was very favorable for Zürich. In consequence of it the Reformed party obtained the preponderance, and Schaffhausen came decidedly upon the side of the Reformation, and joined the Christian Burgher Rights' league, Oct. 25, 1529.

Zürich tried to turn this state of things to advantage by establishing the Reformation, yet not without arbitrary measures, in permanent security. In the common lordships, where the majority favored the Reform, it was now fully introduced by Zü-

22 Müller-Hottinger, vii. 199.
23 Zwinglius ad Amicos Bernenses, dd. 30. Maj. (Müller-Hottinger, vii. 244, in Zwinglii Vita, auct. Myconio, in the Archiv f. Kirchengesch. i. ii. 24): Quod hactenus ad vos scripsi, iterum atque iterum facio, ut constantes sitis, neque bellum mutatur, nam ista pax, quam quidam tantopere urgent, bellum est, non pax; et bellum, cui nos instamus, pax est, non bellum. Non enim sitimus cujusquam sanguinem, neque etiam per tumultum hauriamus, sed in hoc sumus, ut oligarchia nostra succidantur. Id nisi fiat, neque Evangelii veritas, neque illius ministri apud nos in tuto erunt. Nihil crudelis cogitamus: sed quicquid agimus, ami
cum nostris, neque ad nos, quae per cuntem, servare libertatem satagimus. Vos init solite tantopere abhorrere a consiliis nostris. Mitiora sunt et sequiora, quam quidam apud vos dicitat. Zwingle had previously drawn up a plan for a campaign; given in Escher's u. Hottinger's Archiv f. schweizerische Gesch. u. Literatur, Bd. ii. Heft 2 (Zürich, 1830), s. 263. He himself accompanied it armed; see Bernh. Weiss, Beschreibung der Glaubensändere

24 Müller-Hottinger, vii. 270; see the document of the Saturday after John the Baptist's Feast, 1529, in Bullinger, ii. 185, and in Escher's u. Hottinger's Archiv f. schweiz. Gesch. u. Landeskunde, i. i. 78. An additional letter, 24th Sept., in Bullinger, ii. 212. The chief conditions were, that the faith should be free (that is, each government to decide about it), the league with King Ferdinand be abandoned, mutual calumnies avoided, and the costs of the war paid by the five cantons. Thereupon, in a general order, Oct. 15 (ibid., s. 108), all calumnny and abuse were forbidden, "with high and severe penalty and disgrace."

The newly-elected Abbot of St. Gall was not allowed by Zürich and Glarus to come into possession, although the two other cantons that had the guardianship were in his favor; and they changed the ecclesiastical into a secular endowment. Zwingle, to whom the circumstances of the times had now given the lead in Zürich politics, sought to form alliances abroad against the peril that threatened from the Emperor, who, having conquered his foes, now seemed on the point of turning his forces against the Reformation. Though the Conference of Marburg could not effect a complete union with the German Protestants, yet it was the means of forming a closer alliance of the Swiss with the Landgrave of Hesse; and it also resulted in the attempts, which were, however, vain, to form leagues with Venice and France in opposition to the Emperor. Strasburg, repelled by the German Protestants, joined the Christian Burgher Rights' league in January, 1530. The Landgrave of Hesse was also received into it, at least by Zürich and Basle, July 30 and Nov. 16, 1530. On the other hand, the Catholic cantons sent representatives to the Diet of Augsburg; and the distinguished reception given to their ambassadors by the Emperor, contrasted with the hostility which there prevailed against the Reformed cantons, was the occasion of all sorts of reports about privy negotiations. Among the Catholics the hope of soon seeing the heresy brought to an end was visibly rising, and showed itself in calumnies and abuse of the Reformers.

Thus the previous state of fluctuation and uncertainty recurred again. To put an end to it, Zwingle and Zürich pressed their
confederates to war, as the only means of bringing matters to a settled state. But the latter consented only to half measures; that is, denying to the five Catholic cantons the free purchase of the necessaries of life. Forced by necessity, these cantons seized their arms, and made an attack upon the territory of Zürich, unprepared for the contest. The army brought against them in haste was defeated at Cappel, Oct. 11, 1531; and many distinguished Zürichers, among them Zwingle, here found their death. And though the armies of the allied Reformed cantons now came to their aid, yet they were not united; the forces of the powerful Berne had no zeal. Zürich, on the 16th Nov., and Berne, Nov. 24, 1531, were forced to conclude a humiliating peace. By this treaty both confessions of faith were indeed recognized and secured, but the Reformed cantons were obliged to pay indemnities, to abolish their league, and to recognize the Abbot of St. Gall.  

§ 7.


Although it was not to be expected that the Protestants, like the Catholics, would unconditionally conform to the decision of a council, yet the Emperor urgently entreated the Pope to summon


38 On this so-called Cappel War, the chief sources are Bullinger's Reformatio...
one; partly because he would thus have more facilities for coercing the recusants; and in part because it seemed as if, under present circumstances, the long-desired reform of the Church in head and members might be expected from a general council. But Clement VII., to meet the danger that seemed to threaten him, proposed conditions which, it was apparent, the Protestants must reject. At the same time he again formed a closer alliance with the King of France, to find in him support against the Emperor.

In the mean time, the Smalcald leaguers, despite the peace of Nuremberg, were disquieted by the courts in the matter of the confiscated church property. New entanglements were imminent. But a bold deed of the Landgrave Philip broke through these difficulties, and heightened in no slight degree the power and prestige of the league. For after he had for a long time worked without success in the cause of the banished Duke Ulrich

Here belong the following declarations of Luther, in an Opinion given the middle of September, 1530 (in Coelestinus, iii. 78 b): Concilium est permittendum jure, tamquam medium humanum. Nec necessario temum facere, et nisi facinus, peccamus et delinquimus. Scriptum est, dormientibus hominibus venit insomnis, et superemina vit zizania, et cavendum est, ne dormiamus, et sinamus crescer zizania, id quod insidiose quaseritur. Opinion given April or May, 1532 (in de Wette, iv. 874): "Vom Concilium ist moglich etwas zu caviren; so ist ohn Zweifel gnugsam cavirdurch diese Wort: Ein freychristlich Concilium. Sollendie Wort nichthelfen, so wird der Zusatz auch we nig helfen, nach dem reinen Gottes Wort, etc. Denn so die Nationes wider uns concludiren, werden sie gleichwohl den Ruhm haben wollen, dass sie nach dem reinen Gottes Wort sprechen, etc."

1 Ranke, Fürsten u. Völker von Süd-Europa im 16ten u. 17ten Jahrh., ii. 114.

2 In June, 1533, a papal and imperial ambassador appeared in this matter before the Elector of Saxony. The Articuli handed over by the Nuncio to the Elector are in Raynald., 1533, No. 8; Walch, xvi. 2263. The judgment of Luther and other divines is in de Wette, iv. 454. The answer given by all the confederates at a diet in Smalcald, June 30, in Walch, xvi. 2281. They were offended by the papal conditions: that the council should be held according to the usage of the Church; "that those who might be in the council should pledge and bind themselves to hold inviolable and obey the decrees of said council;" that it should be held in Mantua, Bononia, or Placentia, and not in Germany; and that all the rest should stand by the Pope against those who would not submit to the council.

3 Ranke, ii. 118. According to Sarpi Hist. du Concile de Trente, traduite par le Conrayer, i. 122, the Pope persuaded the King of France, in their conference at Marseilles, Oct., 1533, to work upon the Protestants by means of the Landgrave, so that the council might be frustrated. According to the reports of ambassadors it was then determined to support the Landgrave in the conquest of Württemberg, so as to make disturbances in Germany; Ranke, ii. 121.

4 This was owing to the indefiniteness of the terms in the Nuremberg peace, which the Landgrave Philip had criticized at the first (see § 5, Note 47). The court maintained that causae possessioinae and complaints for restitution did not come under "matters concerning the faith;" see J. H. v. Harppreicht Staatsarchiv des Kais. u. h. R. R. Cammergerichts (Ulm, 4 Theile, 1757-60. 4.), P. V. § 186-145; Appendix, no. 46-50.
of Württemberg, he at last succeeded, May, 1534, in breaking up the Swabian league; aided by money from France, in May, 1534, he brought Württemberg in a few weeks in subjection to its old ruler. King Ferdinand, who had been in possession, was obliged by the treaty of Cadan, June 29, 1534, to restore the land to Duke Ulrich; the neighboring princes had been always opposed to this increase of Ferdinand’s power, and he now needed his forces elsewhere. Duke Ulrich at once introduced the long desired Reformation, and thus increased the power of the Protestants. In this treaty, too, Ferdinand was recognized by the Protestants as King of Rome, while he, on the other hand, pledged to them security against the claims of the supreme judicatures.

Contemporary with these events was the revival in Münster of the Anabaptist madness, in a degree surpassing all bounds; a tailor, John Bockhold, of Leyden, was elevated to be King of Zion. Chiefly through aid of the Landgrave, promised by the treaty of Cadan, Münster was subdued, June 24, 1535. The consequence
of these disorders was the suppression in that city of the Reformation, begun with good promise of success. But the general interests of Protestantism were not impaired; for it was well understood that they were entirely distinct from the cause of Anabaptism.

Clement VII. died Sept. 25, 1534. His successor, Paul III., seemed to enter more readily into the proposal for the calling of a council; with this in view he began negotiations with the Protestants, through his Nuncio, Peter Paul Vergerius. But since they did not accede to his proposals, and as in 1536 a new war broke
out between the Emperor and France, the designs of the Pope appeared very equivocal, when, June 2, 1536, he actually summoned the council to meet in Mantua, May, 1537; for, under these circumstances, it was plain that it could not be assembled.

In the mean time the Smalcald League had very much extended itself. After some hesitation the parties to it decided (Dec., 1535) that they were not prevented by the Peace of Nuremberg from receiving new members. They were at once joined by the Dukes Ulrich of Württemberg, Barnim and Philip of Pomerania, the Count Palatine, Rupert of Zweibrücken (Bipont), the Princes George and Joachim of Anhalt, Count William of Nassau, and many cities. After the Reformation had been generally accepted in Denmark, 1536, this kingdom also joined the league, being formally received into it in 1538.

When the papal bull appeared, summoning the council, Luther was deputed to write out articles defining the doctrinal views of

opus est Ecclesiae libera synodo, et ad talem nos provocavimus. At oratio tua negat, mentionem faciendam esse de ordine et forma cognitionis, eamque rem totam revocat ad arbitrium Rom. Pontificis. Id non est liberam synodum promittere.—Cum autem tot praesidiciis causam nostram Rom. Pontifex toties improbaverit, palam est adversarius. Porro neque libera synodus neque legitima erit, si adversarius permitteretur cognitione. Camque ob causam flagitatae et promissa est libera Synodus, h. e. in qua communi judicii Imperatoris, Regum, Potentatum, Principum, ac Statuum deligantur ex omnibus ordinium homines idonei non partiales ad cognoscendas et djudicandas has controversias juxta verbum Dei. Primum enim synodi debent esse judiciorum non tantum Pontificum, sed etiam reliquae Ecclesiae, sicut et sacræ litteræ et vetera ecclesiastica exempla docent, quaer estantur, pios Principes interius cognitio in synodis. Estque impudices et tyrannis, Rom. Pontificis auctoritatem in judiciis dogmatum religiosis antecedere auctoritatis universae Ecclesiae. Quare valere in synodis autitatas Regum, Principum, Potentatum, ac Statuum debet, praealterum in casuis fidei, cum accusamentum Pontificum vitia et errores, videlicet impii cultus, prava dogmata cum Evangelio pugnantia.

16 Bull Ad dominici gregis curam, in Raynal., 1536, No. 35.
17 Sleidanus, lib. ix., in fine. Seckendorf, lii. 100. Rommel's Philipp d. G., i. 406; ii. 369.
18 Luther and Melancthon were not in favor of rejecting the council (see the Opinion in Melanchth. Opp., ed. Bretschneider, iii. 121 ss., and Luther's Judgment, Feb., 1537, in de Wette, v. 61). Hence this commission to draw up the articles. Luther wrote the articles in German in Wittenberg, and sent them, subscribed by the theologians there present (see Spalatin's Annalen, s. 897), to the Elector, Jan. 3, 1537 (see the letter in de Wette, v. 46). The copy, written in Luther's own hand, is in the Heidelberg library; from it are taken the articles as published by Marheineke in the Berlin Programme for the festival of the Reformation, 1817: Articuli qui dicuntur Smalcaldici e Palatino Codice MS. accurate editi et annotationibus criticis illustrati. The same are also in M. Meurer's work, Der Tag zu Schmalkalden und die Schmalk. Artikel. Leipzig, 1837, s. 42. The copy subscribed by the theologians, and so made the original, is by Spalatin, and preserved in the Weimar archives, Seckendorf, iii. 152. Especially worthy of note
the Protestants, in view of the possibility of their being presented to the council. These articles were adopted in an assembly of the

is the Fourth Article of the Second Part, where the Protestant opinion respecting the Pope and papacy was first completely and clearly avowed: "Dass der Bapst nicht sey jure divino oder aus Gottes Wort das Haupt der ganzen Christenheit (denn das gehörēt einem allein zu, der heisst Jesus Christus), sondern allein Bischof oder Pfarrer der Kirchen zu Rom, und derjenigen, so sich williglich oder durch menschliche Creatur (i.e., civil authorities) zu ihm begeben haben, nicht unter ihm, als einem Herrn, sondern neben ihm als Bruder u. Gesellen, Christen zu sein, wie solches auch die alten Concilia u. die Zeit St. Cyprianis weisen. Jetzt aber thut kein Bischof den Bapst Bruder heissen, wie zu der Zeit, sondern mus ihn seinen allergnädigsten Herrn heissen, wenns auch ein König oder Kaiser wäre. Das wollen, sollen, u. können wir nicht auf unser Gewissen nehmen; wer es aber thun will, der thue es ohn uns. Hieraus folget, dass alle dasjenige, so der Bapst aus solcher falscher, freweiler, lästlicher angemasster Gewalt gethan u. fürgenommen hat, eitl teuffelslich Geschicht u. Geschäft gewest u. noch sey (ohn das das leibliche Regiment belangel, darin Gott auch wol durch einen Tyrannen u. Buben lässt einem Volk viel gut geschehen) zur Verderbung der ganzen heiligen christlichen Kirchen (so viel an ihm gelegen) u. zu verstören den ersten Haupt-artikel von der Erlösung Jesu Christi. Denn da stehen alle seine Bullen u. Bücher, darinnen er brulet, wie ein Löwe (als der Engel Apoc.12 bildet), dass kein Christ konne selig werden, er sei denn ihm gehorsam (before, vol. ii., p. 351, § 59, Note aa).— So es doch offenbarlich ist, dass die heil. Kirche ohn Bapst gewest zum wenigsten über fünf hundert Jahren, u. bis auf diesen Tag die griechische u. viel anderer Sprachen Kirchen noch nie unter dem Bapst gewest u. noch nicht sind. So ist, wie oft gesagt, ein Menschengeticht, das nicht geboten, ohn Not n. vergeblich, denn die heilige christliche Kirche ohn solch Haupt wol bleiben kann, u. wol besser bleiben wäre. Und ist auch das Bapstum kein Nütz in der Kirchen; denn es übet kein christlich Ampt, u. mus also die Kirche bleiben u. bestehen ohn den Bapst. Und ich setze, dass der Bapst wollte sich des begeben, dass er nicht jure divino oder aus Gottes Gebot der oberste wäre, sondern damit die Einigkeit der Christenheit wider die Rottene Ketzcreydestobasserhalten wurde, musst man ein Haupt haben, daran sich die andern alle hielt. Solches Haupt würde nun durch Menschen erwählt u. stünde in menschlicher Wahl u. Gewalt, dasselbe Haupt zu ändern, zu entsetzen, wie zu Constanzt das Concilium fast die Weise hielt mit den Bäpsten, setzten der drey ab u. wählten den vierten. Ich setze nun (sage ich), dass der Bapst und der Stuhl zu Rom solches begeben u. annehmen wol, welches doch unmöglich ist: denn er müsste sein ganz Regiment u. Stand lassen umbkehren u. zerstören mit allen seinen Rechten u. Büchern. Summa er kanns nicht thun. Denn noch wäre damit der Christenheit nichts geholfen, u. wurden vielmehr Rotten werden, denn zuvor. Denn wenn man solchem Haupt nicht müsste unterthan sein aus Gottes Befehl, sondern aus menschlichem guten Willen, würde es gar leichtlich u. balde versacht, zuletzt kein Glied behalten. Müsste auch nicht immerdar zu Rom oder anderm Orte sein, sondern wo u. in welcher Kirchen Gott einen solchen Mann hätte gegeben, der tächtig dazu wäre. O das wollt ein weiltäuflich wüst Wesen werden. Darumb kann die Kirche nimmermehr bass regiert u. erhalten werden, denn dass wir alle unter einem Haupt Christo leben, u. die Bischoffe alle gleich nach dem Ampt (ob sie wol ungleich nach den Gaben) feissig zusammenhalten in einträchtiger Lehre, Glauben, Sacramenten, Gebeten, u. Werken der Liebe, etc., wie St. Hieronymus schreibt, dass die Priester zu Alexandriā sämtlich u. in gemein die Kirchen regierten (Vol. 1. § 30, Not. 1; § 34, Not. 2), wie die Apostel auch gethan, u. hernach alle Bischoffe in der ganzen Christenheit, bis der Bapst seinen Kopf über alle erhob. Die Stück zeigt gewaltiglich, dass er der rechte Endechrist oder Widerchrist sey, der sich über u. wider Christum gesetzt u. erhöhēt hat, weil er will die Christen nicht lassen selig sein ohn seine Gewalt, welche noch nichts ist, von Gott nicht geordnet, noch geboten. Dass heisst eigentlich über Gott u. wider God sich setzen, wie St. Paulus sagt. Solches thut dennoch der Turke.
league at Smalcal, Feb., 1537 (the Smalcal Articles). But
no Tatter not, wie grosse Feinde sie der Christen sind, sondern lassen glauben an
Christum wer da will, u. nehmen leiblichen Zins u. Gehorsam von den Christen. Aber
der Bapst will nicht lassen glauben, sondern spricht: man solle ihm gehorsam sein, so
werde man selig. Das wollen wir nicht thun oder drüber sterben, in Gottes Namen.
Das kompt alles daher, dass er jure divino der oberste hat sollen heissen über die christ-
liche Kirche. Darumb hat er sich müssen Christo gleich u. über Christum setzen, sich
das Häupt, hernach einen Herrn der Kirchen, zuletzt auch der ganzen Welt u. schlecht
einen irdischen Gott (above, vol. iii., p. 64, Note 2; p. 329, Notes) rühmen lassen, bis
er auch den Engeln im Himmelreich zu gebieten sich unterstand (Comp. vol. iii.,
§ 118, Note 10). Und wenn man unterscheidet des Bapts Lehre von der heiligen
Schrift, oder sie dagegen stellet u. hält, so findet sichs, dass des Bapts Lehre, wo sie am
allerbesten ist, so ist sie aus dem kaiserlichen heidnischen Recht genommen, u. lehret
weitliche Händel u. Gerichte, wie seine Decretales zeigen. Darnach lehret sie Cer-
emonien von Kirchen, Kleidern, Speisen, Personen, u. des Kinderspiels, Larven, u. Nar-
renwerks ohn Masse. Zuletzt ist nichts, dann eitel Teufel, da er seine Lügen von Messen, Feg-
feuer, Klosterhey, eigen Werk u. Gottesdienst (welches denn das rechte Bapstthum ist)
treibt, u. wider Gott, verdampft, tödet u. plaget alle Christen, so solchen seinen
Greuel nicht über alles heben u. ehren. Darumb so wenig wir den Teufel selber für einen
Herren oder Gott anbeten können, so wenig können wir auch seinen Apostel, den Bapst
oder Endechrist, in seinem Regiment zum Häupt oder Herrn leiden. Denn Lügen u.
Mord, Leib u. Seel zu verderben ewiglich, das ist sein bästlich Regiment eigentlich.
Wie ich dasselb in vielen Büchern beweiset habe.

"An diesen vier Artikeln werden sie genüg zu verdammen haben im Concilio. Dann
sie nicht das geringste Gliedlein von der Artikl einem uns lassen können noch wollen.
Des müssen wir gewiss sein, u. uns erwagen der Hoffnung, Christus unser Herr habe
seinen Widersacher angegriffen, u. werde nachdrucken, beide mit seinem Geist u. Zu-
kunft. Amen. Denn im Concilio werden wir nicht für dem Kaiser, oder weltlicher
Oberkeit (wie zu Augspurg), der ganz ein gnädiges Ausschreiben thät u. in der Güte
lies die Sachen verhören, sondern für dem Bapst u. dem Teufel selbs werden wir da
stehen, der nichts gedenkt zu hören, sondern schlechts verdammen, morden, u. zur Ab-
götterey zu zwingen. Darum müssen wir hie nicht seine Füsse küssen, oder sagen:
ich seyd mein gnädiger Herr; sondern wie im Zacharias der Engel zum Teufel sprach:
Strafe dich Gott, Satan." Melancthon subscribed the article in the following manner:
"Ich, Philippus Melanchthon, halte diese obgestalte Artikel auch für recht u. christ-
lisch. Vom Papst aber halte ich, so er das Evangelium wolte zulassen, dass ihm um
Friedens und gemeiner Einigkeit willen derjenigen Christen, so auch unter ihm sind u.
künftig seyn möchten, seine Superiorität über die Bischofe, die er sonst hat, jure huma-
no, auch von uns zuzulassen sey." Comp. his declarations in Augsburg, above, § 5,
Note 22. The Elector remarked upon it in his answer to Luther, 7th Jan., in Secken-
dorf, iii. 162: "So wir aus guter Meinung u. um Friedens willen, wie Mag. Philippus
vgveisicht, ich einen Herrn bleiben lassen, der über uns, unsere Bischofe, Pfarrer u. Pred-
ger zu gebieten, setzten wir uns selber in die Fahr u. Beschwerung, weil er doch nicht
ruhen würde und seine Nachkommen, uns u. unser allerseits Nachkommen gänzlich zu
vertügen u. auswrteten, welches wir doch, weil uns Gott davon befreyet u. erlöst, gar
nicht bedürfen, sollte auch wohl mit unserer Klugheit (da wir einmal von seiner Ba-
yl. Gefängnuss durch Gott frey seyn worden, und uns wieder in solche Gefährlichkeit
begäben, also Gott versuchten) von Gott über uns verhänget werden, das sonsten ohne
allen Zweifel wohl bleiben wird."
still this very assembly utterly rejected the invitation to the council which was brought by the papal nuncio and the imperial vice-chancellor, Held. This vice-chancellor, hostile to the Protestants on other grounds, saw in this refusal a proof that the innovations could be stayed only by the threat of violent measures; accordingly he began negotiations with the leading Catholic estates, and succeeded in bringing them into the Christian union, or the Holy League, Nuremberg, June 10, 1538. Two leagues now stood in hostile array over against each other. Although they both declared that they were formed solely for defense, yet so great was their mutual mistrust that war was prevented only by a truce.

Though the Smalcald leaguers had been disappointed in their
prospect of alliances with France and England—with the former by the personal influence of the Emperor with Francis I., and with the latter by the theological obstinacy of Henry VIII.; yet, on the other hand, they now entered into friendly relations with Switzerland. The four cities of the Oberland, although they had for a long time been members of the league, and had also, since 1532, subscribed the Augsburg Confession, had still given occasion to new discussions by the doubts which weighed upon their
CHAP. I.—GERMAN REFORMATION. § 7. 1536.

The doctrine of the Lord's Supper. In these conferences the Swiss delegates, yielding to Luther's overpowering personal influence, had adopted a strict Lutheran formula in the Concordia Vitæbergensis, 1536. Yet Bucer still tried to conceal his weakness by explanations, to induce the Swiss to accede to this union. His

Gott befehlen." Melanchthon thereupon had a conference with Bucer at Cassel, Jan., 1535, for which Luther provided him with instructions (de Wette, iv. 570); Luther was not displeased with the result (see his Opinion, ibid., s. 588), since Bucer had plainly confessed "that the body of Christ is truly and essentially offered, received, and eaten in the Eucharist in the bread;" he did indeed wish to defer concluding the Concordia, in order to be assured of a general agreement on both sides, but he testified to his willingness to come to an agreement, both to the Augsburgers (July 20, ibid., s. 612 and 613), and in letters to Strasburg, Ulm, and Easlingen (Oct. 5, ibid., s. 636 ff.).


See Articuli Concordiae cum Explicatione Bucerí, in his Scripta Anglicana, p. 665, in Bretschneider, illi. 78. The chief difficulty was on Article III., that also the unbelievers receive the body and blood. On this he says: Omnino enim tris genera boniunm sacramenta sumere possunt. Quidam qui omnia hic contemnunt et rident, qui prorsus impii sunt, nec quicquam Domino credunt: hi nihil quam panem et vinum agnoscent et sentiunt, eoque nec amplius perciuunt, quia pervertunt verba et institutionem Domini. Alli verbi hic Domini porgiengas corpus suum credunt, eaqueidle sacramento acquiescent, ut simul rem sacramenti perciuunt, nec tamen donum hoc Deiigne perpendunt: hi ea indigentiam reos se faciunt corporeis et sanguinis Domini, quae tamen sumere volunt et sumunt, quia verba et institutionem Domini ampletuntur: non manducant autem revera, ut Augustinus dicit, h. e. non fruuntur plene hoc cibo vivifico, quem in iidentem non satis demittunt. Tertii sunt, qui non credunt tantum institutionem Domini, et accommodant se illi sacramento sumendo, sed simul viva fide omnia expendunt, considerant et ampletuntur, indeque virtute et jucunditatem hujus cibi solide perciuunt.

He had already endeavored to induce the Swiss to take part in the attempts for union; see Oswald Myconius von Kirchhofer, s. 171; Lebensgeschichte Bullingers von S. Hess, i. 185. The further negotiations on the Wittenberg Concordia; see in Kirchhofer, s. 268; S. Hess, s. 299.
public declarations about the matter were received by Luther with unwonted mildness (1537), and thus a seeming unity now took the place of the old divisions. Protestantism gained still more in Germany in consequence of the death of its two most violent opponents, Joachim I., Elector of Brandenburg († 1535), and George, Duke of Saxony († 1539). In the electorate of Brandenburg, Joachim II. immediately granted toleration to the Reformation, and joined it himself in 1539, after the Bishop of Brandenburg, Matthias von Jagow, had declared in its favor. The Elector's brother, also, Margrave John, ruler of the New-Mark, had become decidedly attached to the cause as early as 1536. In the duchy of Saxony, Duke Henry introduced the Reformation immediately after his accession. Catholic princes also conceded relig-

31 In a letter to Luther in which they declared themselves ready for union, presupposing that the Concordia was to be understood according to Bucer's declaration, and consequently as agreeing with their doctrinal views; Kirchhofer, s. 289; S. Hess, s. 259. The whole letter, in Latin, in Hospiniani Hist. Sacramentaria, ii. 151. Bucer still tried to show to Luther that the Swiss differed only in expression, not in doctrine (see the letter of Jan., 1537, in Hess, s. 290).

32 The letter of the Swiss was brought by Bucer to the Smalcauld Convention in Feb., 1537, and handed to Luther in Gotha; he could not reply at once on account of sickness, but received it in a friendly way (see Bucer's Bericht, in Hess, s. 271, and Luther's letter to J. Meyer, Burgomeister of Basel, 17th Feb., 1537, in de Wette, v. 54). The formal answer of Luther to the Swiss, first on December 1st (de Wette, v. 83):

"Nu ists wohi wahr, u. kann auch nicht anders seyn, dass solche grosse Zwiethacht nicht kann so leicht u. bald ohne Ritza u. Naben geheilet werden. Denn es werden beyde bey euch u. uns Etliche seyn, welchen solche Concordia nicht gefallig, sondern verdächtig seyn wird. Aber so wir zu beyden Thellen, die wirs mit Ernst melden, werden fleissig anhalten, wird der liebe Vater u. Gott wohl sein Gnade geben, dass es bey den Andern mit der Zeit auch zu Tôd blut, u. das trübe Wasser sich wiederrum setzet. Ist derhalben mein freundlich Bitte, E. E. wolltendazu thun n. mit Ernst verschaffen, dass bey euch u. den Euern die Schreier, so wider uns u. die Concordia plaudern, sich ihres Schreiens enthalten, u. das Volk einfältlich lehren.—Gleichwie auch wir allhier, beyde in Schriften u. Predigten, uns gar still halten u. mässigen wider die Euren zu schreien, damit wir auch nicht Ursach seyn, die Concordia zu hindern; welche wir ja von Herzen gern sehen, u. Gott gelobet, des Fechts u. Schreiens bisher gnug gewest, wo es hättte sollen etwas ausrichten."


34 In order to exclude from the succession his brother Henry, who was devoted to the Reformation, and to insure the government to his half-witted son Frederick, under a regency, George endeavored to appease the irrepressible desire of his subjects for a Reformation by a service intermediate between the old and the new; see in Seckendorf, iii. 208, the negotiations with the electoral and Hessian delegates. George Wicelius was especially busy in them; in 1581 he had gone back from the Lutheran to the Catholic
ious freedom to their subjects; the Elector Louis, in the Upper Palatinate, 1538; the Elector Albert of Mayence, in the Magdeburg and Halberstadt provinces, 1539.

The Emperor made one other attempt to effect a religious union. A conference was summoned to Spires, assembled in Hagenau, June, 1540, and actually opened in Worms, Jan. 14, 1541. The prospects were at first auspicious. The papal legate, Caspar Contarini, whose influence predominated with the Catholic conferees, was inclined, on many points, to the Protestant doctrines; other Catholic theologians manifested very pacific sentiments. When the Emperor, in April, opened a diet in Ratisbon, the conference was adjourned thither, and continued its discussions, by imperial command, upon a project for union presented in writing, the Ratisbon Interim. It resulted as before at Augsburg; they quick-

Church, but found in both great defects, and hence endeavored to bring about a middle course (see Wicel's Leben, in Strobel's Beyträgle, ii. 331, 260, by Rienäcker, in Vater's Kirchenhist. Archiv, 1825, s. 325, 386). Frederick, however, died before George; the latter died April 17, 1539. The Bishop of Misnia, also, now recommended such a half-reformation to the new Duke Henry; Julius v. Pfug and Wicel were active in projecting it, but it was not accepted; Seckendorf, iii. 315. Henry provided at once for an extensive Church visitation, by which the Reformation was to be generally introduced. The Instructions of the visitors are in Chr. F. Weisse, Museen der sächs. Geschichte, Bd. i. (Leipzig, 1794) s. 240. Cf. K. G. Hofmann's Ausführli. Reformationshistorie der Stadt u. Universität Leipzig. Leipzig, 1793. 8. Hering, Gesch. der 1589, im Markgrafth. Meissen u. dem thüring. Kreise erfolgten Einführung der Reformation. Leipzig, 1889. Winer De Facultatis theol. evanglicae in Universitate Lipsiensis Originibus (Leipsic programme for the centennial celebration, 1839).


15 Cf. Joh. Cochlaus, then Domherr in Breslau, Gutachten über die Augsburgische Confession u. die Augsburgischen Vergleichshandlungen, zu dem Hagenauer Convent, in Seckendorf, iii. 284, and in Raynaldus, 1540, No. 49.


17 In the different collections of the acta; in Bretschneider, iv. 190; besides in the Lata original, in J. E. Bleck's Dreyfaches Interim. Leipzig, 1721. 8., s. 300. The Emperor handed this writing to the estates as "einen schriftlichen Begriff, durch etliche gelehrte u. gottesdienstliche Personen, wie Ihre Maj. bericht worden ist, zusammengetra-
ly came together on merely speculative formulas; but as soon as

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gen u. Ihrer Maj. behandelt" (Walch, xvii. 858); Granvella communicated it to the pa-

apal legate as librum conjunctum a piis doctisque viris in Belgio (Pallavicini Hist. Conc.
Trid., iv. 14, 4). That the Cologne theologian, John Gropper, was the author is declared by
Melnachthon (Ep. ad Georgium Anhalt., in Bretschneider, iv. 328), Eck (Strobels
Beytr., ii. 842), and the papal legate, Contarenus (Pallavicini l. c.). Besides him, Bucer
and Wigell have also been held to be the authors. The truth in the matter is proba-

bly to be found in Melancthon's Report to the Elector, ed. Bretschneider, iv. 577 (cf.
Ilgen's Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol., ii. i. 297). The book was written by Gropper, with
the help of a young statesman, Gerhard Volckruck, employed under Granvella; it was
then communicated to Bucer and Capito, and much altered, especially from the sugges-
tions of the former; it was also shown to the papal legate, Contarenus, who likewise
made many changes (see the Chancellor Burchard's letter to the Elector of Saxony,
13th May, in Bretschneider, iv. 290; Pallavicini l. c.). Thereupon it was sent to the
Elector of Brandenburg and the Landgrave of Hesse, who were gained for the project
of union. The Elector sent it to Luther for his opinion, with a letter, dated 4th Febr.
(Bretschneider, iv. 52; cf. Neudecker's mrkw. Actenstücke, i. 249). He declared him-
self not wholly averse, but thought that the Catholic side could not accede to these pro-
positions, and that, besides, there was much which the Protestants should not accept.
Thereupon the Elector delivered the book to the Emperor, to be laid at the basis of the
negotiations for union. Until then it had been kept strictly secret.

42 The Emperor named, as the Catholic theologians in the conference, Jul. von Pfug,
John Gropper, and John Eck; the Protestants, Melancthon, Bucer, and John Pistorius;
the presidents were the Palgrave Frederick and Granvella. The conference began 27th
April: to the 6th May they compared the articles (see Ilgen's Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol.,
ii. i. 304) De conditione hominis ante Iapsum, De libero arbitrio, De originali peccato,
and De justificatione hominis. In the extant editions of the Interim these articles are
printed as they were adopted in the conference (see Bucer's Acts, in Hortleder, i. i. cap.
57, No. 40 ff.). The extent to which the Catholics yielded is particularly seen in the
article De justifications.—Firma itaque est et sana doctrina, per fidem vivam et efficac-
em justificari peccatores. Nam per illam Deo grati et accepti sumus propter Chris-
tum. Vocamus autem fidem vivam motum Spiritus sancti, quo vere poenitentes veteris
vitae, eriguntur ad Deum, et vere apprehendunt misericordiam in Christo promissam, ut
jam vere sentiant, quod remissionem peccatorum et reconciliationem propter meritor
Christi, gratuita Dei bonitate accepimus, etiamsi charitas sanans voluntatem, ut voluntas
sanata, quemadmodum D. Augustinus ait, incipiat implere legem.—Eti quia autem et quia
justificantur, justitiam accipit et habet per Christum etiam inhaerentem,—quare sa-
pares justificantur etiam pro eo, quod est inhaerentem justitiam accipere, usurparunt: ta-
men anima fidelis huic non inimitatur, sed soli justitiae Christi nobis donatae, sine qua
omnino nullas est nec esse potest justitia. Et sic fide in Christum justificantur, seu re-
tamur justi, i. e. accepti, per ipsius merita, non propter nostram dignitatem aut opera.
Et propter inhaerentem justitiam eo justi dicitur, quia quae justa sunt operamur, justa
illud Johannis: qui facit justitiam, justus est.—Item Christiano cuique debet esse com-
pertum, non in hoc datum esse nobis hanc gratiam, et hanc regenerationem, ut in eo
gradu innovationis nostra, quem primum naci sumus, otioe consistamus, sed cresca-
mus in ipsum per omnia, qui est caput. Ideoque docendus est populus, ut det operam
huic augmento, quod quidem fit per bona opera, et interna et externa, a Deo mandata
e et commendata, quibus Deus promisit propter Christum in pluribus locis Evangelii clare
et manifeste mercedem.—Ideoque quamvis haereditas vitae eternae propter promissionem
debeatur renesis, etiam cum primum in Christum renatis sunt; nihilominus reddit
Deus etiam bonis operibus mercede, non secundum substantiam operum, neque secun-
dum quod sunt a nobis, sed quatenus in se stant, et sunt a Spiritu Sancto, qui habitation
in nobis, concurrente libere arbitrio, tanquam partialiter agente.—Qui autem dicunt, sola
fide justificantur, simul tradere debent doctrinam de poenitentia, de timore Dei, de judi-
they came upon the external constitution and ordinances that related to the authority of the Church, the division remained.43 Meanwhile these negotiations for peace were suspected by both parties: Catholic princes declared they could not accept the four articles as compared;44 the Protestants feared deception and craft.


44 The dukes of Bavaria were opposed to the Conference from the beginning, and demanded that they should resort to arms; comp. the reports of a Roman agent, Claudius, in Ratibon, to Cardinal Farnese, 4th March, 1541 (Raynald., 1541, No. 8): Nudius tertius Duces Bavariae convenisse ad Caesarem, illique repetito Lutheranismi principio, in memoriam revocasse omnes errores, qui admissi fuerant in non excedenda haeresi, nec tenenda vera religionem, qua labefactata pariter Caesareae Majestatis Imperique auctoris labefactaretur: exposuerequantum studiosaemper paratissimi fuerint—ad vitem ipsam periculos objiciendam pro divino cultu asserendo (!): ac saepius illud inculcarunt, nimirum Caesarisaeae Majestatis elementia indulgentiaque, quam ipsi etiam Lutherani neglectintiae et inertiae vitio tribuebant, rem in praesens discrimen adductam fuisse. Of the 4th April (I. c. No. 4): Duces Bavariae in Comitia in id incubuisse, ut bellum Lutheranum indiceretur: sed Caesarem ipsi ac Moguntino Cardinali aperto de nouitiasse, sc ab ibi consilli omnino alienum, suscipere non bellum, cum ab aerei imperatus sit, ac si opibus instructus esset, noule eas in Germania sine ulla utilitate profundere, sed expertum, quantas operes excitantur pro gerendo bello: expeditionem tam difficilissimam futuram, cum tam Catholicam quam Lutheranam Germaniam, excite in Turcica et Gallica auxilia: parta etiam de Lutheranis victorius non tam eorum animas in viam salutis traducere in quem, atque in omnem gerendam bellam pro religione consilium abjecisse. Of the 6th April (I. c. No. 7): Significavit VI Aprilis Cardinali Farnesio Claudius Interluntius, Ducibus Bavariae maxime spectante concordiae cum Lutheranis actionem, ne religionis causa prodatur, atque Granvallanum tum ab ipsis, tum a Moguntino in suspicione adduci, nec spem bonam ex ipsis consilli iterum affulgere. Cf. Winter's Gesch. der evangel. Lehre in Baiern, ii. 80, 95. After the conference had been broken off, May 22, the Catholic estates, chiefly the bishops, caused a violent account of the matter, in opposition to the union document and to the colloquy, to be drawn up, addressed to the Emperor (in Spalatin, s. 592); this, however, was kept back, and a milder one presented, July 2 (Bucer's Acta, in Hortleder, i. 1, cap. 37, No. 298), which proposed that the Emperor, with the papal legates, should examine the work of the collocutors, to see if there was any thing in it against the Catholic doctrine. Eck was particularly busy infusing distrust into the Catholic estates; at their meeting he declared that he had never been pleased with "this insipid book," "in which he had found so many errors and defects." Both the other Catholic collocutors complained of him for this, and showed that Eck had assented to all the articles compared; and that they had also received from the Emperor a testimonial in praise of the regularity of their procedure (see Bucer, in Hortleder, u. s., No. 673).—From the Catholic party reports also went to Rome, arousing anxiety: e. g., 7th June, in Raynaldus, 1541, No. 25: video maximam pusillanimitatem et stupiditatem in processu hujus negotii: nunc nihil attentatur, quod possit adversariorum temeraria audaciam deprimere, sed contras, omnia quae eis placet et ad suam rem fiant fieri permittantur et conceduntur. Primo, in hoc colloquio (sicut prolixissi scripsi Rev. Cardinali Farnesio) habuerunt pessimus suas sectas et pertinacitores, tam collocutores quam assistentes, et ex nostris assistentes fuere facti fuerunt haereticis, ii Phlugius et Gropperus, qui male consenserunt, hominem sola fide justificari, de quorum lapsu Bucer us impie triumphavit;—ex colloquentibus
in respect to them. And so the conference was brought to an end, without success, on the 23d of May. The Emperor, in order to obtain quick help against the Turks, was compelled, in the final decree of the diet, July 29, 1541, to renew the Peace of Nuremberg, with an additional provision relieving the Protestants on the points complained of about the operation of the imperial courts. A declaration was also appended to satisfy them on other

unus duntaxat peritus Theologus (Eck) adhibitus restitit: judices vero fuere laici contra omne jus in magnum praebijudicium. The King of France, who, for political reasons, tried to thwart every attempt at union in Germany, also complained about the concessions of the legate in Ratisbon (Barke Fürsten u. Völker, ii. 164). And so the legate now received an order to accept no formulas that were not indubitably Catholic (ibid., s. 167); and he now advised, nihil amplius de reliquis omnibus agendum, sed remittenda Sommo Pontifici, et Apostolicae Sedi (Raynald., 1541, No. 14, 15).

The Elector of Saxony had from the first been very much discontented that they had made any other book than the Augsburg Confession the basis of negotiation; and he mistrusted the Elector of Brandenburg, the Landgrave, and Bucer. Then, too, he was displeased with the article on justification, as agreed upon, because it was obscure and ambiguous (Sckendorf, iii. 856). Luther strengthened him in this (de Wette, v. 853): "E. K. F. G. haben recht geurtheilt, dass die Note der Vergleichung ein weithäftig u. gedickt Ding ist." The Elector now sent Amsdorf to Ratisbon to watch Melanchthon, and commanded the latter to yield nothing of Luther's doctrine, and to make all the results conditional upon the assent of the estates (Sckendorf, iii. 856, 860). However, these provisions were needless; for the union came to a dead stop on the subsequent articles about the Church, the Lord's Supper, etc. The Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, in conjunction with other Protestant estates, now sent an imposing embassy to Luther (Princes John and George of Anhalt, Matthias von Schenulten, and Alex. Alesius) to engage him in the projected union (cf. Bretschneider, in Ilgen's Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theologie, ii. i. 298; their representations in Walch, xvii. 846). Luther replied, 12th June (ibid., s. 848; de Wette, v. 866), that it was impossible to effect a union with the other party: "Denn ob es gleich Kais. Maj. aufs allerhöchst u. gnädigst ernst u. gut meinet, so ist doch jenem Theil nicht Ernst mit Gott u. nach der Wahrheit vertragen zu werden; wollen aber Kais. Maj. vielleicht also ein Nasen drehen. Denn wo es Ernst wäre, so würden sie die andern zehn Artikel nicht lassen unverglichen seyn, als die wohl wissen u. verstehen, dass sie alle zehn gewaltig u. in bona consequentia aus den vier verglichenen, sonderlich aus dem Artikel der Justification, verdampt sind. —Wo aber Kais. Maj. anschriebe u. verschüe, dass die vier Artikel durchaus rein u. klar geprägt, u. für christlich gehalten werden;" if these four articles were thus agreed upon and preached the others could remain for the present without a definite decision upon them; for by these four the poison would be extracted from the rest, and they would fall to pieces of themselves.

The Emperor proposed to the estates, July 12 (Walch, xvii. 913; Melanch. Epist., ed. Bretschneider, lv. 510), to adopt the four articles as agreed upon, and to defer the rest to the council; the Catholic princes refused (Bretschneider, lv. 826), the Protestants were ready to accept if the other party would bind itself thereto (I. c. p. 991); but at the same time they declared at length, in a document drawn up by Melanchthon, July 23 (Walch, xvii. 868), that they accepted those articles only in the sense in which they were laid down in the Augsburg Confession and Apology.

In Walch, xvii. 962. The action of the colloquy was to be referred to a common Christian council, to be held in Germany, and soon summoned. The Protesting party were not to strive about and against the articles that had been compared. "Darauf haben wir neben Päeblicher Heiligkeits Legaten allen geistlichen Prälaten aufgelegt u.
er matters where there was doubt. And thus, at this diet, the Reformation had manifestly made important progress toward a formal recognition.

befohlen,—unter ihnen u. den Ihren, so ihnen unterworfen seyn, eine christliche Ordnung u. Reformations vorzunehmen u. aufzurichten, die zu guter, gebührlicher u. heilsamer Administration der Kirchen förderlich und dienlich sey: auch über solcher Ordnung u. Reformations ernstlich u. strenglich zu halten, u. sich daran nichts irren noch verhindern lassen" (comp. the admonitory writing of the legate Contareni about the Reformation, to the prelates, in Raynal., 1541, No. 29), "und seynd der Zuversicht, solche Ordnung u. Reformations sollte zu endlicher christlicher Vergleichung der streitigen Religion eine Vorbereitung, u. derselben sonder schwerlich noch dienlich seyn." The truce of Nuremberg was to be maintained till the end of a general council or a national congress, "or so der keins einen seines Fortgang erreicht, auf nachstzündigen Reichstag." "Und was betrifft die Acten und Processe, so bisher in Religion und andern geschehen, an unserm Cammergericht anhangiggemacht und ergangene seyn sollen oder nicht: dieselben Acten u. Process wollen wir zu Erhaltung Friedens, Ruhe, u. Einigkeit im heil. Reich Deutscher Nation, u. aus unser Kaiserlichen Macht u. Vollkommenheit, so lang bis das gemeine oder Nationalconcilium, oder in dieser Sachen eine gemeine Reichsversammlung, wie obsteht, gehalten wird, suspendirt u. eingestellt haben."

In Walch, xvii. 999. For example, it was decreed that the clergy of the Augsburg Confession should not be deprived of their revenues any more than the Catholics; that, although the adherents of the Augsburg Confession were not to draw away the subjects of any Catholic state, yet, "if any one wished to adopt their religion, he should not be deprived of the liberty;" that the officers of the imperial court should be sworn to observe this decree and declaration; and that the Augsburg decree, so far as religion was concerned, should not be enforced; that persons presented for office in these courts should not be refused because they belonged to the Augsburg Confession, and that no one should be removed for this cause.

The preponderance of the Protestants in Germany was so decisive that the Elector of Mayence, at the diet, strongly dissuaded the Pope, through the legate, from having the council held in this country; see Raynal., 1541, No. 27: nequaquam convenire, ut Concilium generale celebretur in Germania ob diminutionem auctoritatis sedis Apostolicae, et totius ecclesiastici status. Ne etiam pro arbitrio Protestantum omnia flant, et quia virus haereticum in ipsa Germania viget.—Item in Germania animosiores et obstinati magis in eorum persuersitate erunt Protestantes.—Cogere etiam poterunt Catholicos astutiaque et artibus malia domare eosdem, vel etiam ipsum Caesarum pro eorum more.—Etiam in ipso Concilio, si in Germania fieret, tum per malas practicas,—tum etiam per publicas conciones, si licebit, alloquin in aliis privatis, a quo non cessabunt sub praetextu, verbum Domini non esse celandum,—studebunt virus suum spargere, et sectas ampliare.—Propter a considerandum est, quod, si Concilium fieret in Germania, et Caesar pro quorumdam arbitrio ad hoc inducercetur, cogercetur Sanctitas Pontificis forsan annuere quasdam, quae non essent concedenda, quinimo pro Caesaris jussu urgeri possit inique, ut haec sua Sanctitis mellius perpendere poterit.—Nequaquam etiam convenit, ut dimissio seu suspensio generali Concilio celebretur Nationale Germanicum, sicut imperialis dieta, quia tunc vere dubitandum est de schiame, et Catholici quidam prolabrentur ad Protestantos, caeterique cogercetur deficere, aut suprimere cut.
While the Emperor Charles was weakened by a second unfortunate campaign against Algiers (October and November, 1541), and was right afterward entangled in a new conflict with France, King Ferdinand, who needed the aid of the Protestants in his unfortunate Turkish war, was compelled, at a diet in Spires, February, 1542, to concede a prolongation of the religious peace. Protestantism was constantly gaining new adherents, and its preponderance in Germany became more apparent. When the episcopal chair of Naumburg became vacant, Jan. 6, 1541, and Julius von Pflug was elected to it by the cathedral chapter in the greatest haste, without the customary reference to the Elector of Saxony, the Elector annulled the choice, and raised Nicholas von Amsdorf to the bishopric, Jan. 1542, but assumed for himself the secular government of the see. When Duke Henry of Brunswick was about to carry into execution the ban of the imperial court against Goslar, without regard to the imperial suspension of it, and even proceeded to make war upon the city of Brunswick, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse came suddenly to the aid of the two allied cities, took possession of the duchy, July, 1542, and declared that they would only give it up to the sons

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1 Schmidt's Gesch. der Deutschen, Buch viii. cap. 29, 81. Raumer's Gesch. Europas seit d. 16ten Jahrh. i. 497.
2 Schmidt, ubi supra.
3 On the proceedings of this diet, see Beckendorf, iii. 882; Schmidt, Buch viii. cap. 80; the final decree in Walch, xvii. 1004 (especially 1057).
4 Documents in Hortleder, Th. 1, Buch v. cap. 11: among these, at first, the proof that the Saxon princes were princes of the land and hereditary protectors of the three Saxon bishoprics; Spalatin's Annalen, s. 655; Beckendorf, i. 387. A contemporaneous report on the election introduction into the see of Nicholas v. Amsdorf, from the archives of the city of Naumburg, is in Förstemann's Neue Mittheilungen des thüringisch. sächsischen Vereins, Bd. 2, Heft 2 (Halle, 1835), s. 155.
5 The outlawry of Goslar was in the imperial declaration about the decree of the Diet of Ratisbon (§ 7, Note 48), in a special article appended.
6 The earlier documents and writings exchanged between the two parties, which soon assumed a very rude and passionate tone, see in Hortleder, Th. i. Buch iv. cap. 1–34. Among them belongs Luther's Writing against Hans Worst, 1541, in Walch, xvii. 1645 (this title was given because Henry, in a writing against the Elector, had said that Luther had called the Elector Hanswursf). On the campaign, documents in Hortleder, ibid., cap. 35 ff. Cf. Spalatin's Annalen, s. 691–64, 672–80; Rommel's Philipp d. Grosm., i. 461; ii. 447.
of the Duke; they also introduced the Reformation there, and renounced obedience to the imperial court when it took the part of the expelled Duke. At the same time the cities of Ratisbon and Hildesheim, and the Palgrave Otto Henry of Neuburg, declared openly for the Reformation; in Cleves it was also favored by Duke William, and spread with rapid strides. Even its most violent opponents and persecutors, King Ferdinand and the Duke of Bavaria, had the mortification of being asked by their landed proprietors to concede freedom of conscience; and they were thus forced to recognize the fact that, in spite of their persecutions, the Reformation had struck its roots deep among their subjects. The adhesion of clerical princes also appeared about to become of decisive influence in favor of the Reformation. The Elector of Cologne, Hermann, Count of Wied, was at first hostile to Protestantism; then, yielding in part, he endeavored to remove ecclesiastical abuses by a provincial council in Cologne; but after the religious conferences of Worms and Ratisbon he became wholly decided for the Reformation, and invited Bucer, in 1542,

10 When the neighboring Brunswick had fallen into Protestant hands. Here, too, Bugenhagen was at the head of the clergy who introduced the Reform. The Church constitution, 1544, by Anton. Corvins; Bugenhagen, however, had a share in it; Spalatin's Annalen, s. 681; Hamelmann Opp. General. Historica de Westphalia, p. 397; Seckendorf, iii. 397; Schlegel's Kirchen- u. Reformationsgesch. v. Nord-Deutschland u. den Hannov. Staaten, ii. 197.
11 By an edict of 22d June, 1542. Neuburg church order of 1543. Seckendorf, iii. 396. Struven's pfälzische Kirchenhistorie, s. 29.
13 Petition of the estates of Lower Austria at the Diet of Prague, 18th Dec., 1541, Ferdinand's answer, and the reply of the estates; in Spalatin's Annalen, s. 689; Rau- pack's Evangel. Oesterreich, i. 36; Beilagen, s. 75. Cf. Raupack von den Schicksalen der Evangel. Luth. Religion in Steyermark, Kärnten, u. Crain, in Winckler's Anecdota Hist. Ecclesiastica Novantiqua, 8tes n. 9tes Stück, s. 841.
14 Spalatin's Annalen, s. 683.
15 On him and his Reformation, see Seckendorf, iii. 485; Berg's Reformationsgesch. der Länder Jülich, Cleve, Berg, s. 64 ff; Reck's Gesch. der gräf. u. fürstl. Häuser Isen- burg, Runkel, Wied. Weimar, 1825, 4., s. 154 ff.
16 Canones provincialis concilii Coloniensis sub Rev. in Christo patre Hermanno celebratum anno 1536. Colon., 1588, fol., drawn up by Gropper.
and Melancthon, in 1543, with other Protestant theologians, to aid him in introducing it. The Reforming Constitution issued by him met with great sympathy in the principality; but the cathedral chapter and the clergy of the city of Cologne pronounced against it with great violence, and made complaint to Pope and Emperor. Following Hermann's example, the Bishop of Münster, Francis, Count of Waldeck, also began to attach himself to the Reformation, 1542. Less impression was made by another instance: after the death of the Catholic Bishop of Merseburg, whose diocese was already very devoted to the Reformation, the Protestant prince, August of Saxony, brother of Duke Maurice, was elected bishop, and Prince George of Anhalt was attached to him as clerical administrator of the diocese, 1544.

The Catholic estates, sharply wounded by this progress of Protestantism, had long prevented the confirmation by the diet of the imperial declaration in the decree of Ratisbon; but this, too, was gained by the Protestants, after they had acceded to the declaration of war against France by the empire, in the imperial decree of the Diet of Spires, June, 1544.  

18 "Von Gottes Genaden unser, Hermanns Erzbischofs zu Köln u. Churf. einfältiges Bedenken, worauf eine christliche in dem Wort Gottes gegründete Reformation an Lehr, Brauch der heil. Sacramente, etc., bis auf eines freien—Concilli—Verbesserung, bey denen, so unserer Seelsorge beföhlen, anzurichten seye." Bonn, 1543, fbl. The book was written by Bucer, Melancthon and others being consulted. The section on the Lord's Supper says nothing of the essential presence of the body of Christ. It reads, "die Gemeinschaft des Leibs u. Blutes unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, bey welcher Gemeinschaft wir sein Gedächtnus halten sollen,—uff dass wir im Glauben an ihn gestarket, und gänzlicher in ihm bleiben u. leben, u. er in uns.—Und diweill diese Uebergebung u. Entpf Shahung des Leibs u. Blutes Christi unsers Herren ein himlich Werk, u. Handel des Glaubens ist, sollen die Leut alle fleischliche Gedanken in dieser Geheimnus ausschlagen, u. s. w." Luther was, on this account, much dissatisfied with this work; see his letter to Brück (de Wette, v. 708): "Es treibt lange viel Geschwätz vom Nutz, Frucht, u. Ehre des Sacraments, aber von der Substanz mummelt es, dass man nicht soll vernehmen, was er darvon halte in aller Masse.—Summa das Buch ist den Schwärmen nicht allein leidlich, sondern auch tröstlich, vielmehr für ihre Lehre, als für unsere. Darum hab ich sein satt, u. bin über die Massen unlustig darauf.—Und ist auch ohne das, wie der Bischof (Amsdorf) zeigt, alles und alles zu lang u. gross Gewäsche, dass ich das Klappermanl, den Bucer, hier wohl spüre." Amsdorf sent in a criticism on the book, which excited Luther still more; Strobel's Neue Beytr., v. 285.
19 The controversy, see in Strobel, ubi supra, s. 800 ff.
20 Spalatin's Annaalen, s. 682. In the year 1543 he solicited admission into the Smalcald league, Seckendorf, iii. 418; and in 1544 he made earnest attempts to introduce the Reform, l. c. p. 518.
21 Seckendorf, iii. 497.
22 The Protestants at the diet demanded a continuance of peace, and equal rights with
But this was the highest point which they reached. The Emperor, who was now able to carry on the war with France with new efficiency, forced his old opponent Francis to make the Peace of Crespy;\(^{23}\) Sept. 18, 1544, and now at length had his hands free, so that he could address himself with earnestness to the ecclesiastical divisions in Germany. The Protestants could no longer look for protection from the accidental posture of affairs, but only from their own force. Unhappily this power had for a long time been enfeebled by divisions. Among the Smalcald leaguers, the cities complained of the arbitrary measures of the princes, in particular of the Elector and Landgrave;\(^{24}\) Duke Maurice of Saxony came into hostility with the Elector, and abandoned the league;\(^{25}\) 1542; the

the other estates. Negotiations with the Emperor, see Schmidt’s Gesch. d. Deutschen, Buch viii. cap. 83. The final decree, in Walch, xvii. 1198. In this the Emperor at the same time promises, since the holding of the council is very uncertain, to call immediately “ einen andern gemeinen Reichstag, vornehmlich von der streitigen Religion u. was derselben anhangt;" “ auch mittlerweil durch gelehrte, gute, chr. u. friedliebende Personen eine christliche Reformation verfassen zu lassen. Gleichgestaltet mögen die Stände durch die Ihren auch thun, und solch aller Theil Bedenken alsdann gemeinen Ständen vorlegen, und mit ihnen auf freundliche u. christliche Vergleichung handeln, wie u. welchermassen es in den streitigen Artikeln der Religion bis zu wirklicher Erlangung u. Vollziehung eines Generalconcilii, wie obst, im heil. Reich Deutscher Nation gehalten, u. dadurch die schwere eingerissene Missbräuche gebessert, u. die nachtheilige Trennung u. Spaltung der Religion, auch der Stände daraus erfolgtes Miss—trauen, Widerwill, u. Unfreundschaft geringt—werde.” The Pope reproached the Emperor for this in a letter, 24th Aug., 1544 (Pallavicini, v. 6): Nos vero, illi, cum a te indigna quaedam decretain Conventu Spirensi ex ipsisactisanimadverterimus, indignioravero designate esse,—nolumus sane praeinstrumenter, quin te, a Deo nobishonore ct amore Primogeniti commendatum, his nostris literis de tantotuoet Ecclesiae periculo admoneremus. The Emperor had transgressed the rule, ut, quoties de his quae ad religionem pertinere discretionem, ad sedem Apostolicam judicium referat, nihil illi inconsultat statutum. In Spires much had been concluded, quae maxime et pietaem ladeant, et omnem legitim ordinem confundunt. Nam quod laicos de rebus spiritualibus judicare vis posse (at a diet, should the council not be held), neque laicos modo, sed nullo discrimine laicos, et damnatarum haeresum assertores; quod de bonis ecclesiasticis, et de eorum futuris controversiis statuis; quod eos, qui extra Ecclesiam sunt, et per editum tuum pridem damnati, honoribus pristinis in judiciis ac tribunalibus restituis;—quid tandem horum cum divinis institutionibus ac legibus—convenit? cat. Still more violent is another letter, not sent, in Raynald., 1544, No. 7.

\(^{22}\) The documents in Dumont Corps Universel Diplomatique, iv. ii. 279. Here it is declared again, que cette dite paix se fait et fonde pour le service de Dieu notre souverain Créateur, reduction de notre sainte foi et Religion en union chretienne, and both parties pledge themselves to do every thing for procurer d’achemin et conduire ladite réunion.

\(^{24}\) As early as 1540 the lukewarmness was so great that the Elector reassumed the lead only after long delay, and only for a year; Seckendorf, iii. 300. In the congress at Smalcald, 1543, the cities complained of the princes, and demanded that the embassadors of princes should be released from their oath to their lords, and be sworn as counsellors of the league; ibid., p. 418. They were displeased with the expedition against Brunswick; ibid., p. 429. Cf. in general, p. 570.

\(^{23}\) Duke Henry died Aug. 18, 1541; Maurice abandoned the league 21st Jan., 1542,
Concordia with the Swiss came to an end when Luther renewed the opposition to their doctrine of the Lord's Supper, 1544; and though the Elector Frederick, of the Palatinate, joined the Reformation in 1545, yet, following the example of the Elector of Brandenburg, he did not join the league.

The Pope now issued his summons for the council, so long announced, to meet at Trent in March, 1545; but at the Diet of Worms, March, 1545, the Protestants refused to take part in it, since it was called by the Pope, and demanded that peace should not be made to depend on their participation in this council. But pledged himself ready to defend the religion in future as in the past; Seekendorf, iii. 371. The Landgrave, by desire of the confederates, repeatedly tried to induce him to join them again (ibid., p. 419), but received the reply that the Duke avoided the league that he might not be entangled in matters which did not concern the faith; ibid., p. 428. His hostility with the Elector was much increased by the controversy about the sovereignty of the city of Wurzen, belonging to the bishopric of Münster. Both parties were arrayed in arms against each other in April, 1542; Luther, in a violent letter, April 7, demanded peace (de Wette, v. 456); the Landgrave speedily coming, acted as mediator; Rommel's Philipp d. Grossm., i. 459; ii. 441.

Luther took for granted that the Swiss, in consequence of the Concordia, would give up their Zwingle and Oecolampadius, and therefore continued, without scruple, to attack these men for their errors (so in 1539, " Von den Concilien u. Kirchen," Walch, xvi. 2730; in 1541, "Vermahnung zum Gebet wider d. Türken," Walch, xx. 2742), undeterred by Bullinger's representations; see Bullinger's Lebensgesch., by Hess, i. 362, 382. Then Luther denounced all fellowship with the Zürichers, in a letter to the bookseller, Christopher Froeschauer, of Zürich, who had sent him the Zürich Bible. This letter was written Aug. 81, 1543 (de Wette, v. 587). He was still more aroused by the publication of Zwingle's works, edited by Rud. Walther, 1548, prefaced with a defense of his views; and he now wrote his "Kurze Bekenntniss vom Abendmahl," 1544 (Walch, xx. 2196) in which Zwingle and Oecolampadius were assailed in the most violent fashion as murderers of souls and heretics: see Bullinger's Leben, by Hess, i. 430.

Seekendorf, iii. 616. Struven's Pfälzische Kirchenhistorie, s. 82. In the negotiations on the matter, in Frankfort, Jan., 1546, he sought delay, that he might advise with his estates; Seekendorf, iii. 617. When matters at once became more earnest he drew back wholly.


Sleidanus, lib. xvi., ed. Am Ende, ii. 373. Seekendorf, iii. 543. The Protestants declared (Sleidanus, p. 377), religioni datam quidem esse pacem adusque Concilium, se vero non agnoscecre Concilium hoc Tridentinum pro legito, quale sit in Imperii comitibus promissum: et cur non agnoscant, jam ante aspe demonstrasse: pacem igitur sibi necessarium esse, quae non sit astricta Concilii pontifici, sed quae locum habeat, donec de re tota pie ueret et christianae transactum: et quia pax vel constitnive par est, donec non defutura, quo minus ele decretum sit, qud in eo fieri oporteat, non se defuturum, nec se decretum satisfiat: haec ergo duo capita si decidantur, non se recusare belli Turcici deliberationem. To justify their rejection of the council the Saxon embassadors, by order of the Elector, distributed among the imperial estates Luther's work, written in 1539, " Von d. Concilii u. Kirchen" (Walch, xvi. 2615). But very soon after Luther's book, just published, "Wider das Pabstthum zu Rom, vom Teufel gestift" (Walch, xvii. 1278), was also circulated in the diet, and embittered the Catholics; Seekendorf, iii. 556. Thereupon,
Seemingly yielding, the Emperor made proclamation, in the final decree, Aug. 4, 1545,\textsuperscript{31} that there would be new negotiations for compromise at the next diet. Manifestly, the only object in view was to gain time; the Emperor needed this, that he might strike a surer blow;\textsuperscript{32} and the Protestants, by their assent, only proclaimed their conscious weakness from internal divisions. The Landgrave started the promising project of a closer alliance between the two Saxonies and Hesse, to take the place of the ineffectual Smalcald league; but the proposal was wrecked by the hostility of the Elector to Duke Maurice.\textsuperscript{33}

The religious conference promised by the Emperor was opened at Ratisbon, Jan. 27, 1546, under far more unfavorable circum-

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\textsuperscript{31} Walch, xvii. 1464. According to the demand of the Emperor in the decree of the imperial Diet of Spires (Note 22), the Elector caused a project for Reformation to be drawn up by Melancthon; this was also approved by the Saxon and Hessian divines (Wittenbergische Reformation, in Cyprian's Reformations-Urkunden, ii. 410; Melancth. Opp., ed. Bretschneider, v. 578). In this their old rights were conceded to the bishops, provided they were attached to the pure doctrine. At the present Council of Worms, however, where this Reformation was desired by Granvella, Burkhard, Chancellor of Electoral Saxony, only ventured to communicate a portion of the project, omitting what was said of the restoration of the episcopal authority; Seckendorf, iii. 555. Bucer had handed in another project to the Elector; extracts in Seckendorf, iii. 559. On the other hand, the Emperor himself commissioned Valentin v. Teutleben to write out a project for Reform, and probably communicated it to this diet; extracts in Seckendorf, iii. 547.
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\textsuperscript{32} The papal legate, Alexander Farnese, at first had a cold reception from the Emperor at Worms (Pallavicini, lib. v. cap. 12). However, in the course of the diet the Emperor approached him more and more, and Farnese departed, the beginning of July, with the assurance, Caesarem expeditioni catholici foederis intentum (i. c. cap. 18, § 4). Immediately thereupon Andelot was sent to Rome by the Emperor. He had to address the Pope thus (i. c. cap. 14), per reliquos ejus annis menses—videri Carolo armis Protestantis inferri non posse, sed suam operam in annum proximum offere.\textemdash; Hac admissa mora cupere se interim, ne Synodus inchoaretur, aut, ubi ea mora Pontificii non probaretur, duob postulare, alterum, ut, antequam aperiretur, Caesar communisfetet, quo posset illico Wormatia discedere et molestia Lutherorum quorimoniis se subdure, alterum, ut abstineret eo tempore Synodus a dogmatum decisione, quae dum haereticos laisseret, ad ultione extimularet, sed tantum generalibus quibudam atque novis disciplinae legibus edendis saepe superetur. Posse nihilominus contingere, ut Protestanteres, etiam de illis haberet ratio ad Concilii initia, fururo percipi, in Catholico debeccharentur: proinde opus esse, praeedium aliquod, si quid accidenter, paratum habere. \textit{Quo eos lactaret, se a Pontificio possescere, ut per eum sibi fas esset, in exitu comitiorum ipsius colloquium et aliquum conventum indulgere per hiemem habendum, in quo spondere se Pontifici haud quidquam noxium permisserum orthodoxae religioni ac Pontificiae auctoritati.}
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\textsuperscript{33} Seckendorf, iii. 570. Rommel's Philipp der Grossmuthige, i. 520; ii. 480.
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stances than the earlier ones. For, as the Council of Trent had been already opened in Dec., 1545, and addressed itself forthwith to deciding about the Protestant doctrines, the Catholic members of the colloquy feared that any concessions would bring down upon themselves the same anathemas as the Protestants. Hence they delayed receiving the articles that had been previously debated; and the debate on the doctrine of justification at once proved that they could here never come to an agreement. The Emperor now issued the mandate, that the colloquist should take oath to keep silence about the debate, even toward their princes. It must have been foreseen that the Protestant party could not accede to this condition; and it seemed as if the Emperor wished in this way to cast upon the Protestants the apparent blame of nullifying this new attempt for peace. The Protestant members of the colloquy took their departure, and all pacific measures for union seemed to be exhausted.

During this colloquy Luther died at Eisleben, Feb. 18, 1546. In his last years he had endured many sufferings; and the divine favor now took him away from the terrors of that religious war which was inevitably drawing on.

The Protestants were to be compelled to submit to the council. As they delayed, and would not, in spite of the most urgent invitations, come to the diet at Ratisbon (April, 1546), where this point was to be especially pressed, the Emperor no longer concealed his purpose of forcing them to obedience by resort to arms.


27 A concise report on this diet, which appeared at the end of June, 1546; in Hortleder, Th. ii. Buch. iii. cap. 2. The imperial proposition was, that they should consult about the way in which perpetual peace and equal rights could be secured by restoring the imperial court; and also as to the means of effectual resistance to the Turks. The Protestants petitioned that the Emperor would "die streitige Religion Sachen durch
CHAP. I.—GERMAN REFORMATION. § 8. 1546. §

That he might more surely subject the powerful Protestant party by dividing it, he declared, June 17, that his sole purpose was to punish the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave as disturbers of the peace of the land; and this, too, although their arbitrary measures, which were the pretext for this course, had been long since forgiven by him. But while he was thus warning the other Protestant estates not to be deceived by rumors of religious war, he himself secretly concluded a treaty with the Pope for the suppression of Protestantism, June 26. The Pope, however,
unveiled this imperial cunning by issuing his demands for the suppression of the heretics on the basis of that treaty; so that only those could in future be deceived who were willing to be so. The Electors of the Palatinate and of Brandenburg kept quiet, and Duke Maurice even concluded a treaty with the Emperor, July 19.

in nomine Domini cum auxiliis Pontificiae Sanctitatis proximo mense Julii in expeditionem educat omnes copias suas summo virium mollimine adversus Protesantos, et Smalcaaldianos, omnesque allos haereticos cujuscunque sectae, et ad veram et antiquam religionem, et obsequium Sedis Apostolicae revocentur, possitque Caesarea Majestas tentare omnes modos, si forte sine armorum vi ipsos ad Religionem Catholicam traducere possit, temporeque constituito, si res e sententia non successerit, capessantur arma. Non possit Caesarea Majestas cum Protestantibus et Smalcaaldianis, vel alis haereticis foedus ullum, aut concordiam inire, quod expeditionem dissolvat, aut retardet, maximeque quippe permittam non possit contra religionem catholicam, atque Ecclesiae sanctiones sine expresse consensu Sedis Apostolicae vel Legati Apostolici. The Pope was to give 200,000 ducats for the campaign, 12,000 foot, and 500 horse; he granted to the Emperor the half of all the church revenues in Spain for a year, and allowed him to sell estates of Spanish cloisters to the amount of 500,000 crowns. All Catholic princes were empowered to take part in this treaty. The conclusion runs: Ut expeditionis conficiendae mense Junio proximo tempus designatum exprimatur de mense Junio praesentis anni 1546, cum haec capita nullo ante descripta fuerint, licet consignata non essent, ut omnis erroris scrupulus eximatur.

40 On the 2d and 3d of July to the Kings of France and Poland, in Raynauld., 1546, No. 96, 98; to Venice, ibid., No. 101; to the Catholic German princes, ibid., No. 102. The letter to the Swiss was at once published and circulated by the Elector and Landgrave, to prove that "unter dem Schein vermeinten Ungehorsams nicht anders denn Ausreutung u. Verdruckung Gottes allein seligmachenden Worts, unserer wahren christl. Religion, auch des Reichs Teutscher Nation Freiheit u. Libertät gemeint sey" (Hortle- der, Th. ii. Buch iii. cap. 12). The Papal bull, July 15, in which all the faithful are called upon to support the Catholic arms with prayer and fasting, was published: in German, with comments by Amstorp, in Hortleder, cap. 10; in the Latin original in Massarelli Acta Conc. Trid., p. 85, appended to Salig's Historie des Trid. Conc. iii. The Emperor was very much dissatisfied with these papal revelations; see Pallavicini, lib. ix. cap. 3, § 6: Querебatur Caesar, Pontificem scriptis ad Helvetios et ad Galliae Regem litteris expeditioni obfuisse, cum per eae palam fieret, bellum non ea sola gratia suscipit, ut Protestantes ob contumaciam in Imperium plecterentur, sed ut ad vetere religionem adigerentur. Ad haec Pontifex: mirari hujusmodi querimonia; cum enim Caesare ipso petente hae conditiones in sancto foedere fuissent apposita, et Apostolicus Legatus cum tanto militium numero contra fidei perduelles missus esset; quisnam verum rei consilium ignorare posset, bello prorsus politico sibi conflictus?

When he inquired about the cause of the war he received the customary answer, and then attempted a useless mediation; Sleidanus, lib. xvii. p. 488 ss.

43 The treaty is given from the original in Pontius Heuterus Rerum Austriacarum, lib. xii. c. 6, p. 290; also in Weichselbaumer's Gesch. Johann Friedrichs, s. 222. Melanchthon's judicious judgment about Maurice in a letter to Camerarius, July 27 (ed. Bretschneider, vi. 207): Multa mihi in mentem veniunt cur suumhijavitarit: o Si- lii nos duxerit eum tum adprehensionis, quam tum specta situss vocem. Et ut vinci- cerent, ne hoc quidem volet, ad horum arbitrium constitutum statum vel publicum, vel suae ditionis, tumae de kal in disjuncti in tum ove doce, atque aeque ove uti legitimatas. 1in de e1P110Nium iv def t101 011110 11011 110 1101111, Erunt certe alli eventus, quam hi aut illi putant aequa sperunt. Nam omnino ingenii mutatam rerum impendet. The two margraves of Brandenburg, John von Kastirn and the frivolous Albert of Bayreuth (Seckendorf, iii. 662), went so far as to enter into the Emperor's service; Sleidanus, lib.
The Smalcald War\textsuperscript{42} began with such unexpected energy on the part of the League, which had seemed to be almost dead, that the Emperor, who was tarrying with a small army at Ratisbon, seemed to be in great peril. At the beginning of July he was confronted by a much superior army from the Wirtemberg highlands, led by the distinguished general, Sebastian Schärtlin von Burtenbach, which was soon joined by Saxon and Hessian troops. But still nothing decisive occurred. The arbitrary course of the Emperor, which reached its height in proclaiming the ban, July 20, against the Elector and the Landgrave,\textsuperscript{44} and his purpose to destroy Protestantism, which lurked behind, were very clearly set forth in the defensive writings of the Protestants;\textsuperscript{45} but the majority of the Council of War still prevented all warlike undertakings. The Emperor was thus in a condition to march to Ingolstadt, and there strengthen himself on all sides, until he was ready to make an attack. But now, in November, Maurice fell upon the Electorate of Saxony, the Elector hastened to the aid of his land, the allied army

\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Best sources:} (1.) Favorable to the Emperor: Lud. de Avila, Span. General, Los Commentarios de la Guerra del Emperador Carolos V. contra los Protestantes de Alemania, Lat., Antverp., 1550. Argentor., 1630. 12. In German, in Hortleder, Th. ii. Buch iii. cap. 14. The answer of both the Margraves, July 29; ibid., cap. 17.— Bavaria, until now very jealous of Austria, was gained by the marriage, in 1546, of Prince Albert of Bavaria with Anna, daughter of King Ferdinand; see Winter's Gesch. d. Evang. Lehre in Baiern, ii. 137.

\textsuperscript{44} Cf. the admonitory letters to the former by the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave, and by his mother, the widowed Electress of Brandenburg; in Hortleder, Th. ii. Buch iii. cap. 14. The answer of both the Margraves, July 29; ibid., cap. 17.— Bavaria, until now very jealous of Austria, was gained by the marriage, in 1546, of Prince Albert of Bavaria with Anna, daughter of King Ferdinand; see Winter's Gesch. d. Evang. Lehre in Baiern, ii. 137.

\textsuperscript{45} Cf. the admonitory letters to the former by the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave, and by his mother, the widowed Electress of Brandenburg; in Hortleder, Th. ii. Buch iii. cap. 14. The answer of both the Margraves, July 29; ibid., cap. 17.— Bavaria, until now very jealous of Austria, was gained by the marriage, in 1546, of Prince Albert of Bavaria with Anna, daughter of King Ferdinand; see Winter's Gesch. d. Evang. Lehre in Baiern, ii. 137.
separated, and the Protestant cause was lost. The states in the Upper Land prayed for grace, and received it with great sacrifices. Hermann, Elector of Cologne, had been already deposed by a papal decree of April 16, 1546, but had thus far been spared by the Emperor; now, however, Charles convened the estates of Cologne, Jan. 24, 1547, and carried this decree into execution. The Elector of Saxony easily drove Duke Maurice from his domain; but in the spring the Emperor came upon him by surprise, defeated him near Mühlberg, in the Lochau forest, took him prisoner, April 24, 1547, and compelled him, in the Wittenberg capitulation, to give up his electoral dignity and the half of his dominions to Duke Maurice. The Landgrave of Hesse, now standing alone, submitted in Halle, June 19; and, although he thought himself secured by the previous negotiations of the Electors of Brandenburg and of Saxony, he too was kept in prison by the Emperor.

Raynaldu, ann. 1546, No. 103. The decision was first communicated to the Chapter, Senate, and University of Cologne in a brief, July 8; ibid., No. 104.

Cf. the Emperor's letter to the Elector, 7th July, above, Note 38.

Sleidanus, lib. xviii. p. 575. Häberlin's Neueste Tentache Reichsgeschichte, i. 112.

That the Elector was betrayed by his Councillors is maintained by the zealous adherents of the Ernestinian line, Paul Mühlpfort, in Hortleder, ii. iii. 69, and the narration in G. Arnold's Kirchen- u. Ketzerhistorie, Schafhausen edition, 1740, Th. ii. a. 1006; this narrative of the religious disputes is falsely ascribed to Ratzenberger; it is by a passionate follower of Flacius. The complaints against the Wittenberg divines, especially Melancthon and Bugenhagen, as given in this last narration, that they had at once abandoned the old Elector in his misfortunes, are proved to be calumnies by Bugenhagen's work: "Wie es uns zu Wittenberg in der Stadt in dem vergangenen Kriege ergangen 1547" (also in Hortleder, Th. ii. B. iii. cap. 73). Cf. Fortgesetzte Sammlung von alten u. neuen theol. Sachen 1729, a. 293 ff.

The Emperor demanded the unconditional submission of the Landgrave; the Electors, however, desired that certain conditions should be secretly granted them, and their councillors, with this in view, laid before the imperial councillors, June 2, certain articles which begin thus (Rommel's Philipp d. Grossm., iii. 235): "Der Landgraf erpeut sich von neuem, er wolle sich in der Kais. Maj. Gnäd u. Ungnäd frey u. ohne alnische Condition oder Anhang ergeben..." (also in Hortleder, Th. ii. B. iii. cap. 73). Cf. Fortgesetzte Sammlung von alten u. neuen theol. Sachen 1729, a. 293 ff.

Here first occurs the expression, which was afterward a matter of dispute: on the side of the Emperor it was maintained that the assurance read "noch zu ewiger Gefängnis," that is, to perpetual imprisonment; on the other side, "noch zu einiger Gefängniss," that is, to some imprisonment. Nothing more is extant of the further secret negotiations; they were probably for the most part oral. So much is certain, that the Electors believed they had insured the Landgrave against any imprisonment, for they wrote to him, June 4 (ibid., a. 237): "Wir versprechen E. L., dass dieselbigbe dadurch über die Artikel weder an Leibe noch Gute, mit Gefangniss, Bestrickung oder Schmälerung Ihres Landes nicht sollen beschwert werden." When Philip was taken prisoner in the abode
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Even in the midst of his victories, however, the Emperor was still at variance with the Pope. Charles was convinced that if the ecclesiastical abuses were abolished the Protestants might be easily reconciled with the Church; and he was consequently displeased that the Council of Trent, instead of beginning with a reformation, began with passing judgment upon the Protestant doctrines, thus making it more difficult for the Protestants to appear there. The Pope could not be favorable to a reform that of the Duke of Alba, the Electors declared it to be a piece of villainy, and the Elector Joachim wanted to cut off the head of the Bishop of Arras as the chief deceiver (Anal. Hassiaca, Coll. xi. 226; Rommel, iii. 510). It is inconceivable that the Electors could have neglected so weighty a point in the negotiations, since they pledged themselves personally to the Landgrave that he should not be held a prisoner; we must, therefore, give credit to the contemporary testimony, that the imperial councilors allowed themselves to be deceived. And this deception is easily explained, if it be true, according to the report of the vice-chancellor Held, that the Electors brought the negotiations with the Bishop of Arras to an end on the 19th June, just before the final solemn act, and after they had been drinking together very freely (v. Bucholtz's Gesch. d. Regierung Ferdinand's I., vi. 65). That the Emperor had no share in the deception, and knew only of a promise that the imprisonment should not be perpetual, appears from his correspondence at this time with Ferdinand (v. Bucholtz, vi. 63 f., 69). When, then, the Emperor, at the Diet of Augsburg (Sept., 1547), endeavored to justify himself publicly against the general opinion that the Landgrave had been betrayed, the two Electors replied (Hortleder, Th. ii. B. iii. cap. 84): "Sie wüssten in dieser Sach die Kays. Maj. in nichten zu beschuldigen, dass an Vollziehung der abgeredten Capitulation bey Ihrer Maj. einiger Mangel jemals gewesem: gleichwol sind in diesen Sachen allerhand Bey- u. Neben-Handel furgefallen, anfänglich mit der Rom. Kays. Maj., ehe und denn Ihre Maj. aus dem Feldlager vor Wittenberg verruckt, und folgends mit Kays. Maj. Rätchen, welche ganz geheim u. enge geschehen. Und könntte sich hierinnen noch wol zugetragen haben, dass in Mangel u. Unverstand der Sprachen mit der Kays. Maj. Rätchen allerhand Misverständnis erfolget seyn möchte. Jedoch ware beyder Churfürsten—Gemüth u. Meinung nicht, sich deshalb so in einige Disputation einzulassen." They, however, give the assurance that they did not understand there was any danger, and that with this conviction they had been able to secure the appearance of the Landgrave. But when Maurice, in 1552, declared against the Emperor, he asserted outright that he had heard him promise that the Landgrave should "not be subjected to imprisonment or loss of land" (Hortleder, Th. ii. Buch v. cap. 4). That the imperial councilors used deception is maintained particularly in L. G. Mogen's Historia Captivitatis Philippi Magnanimi, Francof., 1766. 8., and Rommel's Philipp der Grossm., l. 533; ii. 507; iii. 235. On the other hand, the attempt is made to deny it in M. G. Werner, Kaiser Carls V. Ehrenrettung u. Verthlidiung wegen der bey Landgraf Philipps Ergebung gebrauchten Worte: nicht zum ewigen Gefängniss. Nürnberg, 1782, and Menzel's Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen, iii. 198.

As early as 1546 the imperial ambassadors demanded that the Reformation should first be taken in hand; after an animated discussion the council concluded to take up dogmas and reforms together; see Histoire du Concile de Trente, par P. Sarpi trad. par Courayer, l. 246; Pallavicini, lib. vi. c. 7; Raynaldus, 1546, No. 10. When, however, the council was about to pass to the first dogmatic anathemas, the imperial ambassador, Francis Toletanus, was obliged, in May, 1546, still to interpose earnest objections; Sarpi, l. 290; Pallavicini, lib. vii. c. 3: the Spanish prelates were on his side, but it was in vain (Raynald., 1546, No. 70). Against the objections of the Emperor in this matter the Pope tried to excuse himself in Febr., 1547 (Pallavicini, lib. ix. c. 3, No. 8 ss.).
threatened important limitations upon his power, and watched with mistrust the influence of the Emperor upon the council. Hence he was not less terrified than were the Protestants by the rapid victories of the Emperor;\(^{52}\) for as long as Protestantism was not rooted out the imperial preponderance was not less dangerous to him than to the Protestants. He therefore again made a closer alliance with France,\(^{53}\) recalled his troops in Dec., 1546, and, while the Emperor was busy in Saxony, adjourned the council, March 11, 1547, on the pretext of the plague, from Trent to Bologna,\(^{54}\) where the imperial preponderance would make itself less felt. The Emperor was greatly enraged by these acts of the Pope. He could not so easily act in conformity with the intimation that Protestantism should be at once suppressed;\(^{55}\) for there were pow-

\(^{52}\) Sarpi, i. 387. Ranke, Fürsten u. Völker von Süd-Europa im 16ten u. 17ten Jahrh. ii. 262.

\(^{53}\) That the King of France instigated the Pope against the Emperor, while he also encouraged and aided the Protestant states, appears from the correspondence of the King with his ambassadors, present with the Pope, the Elector, and the Landgrave, in the Lettres et Mémoires d'estat des Roys, Princes, Ambassadeurs, et autres Ministres sous les regnes de François I., Henry II., et François II., rangées par M. Gull. Ribier. à Paris, 1666, 2 Tomes fol. The Pope went into the matters of ararat the French Ambassador at Rome, du Mortier, announced to his King, in the spring of 1547 (Ribier, i. 37): Sa Sainteté a — entendu, que le Duc de Saxe se trouve fort, dont elle a tel contentement, comme celuy qui estime le commun ennemy estre par ces moyens retenu d'exécuter ses entreprises: et connoit-on bien qu'il serait utile sousemain d'entretenir ceux qui lui resistent, disant, que vous ne sc.auriez faire dépine plus utile; Sarpi, i. 497; Ranke, ii. 260.

\(^{54}\) As early as June, 1546, a change of place was agitated by the legates at the council (Pallavicini, lib. viii. c. 5, c. 10, c. 15); but it was hindered by the threats of the Emperor, and apparently abandoned. Thus it is said in the papal work written to justify it, Febr., 1547 (Pallavicini, lib. ix. c. 3, No. 4): translationem Concilii gravissimis de causis opportunam sibi visam: ab ea tamen animum avertisse, non quidem ob adductas a Caesare rationes, quibus neutiquam acquisossecat; sed ob adversum illius animum, cui se concordem praeexpectabat in iis etiam quae minus idonea ex allis rationibus existimasset. The death of some persons now gave the opportunity to feign a contagious sickness, which was also asserted to exist by two physicians of the council, but denied by the resident physicians of Trent. On the change of place of the council, see Sarpi, i. 483; Pallavicini, lib. ix. c. 8; Salig's Hist. des Trident. Concilium, i. 593. The true reason, however, was the fear, already avowed in a private letter by the Cardinal Cervinus (Pallavicini, viii. 5, 5), quenam Caesarius armati partes impemterum futurae essent; nimimum Concilio leges dare, essent de dogmatibus disputandum necesse; quae ratione de ea ipsa re agendum; nec posse repulsam reddi. The imperial bishops protesred against the transference, and remained in Trent.

\(^{55}\) Cf. the papal Letter of Justification, Febr., 1547, in Pallavicini, ix. 3, 5: Siam Carolus voluntatem significaret expeditionis continuandae, donec Protestantes ad obsequium Sedis Apostolicae pertaxisset. Hoc Caesarius studium Pontifex commendabant, asebatque, id a se sperari, cum ad illud ipsum obtinendum foedus coisset, tamen al postmodum per concordiam cum Wirttembergico, variaque haereticis urbibus initam, inacio Pontifici, fuisset a factionibus resiliitum, ubique materia querelarum exhibita.
erful Protestant princes yet unsubdued, and a still harder conflict was to be expected with the Protestant people. Nor did he wish to do this before the ecclesiastical reformation was effected, which he viewed as the condition and price of victory. Therefore he could not abide the prorogation of the council to an Italian city, where it seemed about to become wholly dependent on the Pope; he protested against it, and demanded that the council should return to Trent.56 Tedious negotiations sprang up between the Emperor and the Pope, and the activity of the council was interrupted for several years.

§ 9.

CONTINUATION, TO THE RELIGIOUS PEACE OF AUGSBURG, SEPT. 25, 1555.

As the council, under these circumstances, was for a long time forced to remain inactive, the Emperor determined, on his own authority, to establish preliminary arrangements in the German empire, which might at first bring about an external, and thus open the way for an internal, union of the contending religious parties; he also intended, by these provisions, to break the road for such a general reform of the Church as he desired.1 The point of

56 Discussions between the Emperor and the Pope, Sarpi, i. 502; Pallavicini, i. x. c. 6 ss. Particularly the sending by the Emperor of the Cardinal Madruzzi, Bishop of Trent, to Rome, in Nov., 1547; the documents on it in Raynald., 1547, No. 88; Martene Collect. Vet. Monum., viii. 1162; Barth. Sastrowen Leben, by Mohrnte, ii. 178 ff. The imperial protest in Bologna, 16th Jan., 1548, in Raynald., 1548, No. 6; Sastrow, ii. 214; and in the papal Consistory in Rome, 23d Jan., in Raynald., 1548, No. 19.

1 The idea seems to have been first started by the estates. At the Diet of Augsburg the Emperor declared to them in his Proposition, Sept. 1, 1547 (see Barthol. Sastrowen Herkommen, Geburt u. Lauff seines gantzen Lebens, by G. Chr. F. Mohrnte, Greifswald, 1824, Th. ii. s. 105), that he was determined to bring the religious division "to a speedy conclusion." Thereupon the Catholic electors responded (s. 117), that the Emperor should, in the mean time, until the close and decision of the council, be watchful to restore peace and right in Germany. The evangelical electors demanded, on the other hand (s. 118), a mutual and free Christian council, of which the Pope should not be the President, where the Protestants might have a part in the consultations and decisions; and that those articles should again be taken up which the Council of Trent had already determined. The princes wished (s. 129 sq.) a continuation of the Council of Trent, but so that the articles there already decided might "again be taken in hand and the Protestants sufficiently heard upon them." But as the end of the council might be long delayed, they pray that the Emperor "would at once see to it, and maintain order in the mean time as far as he could, until, by the official examination of this common council, religious matters might be arranged and decided in a Christian way," so that peace should be insured. The Emperor, in his address, Jan. 14, 1548, responded to this request (Siedlan., lib. xx., ed. Am Ende, iii. 93; the address is in Sastrow, ii. 195); and a commission of the estates was appointed to consult about the Interim, which be-
view from which he started was this: that the Protestants, after
their obstinacy was broken, would be kept away from the Church

gan to act Feb. 11 (Sastrow, ii. 296 sq.). Meanwhile, however, some bishops had been
privately at work in the affair, and had gained over the Elector Joachim II. of Branden-
burg, who was deeply involved in it, and his court preacher, John Agricola (Sastrow,
ii. 299, 304). Julius von Pflug, Bishop of Naumburg, had previously drawn up a form-
ula of union after the style of that of Ratisbon (see § 7, Note 42, above), and making
use of it (Formula sacrorum emendandorum in Comitis Augustanis anno 1548 a Julio
Pflugio composita et proposita, ed. M. Chr. G. Müller. Lips., 1808. 8. Agricola also
says, 1562: "Ich glaub das Interim war gemacht ehe wir nach Augsburg kamen;" see
Freiwilliges Heilopfer Beitr. 29, s. 706). Of this, Parts I. and II., on doctrine and ec-
clesiastical usages, were laid at the basis of the Interim, and presented to Michael Held-
ing, Bishop of Sidon, Suffragan of Mayence, and to Agricola, for examination. The
vain Agricola was soon over by the ready reception of his remarks, which, however,
did not go very deeply into the matter, for he also was desirous of the union, that he
wrote to Glatius, preacher in Orlamünde: non solum ad fuicomposition!, sed etiamprae-
fui (Bieck's Dreyfaches Interim, s. 25). They also tried to gain Bucer: toward the end
of Jan. (Sleidan., iii. 94) he must come privately to Augsburg, at the invitation of the
Elector Joachim; he delayed, however, subscribing (Sastrow, ii. 310). The writing was
now laid before the Emperor by "some persons of high position and name" (the expres-
sions of the Emperor in the preface to the Interim; the chief of them was the Elector
Joachim, sec Sustrow, ii. 304; the others were probably the bishops, who had originated
the affair); he received it willingly, as the official commission had not come to any re-
sult, and communicated it first to some of the estates, to give their opinion on it in pri-

cate. Thus it came first, on the 17th March, to the Elector Maurice (see Expositio eo-
rum, quae theologi Acad. Wittenbergensis de rebus ad religionem pertinentibus monne-
rant. Witeberg, 1559. 4.; folio O. 4 b). He sent it at once to his theologians, who con-
sulted upon it in Zwickau (Expositio, Q. 2 sq.), and tried to avoid the urgency of the
Emperor that he should at once accept the Interim (Expositio, P. 2 sq.). The divines
assembled in Zwickau answered, April 14 (Expositio, R. 2), and afterward sent in a still
fuller opinion, 24th April (Expositio, S. 2); it was all unfavorable to the Interim. To
the Pope it was first sent in behalf of the Emperor, April 11, by Cardinal Sfondrato;
but the nuncio, dispatched in this affair, came too late with his comments; for he had
audience before the Emperor (May 15) only on the day when the Interim was procla-
med, and after its publication (Pallavicini, lib. x. c. 17, No. 2 and 7). In consequence
of the manifold opinions sent in, the original Formula of Pflug had undergone many
alterations, even after it had been communicated to the Elector Maurice: Expositio, Q.
4. b: Notum est, librum Interim in capite justificationis initio minus corruptelarum ha-
buissa, et post vel Malvendam vel Dominicum quendam a Soto, vel utrumque plures
inservu, de quo et infra (X. 3) Principis Mauriti scriptum ad Caesarem queritur: et
nominare ex adversariis possemissus, qui Philippo Melanthoni de Sotensis insertionibus
confessi sunt.—(Melanthon) Ratisponensi similem judicavit inter initia.—Et ex auctori-
bus libri primis unus nostris narravit, consilium Imperatoris fuisse, ut caput de justifi-
catione iisdem verbis in librum Interim insereretur, quibus in tractationibus Ratisponen-
sibus de hoc ab utraque parte convenisset, ut corruptelas easiores a Magistris secundis
exititex necessit. Bekenntnusa. Erläuterung aufs Interim durch die erbare Städte
Lübeck, Hamburg, Lüneburg, etc., Superintendenten, Pastoren, etc. Magdeburg, 1549.
4.; folio 4 b. "Zum dritten darin alles verschmacht u. verwirret, gut u. böse also
zusammenverhüret u. gekocht, dass bey einem guten Wort stets ein tücksich böse Wort
hinzu gethan ist,—u. scheint aus dem Interim, dass das Buch von ungleich gesinnten
Meistern geschrieben u. zu Hauf getragen sey. —Es wird auch allenthalben gesagt, dass
etliche fosternehmliche Interim-Meister selbst sollen klagen, dass in dem Interim Verände-
ruung geschehen sey, und dass itzt drinnen stehe, das sie weder gerathen noch gewilligt
haben." Particularly was the Formula of Pflug changed so as to agree with the decrees
less by their peculiar doctrines than by the Catholic abuses; and that here was a good opportunity, by doing away with these abuses beforehand, to compel the council, which would by-and-by begin to act again, to take earnest steps in the reform so long desired in vain. In this sense he had a provisional ecclesiastical formula drawn up for the Protestants by the two Catholic bishops, Julius von Pflug and Michael Helding, in conjunction with the court preacher of Brandenburg, John Agricola. According to this the Protestants were again to become subject to the Pope and the bishops, accommodate themselves to the Catholic doctrine, and have concessions made only on some matters of external order. This provisional arrangement received legal sanction at the Diet of Augsburg, May 15, 1548—the Interim Augustanum. At of Trent, so far as they then existed; see Planck’s Gesch. des Protest. Lehrebegriffs, B. iii. Th. ii. s. 452. Agricola translated the Interim into German (Freiwilliges Heilopfer Beitr., 29, s. 705). This German text became the original; the Latin (as we now have it) is translated from it; and thus are to be explained the numerous deviations of the Formula of Pflug from the Latin Interim in the mode of statement, even where the sense is the same. Müller has collected these in the preface to the Pflugi Formula, p. xlviii. sq., and wrongly represents them as intentional alterations of the text.

1 At first it appeared as though this were to hold valid for both parties; but the Catholic estates at once made provision against it. The clerical electors took offense at the marriage of the clergy and the Communion under both forms; they missed the restitution of the ecclesiastical property; and they demanded that the Interim should apply only to the Protestants, and not to the Catholics (Sastrow, ii. 322). The Catholic princes expressed themselves still more strongly on the matter (ibid., s. 827. The answer there given only in part is found in full in a Latin translation in Martene Collect., viii. 1184), and prayed: “Die Kais. Maj. wollte die Cathol. Ständ mit sollicher Zulassung u. Beschwerung ihrer Gewissen unbeladen lassen; die weil auch sonderlich u. unzweifelh ein gemeiner Aufruf u. ein gemeiner Abfaal von dem christlichen Glauben daraus erfolgen möchte.” Accordingly the Emperor demanded of the estates, in the introduction to the Interim: “So bisher die Ordnungen u. Satzungen gemeiner christlichen Kirchen gehalten, dass sie dieselben hinfüran auch halten, u. darbey beständig bleiben, verharren, u. darvon nicht abweichhen, noch Veränderung fürnehmen.— Aber die andern Stände, so Neuerung fürgenommen, ersuchen Ihr Kais. Maj. auch ganz genädiglich u. ernstlich, das sie entweder widerum zu gemeinen Ständen treten, u. sich mit ihnen in Haltungen gemeiner christlichen Kirchen Satzungen u. Ceremonien aller Ding vergleichenden, oder sich doch mit ihrer Lehre u. Kirchenordnungen bemselten Rathschlag in allweg gemäss halten, u. weiter mit greifen noch schreiten.” The Elector Maurice, too, made complaint about this to the Emperor, May 16th (Expositio Wittebergensis, x. 2, b): at first it was said to him, quod ab utrisque partibus illa formula recipi com- muni consensu debere: jetzt aber hore er, quod ea non communiter utrisque partibus, sed alteri tantum ad servandum imponeretur. [A. Jansen de Jul. Pfuglo ejusque socis reformationis setate et ecclesiae concordiae et Germaniae unitatis studiis. Berl., 1858.]

the same diet, June 14, he caused a Formula Reformationis to be

schiend. Frankf. a. M. 1737. fol. Th. ii. s. 550, and in Bieck, Das dreyfache Interim. Leipz. 1721. 8., s. 266. A Latin edition was published at the same time: e germanica lingua in latinam, quam proxime fieri potuit versae, et ipsius Majestatis jussu typis excusa, ne aut ipsi propositioni, aut scripto, quod subsequitur, scripserint tacta quiqueam posit addi vel detruxi. Francof. ad Oderam. 4. It contains twenty-six sections: I. Of Man before the Fall.—II. Of Man after the Fall.—III. Of Redemption through Christ our Lord.—IV. Of Justification. "Wer nun durch das theuer Blut Christi erlöst, u. ihm der Verdiensn des Leidens Christi zugetheilt u. gegeben, der wird alsbald gerechtfertigt, d. i. er findet Vergebung seiner Sünden, wird von der Schuld der ewigen Verdammniss erledigt, u. verneuert durch den heil. Geist, u. also aus einem Ungerechten wird er gerecht. Dann da Gott rechtfertigt, handelt er nicht allein menschlicher Weis mit dem Menschen, also dass er ihm allein verzeihe, u. schenke ihm die Sünde, u. entbinde ihn von der Schuld, sondern er macht ihn auch besser.—Dann er ihm seinen heil. Geist mittheilet, der sein Herz reiniget u. reiset durch die Liebe Gottes, die in sein Herz ausgegossen wird, dass er das, so gut u. recht ist, begehre, u. was er begehret, mit dem Werk vollbringe, das ist die rechte Art der eingegebenen Gerechtigkeit.—Dielell nun ein Mensch, so lang er hi auf Erden lebt, die Vollkommenheit dieser eingegebenen Gerechtigkeit nicht mag erlangen, so kommt uns Christus auch dieses Orts merklich u. gnädigst zu Hülf,—also dass er eben, wie er—die Gerechtigkeit des Menschen—gewirkt hat, also mehret er sie auch,—u. durch den Verdiensn seines theuren Bluts u. seiner Gerechtigkeit (die ganz vollkommen bestehet) erwirbt er dem Menschen Vergebung."—V. Of the Fruits and the Uses of Justification.—VI. Of the Way by which Man receives Justification. "Wie wol Gott den Menschen gerecht macht—ohn seinen Verdiens;—doch handelt der barmherzige Gott nicht mit einem Menschen wie mit einem todten Block, sondern zeucht ihn mit seinem Willen, wenn er zu seinen Jahren kommt. Dann ein solcher empfahet dieselben Wohlthaten Christi nicht, es sey dann, dass durch die vorgehende Gnad Gottes sein Herz u. Will bewegt werde, den Sünden feind zu werden.—Alsbald bewegt die Gnade Gottes das Herz zu Gott durch Jesum Christum, u. diese Bewegung ist des Glaubens, durch welchen der Mensch ohne Zweifel glaubt der heil. Schrift. —Wer also glaubet,—der wird aufgerichtet, u. durch Bewegung der Gnaden Gottes empfahet er das Vertrauen u. die Hoffnung.—Dieser Glaub erlanget die Gab des heil. Geistes, durch welchen die Liebe Gottes ausgegossen wird in unsere Herzen, welche, so sie zum Glauben u. der Hoffnung kommt, werden wir alsdann durch die eingegebene Gerechtigkeit, die im Menschen ist, wahrhaftiglich gerechtfertigt. Dann diese Gerechtigkeit bestehet durch den Glauben, die Hoffnung u. die Liebe, also wo man dieser Gerechtigkeit der Stöck eines wollte entzichen, so würde sie gestummt und mangelhaft seyn."—VII. Of Love and Good Works. "Die Liebe, die da ist das Ende des Gebots und die Vollkommenheit des Gesetzes, so bald sie in der Rechtferigung eintritt, so ist sie fruchtbart, u. beschleusset in sich selbst die Samen aller guten Werk. —Und wiewohl diese Werk dermassen gestalt seynd, dass sie Gott von uns, als für sein Recht erfordern möchse, noch dannoch, dieweil solche Werk aus der Lieb herfiessen, und Gott nach seinem Wohlgfalten den Würkenden Belohnungen allermilligest zugessagt; so begnadet er sie mit Vergeltung zeitlicher Güter u. des ewigen Lebens. —Noch eins muss man lernen, wiewohl die Werk, die von Gott geboten, nöthig seyn zur Seligkeit,—so seynd doch die Werke, welche über diese Gebot geschehen, u. ehrlich u. gotteslieb gehandelt werden, auch zu loben, auf dass wir nicht wider den heil. Geist seynd, der dieser viel in heil. Schrift lobet."—VIII. Of Trust in the Forgiveness of Sins. "Allhie muss man sich wohl fürschehen, dass man die Menschen nicht allzueinander vertrauen, auch durch ängstlich Zweifeln nicht in Verzweigung kommen. Darum dieweil Paulus sagt, ob er gleich sich selbst in nichts schuldig weiss, sey er doch darum nicht gerechtfertigt: so kann ja der Mensch ganz schwerlich von wegen seiner Schwachheit u. Unvermogens ohn einigen Zweifel glauben, dass ihm die Sünde vergeben sind."—IX. Of the Churches. "Und wiewohl die Kirche, sofern sie in solchen Gliedern stehe, die nach der Liebe leben, allein der Heiligen ist, u. deshalb unsichtbar, so ist sie doch auch sichtbar, indem dass sie Christus zeigt, da er
laid before the German bishops, according to which they were to
spricht: sag es der Kirchen. Zu dieser gehören die Bischofe, die das Volk regieren,—darzu gehören auch die andern Diener.—Nun seynd in dieser Kirch nicht allein die Heiligen, sondern auch die Bösen, als Glieder derselbigen, wie wohl unfruchtbar."—X. Of the Signs and Notes of True Churches.—XI. Of the Power and Authority of the Churches. "Wie wohl die Schrift, wie Christus sagt, nicht aufgelöst werden kann, u. also deshalb un-beweglich, u. grösser denn aller Menschen Gewalt: so ist doch bey der Kirchen allweg die Macht gewesen, die wahren Schriften von den falschen zu scheiden.—Also hat sie auch Gewalt, die Schrift auszulegen, u. sonderlich aus ihnen die Lehren zu nehmen u. zu erklären, sitemal der heil. Geist bey ihr ist, u. leitet sie in alle Wahrheit, wie dann der Herr Christ solches selbst zugesagt.—Uber das hat die Kirch etliche Satzungen von Christo u. den Aposteln durch die Hand der Bischoffen an uns bis hierher gebracht: welcher die zerreisst, der läugnet, dass die Kirch ein Säul u. Grundvest sey der Wahrheit. Dieserley seynd die Kindertauf u. andere. So ist auch des gewiss, dass die Kirch Macht habe zu straffen, u. zu excommuniciren.—So hat sie auch Gewalt zum Gerichtszwang: dann wem da gebühr die Macht zu straffen, dem muss auch die Macht des Gerichtszwangs zugestellt werden. Und wann zweifelhafte Fragen fürfallen in der Kirchen, so hat sie Macht, von denen zu urtheilen u. zu schliessen, u. das durch einen Synodum oder Versammlung, und was sie dann im heil. Geist rechtmässig versammelt beschleust, das ist zu achten, als hetz der heil. Geist selbst geschlossen, wie dann geschrieben stebet im Concilio zu Jerusalem: Es gefällt dem heil. Geist u. uns."—XII. Of the Servants of the Churches.—XIII. Of the highest Bishop and other Bishops. "Und auf dass die Kirch, die eines Haupts d. i. des Herrn Christ einiger Leib ist, desto leichter in Einigkeit erhalten würde, wiesoohl sie viel Bischöfe hat, welche das Volk, so Christus durch sein theures Blut erworben hat, regieren, u. das aus göttlichen Rechten, so hat man doch einen obersten Bischof, der den andern allen mit vollem Gewalt fürgesetzt ist, Schismata u. Trennung zu verhüten, u. das nach der Prærogativ. u. Fürzog, der Petro verliehen ist.—Wer nun den Stuhl Petri innen hat als oberster Bischoff, der soll mit dem Recht, damit es Petrus von Christo empfangen, da er sprach: weide meine Schafe, die ganze Kirchen regieren u. verwalten, aber er soll seinen Gewalt, so er hat, gebrauch nicht zur Zerstörung, sondern zur Erbauung."—XIV. Of the Sacraments in general. As to these, in the subsequent section, the Catholic doctrine is given entiere.—XV. Of Baptism.—XVI. Of Confirmation.—XVII. Of the Sacrament of Penance.—XVIII. Of the Sacrament of the Altar.—XIX. Of Holy Unction.—XX. Of the Sacrament of Ordination of Priests.—XXI. Of the Sacrament of Marriage.—Then, XXII. Of the Sacrifice of the Mass. "Gleichwie nun vor der Zukunft Christi Gott den Vättern etliche gewisse Opfer gegeben hat, dadurch die Gédächtnuss des grossen Opfers, das sie zuktügig erwarteten, in ihren Herzen erwekgINTERNAL, also hat Gott seiner Kirchen ein reines u. heiliges Opfer seines Leibs u. Bluts unter Gestalt Brots u. Weins befohlen, dadurch wir ohn Unterlass die Gédächtnuss seines Leibs u. Bluts, das für uns vergossen ist, in unserm Herzen verneu-ten, u. den Nutz des blutigen Opfers, in welchem er die Geheiligten in Ewigkeit vollkommen gemacht hat, an uns brachten."—XXIII. Of the Remembrance of Saints in the Sacrifice of the Mass, and of their Intercession, which is therein desired; also, shortly, Of the Praying to Saints.—XXIV. Of the Remembrance of the Dead in Christ.—XXV. Of Communion, and how it is to be observed in the Sacrifice of the Mass.—XXVI. Of the Ceremonies and Usages in the Sacraments. Here all the Catholic usages, festivals, and fasts are confirmed. "Die Ceremonien der andern Sacramenten sollen gebraucht werden ermög der alten Agenden, doch wo itchs in denselbigen, das zu Aberglauben Ursach geben möchte, eingeschlichen wäre, das soll nach zeitlichem Rath gehebert werden.—Und wohlman mit dem Apostel halten soll, dass der, so ohn ein Weib ist, für die Ding sorge, die des Herrn seynd, darumb es zu wünschen wäre, dass der Clerici viel gefunden würden, die, wie sie ohne Weiber sind, auch wahrhaftig Keuschheit hielten; jedoch, dieweil ihrer jetzto viel sind, die im Stand der Geistlichen, die Kirchenämter verwalten, u. an vielen Orten Weiber genommen haben, die sie von ihnen nicht lassen wollen; so soll hierüber des gemeinen Concilii Bescheid u. Erörterung erwartet werden, dieweil doch
set aside the abuses that had pressed into the Catholic Church. By these measures he believed that he could bring the two parties so near together that they would regard themselves as belonging to the same Church; and that afterward, by a wise action of the council, they could readily be entirely united. At the same time, he also hoped in this way to call forth and prepare for the desired efficiency of the council in respect to reforms. Although these imperial arrangements about ecclesiastical affairs were most unacceptable to the Pope, and though he was strengthened in his hopes...
tily by the King of France, who stood in fear of all attempts to establish unity in the German Empire, yet, under the circumstances, he was compelled to avoid a total rupture with the Emperor. Therefore, when the latter applied for the needful dispensations for the Protestants who would accept the Interim, the Pope sent legates prepared, in the worst case, with all the powers desired by the Emperor, but who were at the same time warned to reveal only so much as they were compelled to do by the exigencies.

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1 The King wrote to the Pope through his nuncio (Pallavicini, lib. x. cap. 17, No. 4), cum ea omnis ad christianam rempublicam opprimendam tenderent, ubi Pontifex ad ea praestanda (to the desired dispensations) animum induxisset, exemplo revocatur se Bononia Oratores et Praesules: quod si aliter fieret, patrocinaturum se Concilio et Apostolicae sedi.

2 The demands of the Emperor, in Raynal., 1548, No. 45. The most important were, the 4th, that dispensations be given to the married clergy; and 7th, for communion under both forms. The opinions of the cardinals (Martene Collectio, viii. 1180), and of the presidents of the council in Bologna (Raynal. i. c., No. 46), were favorable; less so were those of the bishops deputed to Rome by the council (i. c., No. 46), who particularly insisted that the married clergy should give up their offices.

3 On the 31st August three nuncios were elected for this object. Eae vero facultates postulatae a Caesare non in effusa amplitudine Interuntii concessae sunt, sed justitia pro Dei cultu amplificando temporibus. — Cum enim non idem casus occurrerent in omnibus, qui solvi leges ecclesiastica flagitabant, ideo pro eorum varietate distincta fuere tria diplomata, quibus jusae sunt Interuntii in sacerdotum conjugiis, et communione sub utraque specie permittendis, jejuniorum et feriarum observantia restringenda, sacerdotiorum vestigialibus conjugendis, rerumque oblatam repitendum esse parcissimi, ac nisi tres Interuntii mutua sententiarum consensio consiparat (Bellarm. de Clericis, lib. i. c. 19, in Raynal., 1548, No. 72). One of these bulls, Benedictus Deus, gave full powers for the dispensations held to be absolutely necessary, to which the legates sub-delegated many German bishops (the instrument sub-delegating, which contained the bull, is in Martene Collectio, viii. 1203, and in Saatrow, ii. 851; in Martene, at the end, there is also a list of those who were, and of those who were to be, sub-delegated. In this bull was also the dispensation to the communion, sub utraque: Praeterea iis, qui hactenus contra statutum Ecclesiae Communio nem sub utraque specie sumere praesumerint, si ut id eis concedatur humiliter devotionis causa petierint, sublatis a se anteae singulis erroribus et haeresibus,—facta prius per eos confessione in Ecclesia coram catholico sacerdote, tempore sumptionis eucharistiae sacræ, tantum sub una quantum sub utraque specie, verum videlicet Christi Domini nostri et integrum corpus contineri, catholicam Ecclesiam non errare, quae sacerdotibus celebrantibus dumtaxat exceptis, caeteros tam laicos quam clericos sub una, videlicet panis specie, communicare statuit, sub utraque specie—ad eorum vitam, vel ad tempus de quo vobis videbitur, communicare valeant, separatim tamen loco et tempore,—etiam concedendi et indulgendii (concedimus facultatem). Here, too, authority was conveyed to absolve the clergy for all kinds of irregularities, even for bigamy, if they should be penitent, and the married would give up their wives. The power, however, to allow married priests to continue married, if they laid aside their clerical clothes, was given to the legates in the bull Ad Diligentem, and was not sub-delegated by them (in Flacii Bulla Antichristi de retractor populo Dei in ferream Aegyptiacae servitutis fornicem. 1549. 8.; Saatrow, ii. 683): Cum charismatis in Christo filius noster Carolus Rom. Imp.—nobis significaverit, quod pro restituentis ad Ecclesiam iis, qui in ipsa Germania ab eadem Ecclesia
The imperial proposals for reformation were at once proclaimed at councils by the Catholic bishops, and had just as little effect as the innumerable earlier ordinances for reform of the same kind. On the other hand, great difficulties were found in the acceptance of the Interim by the Protestants. At the diet the Electors of the Palatinate and of Brandenburg declared for it; the Margrave John von Cüstrin and the Palgrave Wolfgang von Zwiebrücken opposed it outright; the other Protestant states answered evasively. In southern Germany the imperial preponderance compelled its acceptance; the Duke of Württemburg conformed, following the example of the Elector of the Palatine; the free cities were forced to yield; the example of Constance intimidated others—it was deprived of its civil and ecclesiastical freedom for opposing. On
the other hand, in northern Germany\textsuperscript{13} the Interim encountered the liveliest opposition;\textsuperscript{14} by the free cities, especially Magdeburg,

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(cfr. Riederer's Abhandlungen aus d. Kirchen- Bücher- u. Gelehrten-Geschichte, St. i. s. 99); Strasburg, see Röhrich's Gesch. v. Strasburg, ii. 1; Ulm, see Melch. Adami Vitae theologorum. Vita Mart. Frecht, p. 145; Reutlingen, see Fösing's Relation wie es mit der Reformation d. St. Reutlingen hergegangen, s. 278; Kaufbeuren, see Wagenseil's Beitr. zur Gesch. d. Reform. (Leipz., 1830), s. 16; Heilbronn, see Jäger's Mittheil. zur Schwäb. u. Frank. Reformationsgeschichte, i. 270. However, all changes were, for the most part, partial and external. One of the papal legates wrote to Cardinal Farnese, dd. Mogunt., 1548 (Raynald. h. a., No. 73), se peragrasses superiorem Germaniam non sine periculo; infectos Lutherana lue in perfidia obturuisse, et paucos ad Religionem catholicam reversos, spesque tenues corum in castra Ecclesiæ traducendorum auffligere, nisi Caes. Majestas magis strenuam operam ad id contulerit; jacta quidem ab ea fundamenta redintegrandarum verae religionis in omnibus terris ipsi obnoxias, aut in maxima earum parte; Ecclesiasticos et Monachos, qui pulsi ab haereticis erant, suis bonis restituisse; in Ecclesia principibus duo altaria excitari jussisse,—et in ipsa quotidie duo sacra celebrari, sed paucos ipsis interesse; compressis imperio illius adversariorum Catholicis in omnibus locis concionari posse, at quod majoris ponderis erat, non interdixisse Lutheranos a concionibus habendis, ac propter illas maiorem quam antea dilligentia ac furore habere conciones, impetatemque diffundere et confirmare, cum formidaret ne extinguetur.

\textsuperscript{13} Here the Interim was accepted only by Erich II., Duke of Calenberg (Schlegel's Kirchengesch. von Nord-Deutschland, ii. 172); Duke Henry the younger, of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, who was reinstated in his lands, endeavored to introduce Catholicism entire (ibid., s. 194). In East Friesland Countess Anna introduced a milder Interim, like that of electoral Saxony—the East Frisian Interim—see Gittermann's Reformat. gesch. v. Ostfriesland, in Vater's Kirchischen. Archiv f. 1825, Heft ii. s. 142.—The cities of Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Lüneburg, Brunswick, Hanover, Hildesheim, Göttingen, and Einbeck, after mutual consultations with the Emperor, rejected the Interim (Rehtnemeyer's Stadt Braunschweig. Kirchens. u. L. B. Archiv, s. 186, and the Beylagen, s. 31).—To the imperial rescript, 30th June, 1548, by which they were called upon to accept it, the princes of Anhalt responded with a denial (Beckmann's Anhalt. Hist., v. 144; vi. 93). The Count of Schwarzburg and the Counts of Mansfield promised to maintain as much of it as was possible (fortges. Sammlung v. alten u. neuen theolog. Sachen, 1721, s. 867, 719). At a synod at Eisleben, called Jan., 1549, by the Counts of Mansfield, Stollberg, Schwarzburg, Hohenstein, and Regenstein, the Interim was wholly rejected (Bieck's Dreyfaches Interim, s. 87). The Archbishop of Magdeburg and Bishop of Halberstadt, John Albert, did indeed call together his landed proprietors in Halle, Aug., 1548, and demanded its immediate introduction, but without success; see J. G. Kirchner's Nachricht von den wegen des Interims in Halle vorgefallenen Begebenheiten. Halle, 1748. 8.—The imprisoned Elector, John Frederick, could not be induced to accept the Interim, either by threats or by severe treatment (see Joh. Förster's custodia u. liberatio des durchl. Herrn Joh. Friedrich. etc., in Hörtleder, Vom Deutschen Krieger, Th. ii. Buch ii. cap. 88; Sleidanus, lib. xx., ed. Am Ende, p. 116; comp. the remarks of Minckwitz in Schelhorn's Ergötzt. sach. iii. 1057). His sons, also challenged to accept, assembled their superintendents in Weimar, July 26, 1548; these declared against the Interim (see der Prediger der jungen Herrn, Joh. Friedrichchen Herz. v. Sachsen Söhnen, christlich Bedenken auf das Interim, in Bieck's Dreyfaches Interim, s. 102); thereupon it was also rejected by the princes (see Bieck, s. 71; cf. die Urkunden in Tentzel's Histor. Be richt v. Cyprian, ii. 500).—The imprisoned Landgrave acted in a weaker way: he accommodated himself to the Interim, and also exhorted his sons to accept it, yet it still found no favor in Hesse (Sleidanus, lib. xx. p. 118; Salig's Historie d. Augb. Confession, i. 600; Rommel's Philipp d. Grossmütige, ii. 580).

\textsuperscript{14} The first work against it was Bedenken aufs Interim des Ehrwürdigen u. Hoch-
it was opposed and satirized in the most violent manner;\textsuperscript{15} even the Elector of Brandenburg was not able to introduce it into his land.\textsuperscript{16} The Elector Maurice, who at Augsburg had rejected every definite declaration, did, indeed, cause the Interim to be apparently accepted, according to the advice of his divines, at a diet in Leipzig, Dec. 22,\textsuperscript{17} but with such alterations that the Lutheran doctrine


\textsuperscript{15} On the satirical poems and the so-called Interimsthaler, see Bieck, s. 128.

\textsuperscript{16} Immediately after his return from the diet he appointed a convention of the preachers in Berlin; the most of them refused the Interim (Nic. Leuthinger de Marchia Brandenb., lib. vi., in Krausii Scriptores de rebus March. Brand. Francof. et Lips., 1729. 8., p. 218). Agricola now had to treat with individuals: Nic. Leuthinger, father of the historian, threw the Interim into the fire in his presence (N. Leuthinger Oratio de vita et obitu patris, l. c. p. 1432). Thereupon Joachim followed the example of the Elector Maurice, introduced a modification of the Interim, and effected a union with him upon it in Jüterbok, Dec. 16, 1548 (in Hortalder, Th. ii. Buch iii. cap. 87). The Emperor he manifestly tried to deceive in his letter of Jan. 11, 1549 (in Schmidt’s Neuere Gesch. d. Deutschen, Buch iv. cap. 12): “Weil er die Gemüther des armen gemeinen Volkes etwas hart darwider verblüttet u. angehetzt gefunden, so habe er erstlich allgemein einen Artikel nach dem andern vorgenommen, die armen verführten Gemüther berichtten u. bedeuten, so dann aber es in seinen Landen drucken u. publiciren, auch in seinem Hoßflug in allen Kirchen aufrichten lassen, u. zu halten geloten. Nun stehe er auch noch in der täglichen Arbeit u. Uebung das Interim in andern Kirchen u. Städten u. in seinem ganzen Land anzurichten, u. nach seinem höchsten Vermögen darüber zu halten, finde auch bey seinen Unterthanen gute Folge u. Geborsam.” About the convention at Jüterbok he writes, that he had there persuaded the Elector Maurice and his friends to accept the Interim; only the Saxon theologians had some doubts about the canon; yet he hoped to set them aside. In fact nothing effectual was done by Joachim to carry out the Jüterbok Interim, so that the Emperor reproached him about it: but—satus ducebat, iram Caesaris obsequii figurato praecurrendum, quam negatione manifesta eundem in patriam acrius incessendam armandum (Leuthinger, l. c. p. 228).

\textsuperscript{17} Maurice called a convention of divines and a committee of the estates at Mainsia, July 1 (Expositio eorum, quos theologi Acad. Wittenbergensis de rebus ad religionem pertinentibus monuerint. Witeberg., 1559. 4.; Bl. Dd. 4), with the demand that they should so decide that the Emperor might see, vos et nos propensos esse ad obedientiam subjectissime praestandam in omnibus, quae ad plam et christianam consensusen— faciant, et pie et bona cum conscientia fieri possint (Expositio, Ee 2). The theologians, in their Opinion, held fast to the Lutheran doctines, and then declared, as to the ceremonies (Hh 3, b): si in rebus ipsisadiaphoriss bono consilio eorum, quibus gubernario Ecclesiariam commissa est, aliquid deliberatum fuerit, quod ad concinnitatem aliquam rituum, et ad bonam disciplinam faciat, in hoc concordiae et bono ordini non deerrimus. Nam de rebus per se mediis non volumus quiquam rixari, quod ad externum attinet usum. Since, however, they foresaw only disturbances from all changes, they proposed, ab Imperatore simpliciter absque disputatione et contrariis articulis petit, ut has Ecclesias in praensis statu manere sitam (L1 2). Maurice rejected this as useless, and demanded, ne in iis, quae salva veritate—sinterface possent, concedere recusarent (Mm). But
was essentially retained, and the Catholic constitutions and usages were only allowed as adiaphora (Interim Lipsiense). Yet this

as he was at the same time earnestly entreated by the Emperor, the King of Rome, and the Elector of Mayence (Mm 2), he called a conference of the Bishops of Misisia and Naumburg with his theologians in Pegau, Aug. 22, to see if they could not come to an agreement about the doctrines, if they were promised the introduction of the ceremonies considered as adiaphora, and the restitution of their episcopal authority (Mm 4). The bishops accepted a draft made by the divines on Justification, with an insignificant alteration (Oo 6), and declared that it was then, slight as the change was, in agreement with the Interim (Pp 9); further they would not enter into the matter, especially because they had no papal dispensation sanctioning the Interim. Therefore, Maurice, at a diet at Torgau, Oct. 18, laid before the theologians called to it propositions for a modification of the Interim (Qq 3); they answered these in part, but requested time to advise with other clergymen upon the matters which might be allowed as adiaphora. At the convention of theologians at Mönchszelle, Nov. 16 (Vv 3), the counselors of the Prince agreed with the divines about the modifications to be made, and prepared a document (Yy 4, b), which was thereupon adopted in the project for union of the two Electors at Juterbock, Dec. 16 (see Note 16). This document, with an Introduction, and prefixed by the articles on Justification agreed upon at Pegau, and with the addition of some concluding words, was laid before the diet in Leipzig, Dec. 22 (Cc 6), sanctioned by it, and then printed as the order of the diet. The Elector, on this basis, issued an ordinance on Public Worship. The above order was called by the Flacians the Lipsian Interim majus; the ordinance, Lipsicam Interim minus (Ddd 4, b.; Bieck, s. 124, is incorrect on this point).
mitigated interim, which, however, came only from the Protestants, aroused even greater wrath among the strict Lutherans than

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did that of Augsburg, and by means of the Interimistic Controversies made the first rupture in the new Church.

Neither the proposal for Reformation nor the Interim attained the object the Emperor had in view. The former was without effect; the latter was opposed by the Catholics as an ill-advised half measure, and by the Protestants as the work of the devil.

According to Sleidanus xxi., p. iii. p. 131, Robertus Episc. Abrincensis (Antidotum ad Postulata de Interim. Lugd., 1548. 8.) wrote against it; see the description in the Neue Beyträge v. alten u. neuen theol. Sachen, 1759, s. 435, and the general of the Dominicans, Franciscus Romeus, in Rome. Catholic defenders, with the exception of G. Wicelius's Apologie (Cologne, 1549), did not venture to appear in print: Pflug's Defense has only recently been published (by Chr. G. Müller, in Staudlin's u. Tschirner's Archiv f. alte u. neue Kircheng. Bd. iv. St. 1, s. 104).

On the effects of the Interim and of the Imperial Reformation, see the Declaration of the States at the Diet of Augsburg, 1550 (the acts of this diet in MS. in Wölfenbütel, see Salig, i. 658), in Schmidt's Neure Geisch. d. Deutschen, Buch. i. cap. 14. The spiritual Electors declared: "Wenn sie auch—die Prädicanten, die sich nicht nach dem Interim fügen wollten, absetzten, so fanden sie keine andere; u. die kathol. Geistlichen durften sie vermoge des Interim selbst nicht dazu brauchen. Um die vorgeschriebene Reformation in das Werk zu richten, hätten die Provincial- u. Diocesan-Synoden gehalten: dass sie aber ihren Zweck nicht ganz erreichten, seyen allerhand besondere Exemtionem, Freyheiten, Dispensationem, Indulten, andere Verhinderungen schuld." The secular Electors: "Ihre Landschaften u. Unterthanen widersetzten sich der Aufführung des Interim um so mehr, weil sie glaubten, es sey nicht allerdings der Schrift gemäss: wollen sie nun Ernst fürwenden, so hätten sie sich Aufbrühe, Rumoren, oder auch ihrer Land u. Leut grosse Zerrütting u. schwerlich Verderben u. Abfalle zu befahren." The Princes: "Die Ursachen der Nichtbefolgung des Interim waren hauptsächlich diese: man habe auf hohen u. Particular-Schulen zu wenig Fursehung gethan, um die Jugend denselben gemäss zu unterweisen; da nun auch die Prädicanten das Volk nicht nur allein nicht zur Haltung desselben ermahnten, sondern auch öffentlich dagegen predigten, so könnte dasselbe nicht dafür eingenommen werden. Auch seyen durch dasselbe zwar die Communion unter beyden Gestalten u. die Priesterehen gestattet: allein da der Papst die Sache noch nicht formlich gut geheissen, so äusserten sich diejenigen, die diese Dinge verlangten, der ganzen Declaration. Nebst dem sey Mangel an katholischen Priestern, die im Stande wären, den Leuten den hinlänglichen Unterricht darüber zu geben: vor allem aber müssten alle Kirchendiener ordentlich geweiht, zu der Verwaltung der Sacramente faßig gemacht, von der ordentlichen geistlichen Obrigkeit gesednet u. den Bischöfen unterworfen seyn. Der gemeine Mann werde auch nicht wenig durch etlicher Geistlichen leichtfertiges u. ärgerliches Leben, dass der kaiser-

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Meanwhile it appeared as though some durable measures might soon follow these preliminary arrangements, when Julius III., after the death of Paul III., succeeded him in the papal see, and at once acceding to the desire of the Emperor, again called the council to meet at Trent, May 1, 1551; and this, too, in spite of the opposition of the King of France. The latter, accordingly, at once greeted the reassembled council with a Protest (Sept. 1, 1551), while it seemed as though the whole of Germany, on the other hand, would have to submit to it. The Protestant princes, summoned by the Emperor to send to this council, received only general promises in reply to their demands; the Emperor, at the same time, manifested such unusual earnestness, that it appeared-lichen Reformation so wenig gelebt u. nachgegangen werd, davon abgehalten. Die letzte Hinderniss sey endlich, dass ungesacht des kaiserlichen Verbots so viele Schmach- u. Schandbüchlein dagegen geschrieben, und unter dem Volk ausgestreut würden."

The previous negotiations in Pallavicini, lib. xi. c. 8 ss. The Pope demanded as condition (l. c. c. 9, No. 3), ut in illis Comitiis (in Augsburg, 1550) denuo stabiliret Caesar, firmiter Protestantium subjectionem imperii legitimastabnlas ab ipsis exhibendam. Ubi id ab illis recusaretur, Concio amplius locum non esse;—superesse, ut in eos Caesar armorum vim exerceret. The Bullaresumptionis, of 14th Nov., 1550, in the Canones et decreta Conc. Trid.


Raynaldus, 1551, No. 28-33. Cf. the account of the royal plenipotentiary, the abbot Jac. Amyot, in Judocile Plat Monument, ad hist. Conc. Trid. spectant. collectio, iv. 249.

The same which the evangelical electors had already made at the diet of 1547 (Sas- torow, ii. 118; above, Note 1) were repeated by the Elector Maurice; but he was not listened to (Sleidanus, lib. xxii. P. iii. p. 210; Raynaldus, 1550, No. 18).

ed as if the conquered party must abandon all resistance. Joa-
chim II., Elector of Brandenburg, who was trying to get the pa-
pal confirmation of his son Frederick as Archbishop of Magdeburg
and Bishop of Halberstadt, declared his submission to the council
through his ambassadors. The states of southern Germany and
of electoral Saxony did, indeed, have confessions composed (Con-
fessio Virtembergensis, Confessio Saxoniae), so as to insist upon
the Protestant doctrine; their ambassadors were heard in a private
congregation of the council (Jan. 24, 1552), in which the Wir-
tembergers handed in their Confession, while the Saxon envoys
renewed the old demands of their lord. From southern Germany
came also Protestant theologians, and Saxon divines journeyed
to Trent to defend their doctrines. But in this way no deliver-

18th March, Sleidanus, xxiii., ed. Am Ende, iii. p. 828, where, too, their Instruc-
tions are given.

21 Camerarius in Vita Melanchth., § 92.
ance for Protestantism could be anticipated; it came, unexpectedly, from another quarter.

The Elector Maurice, who had until then been wholly devoted to the Emperor, and had carried the ban into effect against the refractory Magdeburg, all of a sudden lifted up the standard for the oppressed Protestantism, the imperiled German freedom, and the imprisoned Landgrave. In March, 1552, he assailed the Emperor, lying sick at Innspruck; his army increased mightily as he advanced; and the whole of Protestant Germany was gradually uniting with him, while the King of France, his ally, assailed the imperial possessions in the Netherlands. As Maurice did not stop for negotiations the Emperor was obliged to accept the Passau Treaty, Aug. 2, 1552, whereby freedom was given to the two imprisoned princes, and a religious peace, insuring liberty of conscience, was guaranteed to the Protestants.

The diet, at which the last point was to be concluded upon, was somewhat delayed, because the Emperor was kept in the Netherlands by the French war, and because the wild Margrave, Albert of Brandenburg, was filling all Germany with commotion; to the latter Maurice fell a victim at Sievershausen, July 9, 1553. Since many demands upon them might still be made by the Emperor, the Protestants prepared for the negotiations by the convention of theologians at Naumburg, May, 1554. Meanwhile Ferdinand was so hard pressed by the Turks, and the Emperor so constantly employed with the French, that the latter was obliged

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21 The imperial ban, July 27, 1547. All the writings belonging to this matter are in Hortleder Vom teutschen Kriege, Th. ii. Buch 4. How Magdeburg was taken in Nov., 1551, see ibid., cap. 17 and 18.
23 The League of 5th Oct., 1551, not ratified by the King till Jan., 1552, in the Recueil des Traité de paix, ii. 258.
24 See it in Hortleder, Th. ii. Buch v. cap. 14. In the treaty itself all that is said of the religious peace is, that "soll die Kais. Maj.—innerhalb eines halben Jahres einen gemeinsen Reichstag halten, darauf nochmals, auf was Wege, als nemlich, eines General- oder National-Concilii, Colloquii oder gemeiner Reichversammlung dem Zwiespalt der Religion abzuhelfen—gehandelt, u. also solche Einigkeit der Religion durch alle Stande des heil. Reichs samt Ihrer Maj. ordentlichen Zuthun soil befördert werden." But a concurrent treaty declared: "Da aber die Vergleichung auch durch derselben Weg keinen würde erfolgen, dass aldann nichts desto weniger abgemeldter Friedstand bey seinen Kräften bis zu endlicher Vergleichung bestehen u. bleiben solle."
26 Camerarius in Vita Melanchth., § 98. Acts in Mel. Deutsche Bedenken, s. 877, and in the Unschuld. Nachrichten, 1714, s. 541.
to sacrifice his views to the exigency. Although he could not determine to be present at the negotiations which annihilated his plan of many years, yet he gave to his brother Ferdinand, in his place, unlimited powers. Under the presidency of the latter the Diet of Augsburg was opened Feb. 5, 1555, and there, on Sept. 25, the Religious Peace concluded. Its general principles were, that the princes were guaranteed a free choice between the Catholic religion and the Augsburg Confession, and that the religion of the subjects should depend upon that of the princes. The

38 The extent of the preponderance of the Protestants is seen in two works, which are manifestly satirical inventions of the times: I. Sendbrief vom Bischof u. s. Geistlichen von Köln an d. päpstl. Legaten in Augsburg, 1555 (in Schmidt-Phiscl Repertor. der Gesch. u. Staatsverfassung v. Deutschland, Abtheil. 5. Anhang, s. 41), concluding with the proposal, "Dass Ew. Heil. die Sach dahin zu richten bedacht, u. v. d. Lutterischen dis allein erlangen u. erhalten möchte, damit sie uns, wie die Apostol. Römische Kirchen für die griechische—geduldet, oder aber wie sie der Juden Synagog leidet,—also auch leiden u. gedulden, u. ob sie schon so gar mit uns nit stimmten, jedoch unsere Güter, Pfründen u. Einkommen verfolgen lassen wollten."—II. Consilium trium Episcoporum de ratione stabilendae Romanae Ecclesiae Paulo III. datum (in Wölfii Lect. Memorabil., ii. 549; in Brownii App. ad Fas. rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum, p. 644; the same is addressed to Julius III., and dated 1558). It is incredible how Brown, and even the author of "Die Kathol. Kirche Schlesiens," Altenburg, 1826, s. 14, could have held it to be genuine. It needs not even the arguments in le Plat Monum. ad Hist. Conc. Trid. spect., ii. 555, but only the simple reading of the work, to descry its irony, which is, indeed, often very witty and to the point. It is here said, and this is also further proved at length in No. 1: Quod ad Germaniam nunc attinet, nos (ut verum tibi fatae-mur) nullo pacto sperare possumus, illam in tuam fidem unquam esse reditumur. Quaro kertamur, ut omnem de ea spem abjicias, etc.


Catholics demanded an exception to the first principle in the case of the clerical princes; the Protestants contended against the second point for a long time. Since they could not come to an agreement on these controverted matters, they at length, in order to have a peace, contented themselves with the Declarations of the Emperor about them. 41

41 The Declaration in relation to the first point, the so-called Reservatum ecclesiasticum, was adopted into the treaty itself: "Und nachdem bey Vergleichung dieses Friedens Stritt furgesalten, wo der Geistlichen einer oder mehr von der alten Religion abtreten wurden, wie es der von ihnen bis daselbst hin besessenen u. eingehabten Erbstumb, Bistumb, Pfaltrum u. Benefizien halben gethan werden soll, welche sich aber beede Religionenstande nit haben verglichen können; demnach haben wir in Kraft hochgedachter Rom. Kays. Maj. uns gegebenen Vollmacht u. Heimstellung erklärt und
§ 10.

HISTORY OF THE SWISS REFORMATION TO 1555 (COMPARE § 6).

By the unfortunate Cappel War (1531) the reformed cantons not only lost their political superiority, but also their two chief spiritual leaders; for Oecolampadius died, Nov. 23, 1531, of his grief for these misfortunes and the death of Zwingli. Their places were, indeed, taken by men who worked in the same spirit: Henry Bullinger was the successor of Zwingli, and the post of Oecolampadius was filled by Oswald Myconius; but the relations of the cantons appeared to be altering in a way most unpropitious to the Reformation. In Zürich and Berne many voices were raised in opposition to the governments, and especially against the interference of the clergy in political affairs; and although there

3 Bullinger, iii. 254: "Viel richtetend sich trotzlich uff, sagtend, der Tüffel hatte den Zwingli u. viel syner Schryern hingeführt; manch Biedermann habe schwügen müssen u. habe nitt reden dorfen; jetzund aber dörfe ein Biedermann auch reden; sy habend wol gedacht, die hydenlosen Pfaffen wurdent also das Schiff verführen, u. fürohin müsse es ein anders werden. Man sahe dennoch jetzund wol, wer den rechten Glauben habe, und wem Gott bygestanden eye. Etlich woltend wetten, man wurde kurzlich zu Zürych wiederum Mess halten. Etlich, die sich glychenet hattend, als warend sie getrüwe.
was, at the same time, a public profession of attachment to the Reformation, yet the secret partisans of the old Church began to work with new confidence. To this were added divisions between the Reformed cantons. The peace, which the Zürichers were the first to enter into, was considered as treasonable to the faith; on the other hand, the conduct of the Bernese in the last war had been displeasing to the Zürichers; and thus coldness and distrust stole in between the two great Reformed cantons. The circumstances became still more perplexing when the Anabaptists began to come forward more boldly among the Reformed, and thus furnished, as it seemed, new evidence in favor of the Catholic complaints as to the dangers of the Reformation; nor would they let themselves be instructed by the public disputations that were held with them, the most important of which was that at Zürich.

Fründ Christi u. synes Evangellii gayn, wollaund dess nit Namen mer haben, stallend sich wider die Pfaffen (als sy die nampten), u. redend grussamer wider den Zwingli u. synen Anhang, denn die offen Find gewesen waren." The malcontents in the canton of Zürich met at Meilen, on Lake Zurich, and gave to the Council, Nov. 28, a written statement of their grievances, in which they demanded (Tschudi in the Helvetia, ii. 337; comp. Bullinger, iii. 283): "Dass Ihr—der heimlichen Rathen, u. harverloßener Pfaffen u. Schwaben abstandent (dann uns will bedunken, dass der heimlich Zwingli, auch die Pfaffen u. andere ufrührliche Schreyer uns nit wol erschoschen habent), dessglychen der Pfaffen in offentlich u. heimlichen Rathen müssig gangent, u. sich die Pfaffen der weltlichen Sachen ganz u. gar nüt beladent in Stadt noch uff dem Land, sonder das Gottswort verkündent, darzu sie geordnet sind.—Zum vierten,—dass ihr nun hinfür in üwer Stadt Predikanten anmemmt, die friedsam syent, u. uff Fried u. Ruh stellent, u. die ufrührlichen Pfaffen, so Uech u. uns, die gern Fried u. Ruh hettent, offentlich an der Kanzel gottlosent, hinweghuent, u. uff dem Land unsern Predikanten sollicches auch sagent, dass sie uns das Gottswort verkündent lut beder Testamenten, u. sich die Pfaffen, wie obgemeldt, keiner weltlichen Sachen unterwindent noch beladent, in Stadt noch uff dem Land, im Rath noch darneben, sonder Uech, unser Herren, lassent regieren, als dann von einem Jahr zum andern, u. auch uns uff dem Land mit keinen Pfaffen übersetzent, die einer Gemeind nit angemen syent." At last, however, the assurance: "Ihr sollent ganzlich by aller Wahrheit wissen, dass Niemand des Gemuts ist, von Gottswort zu wychen," u. s. w. Similar complaints were made by the people of Berne to the Council; see the Schweizerischer Geschichtforscher, Bd. 7. Heft 1. (Berne, 1829) s. 132: "Des ersten, des wir all gemeinlich u. einhellig ratig sind worden, antreffend das heilig göttlich Wort, by demselbigent zu beliben,—u.nachdem alsdann die Predicanten in Stadt u. Land uff dem Cantzelt vil uff Uffruhr u. Blutvergessen geschruwen, dar durich gross Uneinigkeit entstanden, sich desselbigent gar u. ganz zu müssigen, auch der Schmütz u. Scheltworten sich gar u. ganz abzethun, sonder uns allenthalben nüt anders denn das wahr, luter, eynig Gottswort nach Inhalt des Buchstabens on allen ihren Zusatz zu verkünden." Comp. Müller-Hottinger, vili. 440 ff.

4 Bullinger’s Leben, by Hess, i. 128.
5 Hess, ubi supra.
6 Haller, by Kirchhofer, s. 180.
7 In St. Gall, 1532, Hottinger’s Helvet. Kirchengesch., iii. 662; in Berne, 1536, ibid., s. 730.
singen, July, 1532. The milder position which the Reformed assumed toward them, in order to rebuke the Catholic spirit of persecution, only served to make them bolder.

The Catholic cantons at once made use of the superiority they had gained. They restored by violence the Catholic Church in the free districts of Bremgarten and Mellingen, Rapperschweil and Gaster. The conquered party and the Reformation were contemptuously assailed and lampooned. When Zürich repelled the wide-spread report that it was about to return to the papacy by the most decisive mandates establishing the Reformation, 1532, it was met by a breach of the articles of peace on the part of the Catholic cantons, and had to submit to fresh humiliation in the treaty of Einsiedeln, 1533. These mandates, however, re-
mained in force in Zürich; and in Berne, too, an oath to maintain the Reformation was taken by the whole canton, November, 1534.

In the divided cantons the Catholic party was especially active. In Solothurn, where the city was reformed only in a small proportion, while the country was so by a large majority, the Reformation was suppressed in 1533 with the aid of the Catholic cantons. Appenzell adhered to its former decrees. In Glarus the Catholic service was restored only in some of the churches; in the city, Valentin Tschudi was able so far to allay the bitterness of the parties that he and other clergymen could officiate in both churches.

ble Christian faith (cf. above, Note 39). At Einsiedeln the Zürichers (April, 1533, Bullinger, iii. 341) were forced to confess that they had not thought, in issuing the mandate, that it would be so hostile and hurtful to the Five Cantons, and if they had considered this that they would not have issued it. For the future they would be on their guard against such mandates as would do detriment to the confederacy and the peace of the land. In the second place, the Zürichers were to take in hand and keep back the mandates not yet sent out, and wherever they had not yet been proclaimed and read, not have this done.

15 Hess, i. 166.
16 Haller, by Kirchhofer, s. 202.
18 Hottinger, iii. 644.
19 Hottinger, iii. 644 ff.
20 On this Valentin Tschudi, see Schuler's Huldreich Zwingli, Gesch. seiner Bildung zum Reformer. 2te Ausg., s. 318 ff. His Erasmian tendencies are apparent in his Letter to Zwingle, 16th March, 1530 (in Füsslini Epistolae ab Ecclesiae Helvet. Reformatoribus vel ad eos scriptae. Centur. i. Tiguri, 1742, &., p. 63 ss.): Quod vero haec

erum signa tua sequi detrectarim, non, charissime frater, Papisticae leges me adeo detinuerunt, nec avarum illud jugum prostratum commovit, ut ejus me vindicem subscribens; sed longe periculosissimum hoc bellum scientia duce, regnantibus privatibus consiliis, suscipere animus meus abhorruit.—Caute enim providendum, ne, dum corrosores vetere columnas dejectum, tota domus nimio impetu sese concutiatur, priscquam nova fulcrum admoveantur. Video enim, quosdam neglecta charitate tumultuarium agmine grassantem, rei christianae plus detrimenti quam commodi venientur, quibus si non tandem per Dominum capistrum imponatur, ut secundum Paulum idem omnes loquamur, nulla spec is in futurum quietem. Caeterum cum inter duo mala, quod tolerabilius eligendum sit, licet summe metuant gravius incommoda, quae evenire posse inter eos ostio των κουσώσεων; praesenti tamen malo prius occurrendum. Video enim humi densusa praetextum, quum tam pertinacissimo cortice ille nucleo, excitavit, clav irrepare neglectum Dei, despectum magistratum, violacionem judiciorum, vitam quoque licentiosam: nam tanto odio exacerbatis animis perit aequitas, charitas extinguitur.—Quid vero populo tam hostiliter diviso ultra expectandum quam desolati? Propter ea letarum patris premium condulsum, ne libertas tanto labore partes, nostra negligentiis amittatur. —Palam hactenus testatus sum, Christianismum in omnibus his ceremoniis non consisteri; sed —illud unicur a nobis requiri, ut exnatur vetus ille homo, ac charitate amplicantur proximum. Huc, huc ego direxi, ceremoniis causa sum reeducatione relinquentis charitati: non enim haec antiquatae me commoverunt, at commovit κουσώσεως verae in privata consilia. Quod si aliter fieri nequit, valeant. Apud me plus valebit publica quies, quam
In German Switzerland the War of Cappel set bounds to the Reformation; but in the French cantons it now gained an effectual entrance. William Farel had been preaching the Gospel from 1526 in the French parts of the cantons of Berne and Biel; next he established the Reformation in Neuschatel, 1530; but in Geneva he now found a much wider sphere for his energies. The dukes of Savoy, supported by the bishops of Geneva, had been long struggling for the possession of this free city, surrounded on all sides by the Savoy territory. By the luxurious manners of their court they had here gained adherents (the Mameluc) in the same degree that they had corrupted the morals of the city. The Geneva who loved freedom (called Eidgnots, i.e., confederates) made an alliance with the cantons of Berne and Freiburg, and with their help restored, in 1526, the freedom of the city, which had been almost lost. From Berne, too, the Reformation made its way to Geneva in 1528, and it advanced in spite of the opposition of the Catholic Freiburg. There was first formed a secret Reformed Church, which had to struggle with hard oppression and persecution. At the suggestion of the Bernese a religious conference was held, Jan. 29, 1534, in which Farel defended the Reformation; immediately afterward public worship was allowed to the Reformers. Freiburg now abandoned its alliance with Geneva; the plots of Savoy became more perilous; the city was put under the ban, and had to rely wholly upon the aid of Berne. The Reformation then advanced with great rapidity, through the zeal of the preachers Farel, Anton Froment, and Peter Viret. After another dispute, the Catholics now began to move anew, Tschudi quieted the people in Glarus. Being married, he did not read mass; but he was present at it, and preached to both parties. So, too, his chaplain, Hans Heer. In 1542 the Catholics in Linthal, who had no priests, asked the Reformed preacher, Brunner, to preach to them, and to visit those that were sick. See Hottinger's Kirchengesch., iii. 648.


22 Ruchat, iii. 175; iv. 95. Farel, by Kirchhofer, i. 109.


24 Ruchat, ii. 276; iii. 222; iv. 294.

25 The Acts were printed in French, 1584; in French and Latin, 1644, in 12. Extracts in Ruchat, v. 97. Farel, by Kirchhofer, i. 175.
FOURTH PERIOD.—DIV. I.—A.D. 1517-1648.

... the papacy was abolished by the council, and the Reformation adopted, Aug. 27, 1535. The next year the city gained its most distinguished teacher, John Calvin (Aug., 1536), who was destined to have such an efficient influence upon the development of all the Reformed Churches. After Berne had effected the deliverance of Geneva, hard pressed by the Duke of Savoy, it also conquered the Pays de Vaud, Febr., 1536. Here, too, the friends of the Reformation made their appearance; and a disputation at Lausanne, Oct. 1, 1536, in which Farel, Viret, and Calvin took part, was followed by a general adhesion to the Reformation. Viret was left in Lausanne, to be its reformer; and as early as 1537 an academy was there formed for the training of the clergy.

Though the Reformation, especially in consequence of the state of civil affairs, had gained so rapid a victory in Geneva, yet there were still in the city many who were secretly attached to the old Church; and there were others, infected by the corruption of morals introduced under the Savoy rule, who hoped to obtain complete license by the acceptance of the Reformation. When the preachers set themselves against this immorality by enforcing strict church discipline, a slight quarrel between them and the Bernese on church usages was made the occasion of getting rid of these troublesome disciplinarians: they were banished by a decree of the council in 1538. But their loss was soon so deeply felt that

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26 On the 30th May, 1535, Ruchat, v. 271. Farel, by Kirchhofer, i. 187.
27 Ruchat, v. 300.
28 Calvin, in his Praefatio ad Psalmos, relates that he was traveling through Geneva, intending to spend only one night there, and at first withstood the appeals of Farel, de nec Genevae non tam consilio vel hortatu, quam formidabili G. Farelli obtestationeruntus, ac si Dcus violentam mihi e coelo manum injiceret. Quo terrore perculsus susceptum iter—omisit. Farel, by Kirchhofer, i. 197. Das Leben Johann Calvins, by Paul Henry (Hamburg, 1885), i. 161. [Cf. above, pp. 10-12.]
31 Measures of the Bernese government to promote the Reformation, Ruchat, vi. 224. Edict, in which it was ordered to be introduced 24th Dec., 1536, in Ruchat, vi. 367.
32 Ruchat, vi. 446.
33 Calvinitus: quasi nihil aliud esset Christianismus, quam statuarum cverso; Hotinger's Kirchengesch., lii. 732. Registres de la Rep. 4, Sept., 1536: Quelques uns d'entre les principaux citoyens, et un grand nombre d'autres, ne pouvant point endurer les ministres qui les reprennent de leurs vices, protestent devant le Conseil vouloir vivre en liberté. Leben Calvins, by Henry, i. 196.
34 Farel, by Kirchhofer, i. 235. Henry, i. 199.
Calvin, in 1541, was called back from Strasbourg; Farel remained in Neufchatel. Calvin had to undergo many a hard conflict, especially with a party of fanatical free-thinkers, Libertines, who called themselves *Spirituels*; his life was at times in

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35 Henry, i. 385.

36 Who manifestly still belonged to the sect of the Free Spirit; see vol. ii. p. 590, Note; iii. p. 173. Cf. Calvini Instructio adv. fanaticam et furiosam sectam Libertinorum, qui se Spirituales vocant, written in 1544 (Ejusd. Tractatus theologici Amstelod., 1667, fol., p. 374). On the spreading of this sect it is there said, chap. iv., that a Fleming man, Coppin, from Yssel, had first preached this doctrine for fifteen years, and that then one Quintin, from Hennebau, had made himself still more famous, and propagated the sect in France. Ant. Poquet joined them, the same who, two years before, had harbored some time in Geneva. 

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Cap. 7: peregrinactisolentiutuntur lingua, quas sic cornicantur, ut nihiloplus perspicacitas insit, quam in avium cantu. Non nego, quin utantur communibus vocabulis, sed ita significationem eorum deforming, ut nemo intelligat. —Aur quidem malitioso agunt, ut possint clanculum velut ex insidiia idiotas circumvenire. Nemini enim revelant abominationum suarum mysteria, quae sub illia verborum tegumentis accusantium; quasi enim vos proferat, quo facilius hominibus imponant. 

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Cap. 8: unus est ex praecipuis capitibus theologiae ipsorum: artes simulandi, et esse transformandi nosse oportere, quo facilius hominibus imponant. —Quemadmodum nulla est ipsius religio coram idolis se prosternere, ita se omnis superstitionibus Papistarum adhaerere simulant, quod ex eorum opinione externa omnia in hominis Christiani libertate posita sunt. 

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Cap. 9: Semper hoc retinet principium: scripturam in naturali sensu suo acceptam literam mortuam esse, atque occidente, ideoque missam esse faciendam, ut ad Spiritum vivificantem veniamus. —Conatus nos a Scripturis avertere, ut in imaginationibus suis vagari, aut potius extra Scripturae fines errare cogant; ut unusquisque omnina sua, et diaboli praestigiias loco verbi Dei sequatur. 

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Cap. 10: Notandum est, eos nullum posse aliquas de re sermonem inchoare, quin nomen Spiritus statim ab eis proferatur: viisque binas clausulas continuare possint, quin subinde repeterant. —Nomen Spiritus ad omnia applicant, quoties ipsa commodum videtur, ut omnibus modis res suas agent. 

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Cap. 11: Primum hoc statuunt: Ubiuco esse tantum Spiritum Dei, qui sit ac vivat in omnibus creaturis. —Quum igitur unicum tantum spiritum statuunt, fingunt Angeli nihil aliud, quam inspirationes aut motus, non creaturas essentia praeditas esse. Aniamur nostrum loco ajunt Deum vivere in nobis, vegetare corpora nostra, nos sustinere, atque omnes vitae actiones efficiere. 

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Cap. 12: Diabolum, mundum et peccatum accipiant pro imaginacione, quae nihil est. Talemque hominem esse ajuna, quod sit in ipsorum secta reformatus. —Docent non esse amplius inhaerendum opinationi, quum abolitum sit peccatum: stultumque esse, ac si aliquid foret, de eo amplius laborare. 

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Cap. 13: Postea quam unicum Spiritum suo arbitratu facierunt, destructia ab olitit in Angelorum, tum Diabolorum, tum etiam animarum naturis, ajunt, solum hunc Spiritum efficiere omnia. Quintin says: *Quod ego aut tu facimus, Deus efficit. Quod etiam Deus facit, ipsi facimus*. 

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Cap. 15: Id praecipue sibi proponunt, ut sopiat conscientias, quo omni sollicitudine vacui homines, quicquid esse offerent, quicquid appetirerent, perpetrent. 

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Cap. 17: (Dicunt) Christum non obisse in cruce, sed tantum operationem. —In eo constituent redemptionem nostram, quod Christus solum velut typus fuit, in quo contemplatur ea, quae ad salutem nostram requirit Scriptura. —Quum ajunt Christum abolevisse peccatum, sensus eorum est, Christum abolitionem illam in persona sua reprezentasse. —Casterum, ut imaginantur, nemo nostrum non est Christus: quodquae in ipso factum est, in omnibus effectum dicunt. 

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Cap. 18: Fatentur quidem nobiscum, nos Dei filios esse non posse, nisi renati simus. Ac prima quidem facie idem nobiscum sentire videri possint, si tantum verba spectan-
peril, until his opponents were put down in an insurrection set on foot by Ami Perrin, when they were finally subdued, 1555. Thus the city was indebted to the Reformation for its freedom, its order and honorable morals, and its growing prosperity. The position and language of the city made it the centre of the Reformation for the Romanic countries; those driven thence here sought protection. On the other hand, companies of preachers were trained in Geneva, and for other lands too, especially in the academy founded in 1588. The French Reformed Church received thence almost all its preachers. Calvin had thus the opportunity of influencing the development of many Reformed...
Churches in other countries, and of diffusing far and wide his ecclesiastical and doctrinal views; so that he may be considered as the second founder of the Reformed Church.

The Reformation spread by degrees also into the Italian Switzerland. From 1512 the Twelve Cantons possessed in common the lordships of Lugano and Locarno; the Grisons also had the exclusive right to Veltlin and the lordships of Bormio and Chiavenna (Cleves). Scattered accounts of the Reformation had reached these places somewhat earlier. But when the Inquisition appointed by Paul III., 1542, compelled the Italian adherents of the Reformation to quit their native land, many of them emigrated into these Swiss provinces, became preachers of the Reformation, and established Churches. But there were uninterrupted conflicts among them, partly because the Catholics were violently opposed to them, and in part because the Italian refugees held and preached many peculiar doctrines. The Grisons established religious freedom in their provinces in 1544, and also the equal rights of both Churches in 1557, without, however, being able to deliver the Reformed from constant persecutions. In the lordships held in common the Reformation was continually opposed by the Catholic cantons, and only feebly defended by the Reformed; so that at last the little Church gathered in Locarno was obliged to wander forth in 1555; the members of it were settled for the most part in Zürich.

Switzerland was not involved in the great struggle which the Reformation aroused in Germany; this was owing to the relations which the Catholic cantons held to France, then favorable to the German Protestants. Thus both parties refrained from taking any part in the Smalcalde war, although the Pope had made a very earnest demand upon the Catholic cantons that they should contend against the German heretics. At the reopening of


44 De Porta, i. ii. 49, 274. M'Crie, s. 296, 325, 333. Meyer's Evangel. Gemeinde in Locarno, ii. 198 ff.


46 See § 8, Note 40. Bullinger, by Hess, i. 474.
Council of Trent in 1551, the latter did not take any part in it on account of the protest of the French. 47 There were, indeed, constant difficulties between the Catholic and Reformed cantons; 48 but as both parties were about equally powerful, one sword held the other in the scabbard; and they both, slight changes excepted, retained, from this time onward, the territories of which they had possession.

§ 11.

RELATIONS OF THE TWO RELIGIOUS PARTIES IN GERMANY TO 1618.

The religious peace corresponded so entirely to the deep-felt necessities of Germany, that the disapproval of it, immediately expressed by Pope Paul IV., produced no effect. 1 And when the same passionate pontiff gave new vent to his rancor by opposing Charles in his delegation of the imperial throne to Ferdinand, 2 in

47 Treaty with France, 1549; Bullinger, by Hess, ii. 9. Papal invitation to the council, ibid., s. 30; refused, s. 84.

48 Thus when, 1555, the Catholic cantons demanded that the evangelical party should swear to the confedera cy in the name of the saints in the old way; Bullinger, by Hess, ii. 267; F. Meyer’s Evangel. Gemeinde in Locarno, ii. 48: when the Catholic cantons ordered, 1555, that the Bible translations sent out from Zurich should be expelled from their region; Meyer’s Gemeinde in Locarno, i. 451; ii. 56: and when, accordingly, in 1556, Bibles were burned in Zug and Wallis; Bullinger, by Hess, ii. 402, 415; Meyer, ii. 61, 70.

1 As early as Dec. 18, 1555, he wrote to King Ferdinand (Raynald., h. a. No. 51): Vidit Serenitas Tua, quanta Nos et nostri proximi Praedecessores cura et sollicitudine — procuravimus, ut Conventus Augustanus potius religionis rebus intactis dissolveretur, quam ad Recessum veniret tarn perniciosum, sicut iste Nobis, et Tua Serenitate et Catholicis omnibus invitistandem ventum est. On the same day ad Wolfgangum Ep. Passav., l. c. No. 53: quid alienius a fide catholica potuit delferari, quam quae in Augusta proximi conventus Recessu decreatum fuisse accepiium? Ferdinand was compelled to listen, at the beginning of 1556, to still more earnest representations from the nuncio of the Pope, Delfnis (see his Report in Pallavicini, lib. xiii. c. 14, No. 1): Rex vero cum sibi videretur et in iis concedendis, quae Catholicis officerent, ab aperta necessitate omnis a se nota procul arceri, et in rebus sibi arbitratis vel maximum Religionis studium a se fuisse praestitum, respondit per commotioris animi sensum, quam moderatum ejus ingenium ferre consueverat. Id etiam fortass accidit, quod jam apparet in Paulo argumenta animi male affecti in Austriacam familiarum.

2 Ferdinand’s upper chamberlain, Don Martin Gusman, who was to notify the Pope of it, was not admitted as an imperial ambassador; the Pope laid the affair before the cardinals, whose opinion, as rendered, corresponded entirely with his views; Thuanus Histor. sui Temporis, lib. xxxi. c. 2; Raynaldus, 1558, No. 8. Comp. the reports of Cardinal Du Bellay on the procedures in the consistories, in Ribier Lettres et Mémoires d’Estat, ii. 623, 759. The Pope—rememore la translation de l’empire de Grece faite par les Papes, et le Privilege d’en faire election donne par leid. Papes a la Germanie.—Il ne se trouveroit point qu’il fut en la puissance d’un Empereur de resigner l’Empire, ny
1558, he only effected the formal rupture of the bonds by which the empire had until now been bound to the papacy. It became

aux Electeurs d’accepter la resignation, et suivant icelle faire nouvelle election, inconstante summo Pontificie.—Indignus est electus, comme qui a juré plusieurs Recès herétiques: —item a fait à son esclent mouvoir son fils aîné (Maximilian) de fausses doctrines: item soufrie de long-temps prescher en sa cour à la Lutherienne: item a laissé vacquer dix ou douze ans les gros Évesches sans y nommer, pour en prendre les fruits, et cependant y a laissé faire aux Lutheriens ce qu’ils ont voulu: item s’est usurpé plusieurs Palais et Châteaux des Évesches et Monasteres: finalement s’est fait élier clandestinement, refusant au nonce du Pape sa suite, et s’est fait élier par herétiques, ergo deponentibus, si jam esset Imperator. The Pope, as in the resignation of prelates, must first investigate, an justae causae sint resignandi, et se liberandi a juramento praestito Sedis Apostolicae, a quo non potest se solvere, nisi per Pontificem solutur. Puis il eust fallu procéder et examiner toutes autres choses, et mesmement de vita, moribus et idoneitate Ferdinandi. With this also agrees the opinion of the cardinals, in Thuanus, as cited above. They likewise add: ob id—Ferdinandoopus esse poenitentia;—itaqittamittendum ab illo procuratorecum pluris mandatatis, quibus declararet, se iis, quao Francocurti acta sunt, ut nullius momenti, renunciare, remque omnem Pontificis arbitrio permettère, caet. Even after Charles V. had died, Sept. 21, 1558, the Pope said to the French ambassador (see his Report to the King, 25th Dec., 1558, in Ribier, ii. 777), qu’il est mort Empereur, ayant esté sacré par le Pape, sans l’autorité duquel il ne pouvoit renoncer, ny ceder sa dignité; et dit davantage que Ferdinando non a encore autre qualité, que celle de Roy des Romains, obstant d’une part la nullité de la renonciation du defunt, et de l’autre que l’Empereur mort, le Roy des Romains ne luy succede pas indistinctement, mais qu’il faut qu’il soit examiné, et fasse foy, comme il s’est au precedent porté en l’estat de Roy des Romains, pour estre promu au Empire, ou depose de ladite dignité de Roy des Romains, selon qu’il se sera diginement, ou indignement porté. Et par là veut conclure, que l’Empire est aujourd’hui vuuant, et comme en passant me toucha, que le feu Pape Leon avoit eu envie de faire le feu Roy (Francis I.) Empereur.

Already, by occasion of the coronation of Charles V., it was proved by the Bishop of Gurck, Hieronymus Balbus, De Coronatione, lib. sing., ad Carolum V., Imp., Lugd., 1580 (also in Freherti Script. Hist. Ger.). ex sola elezione Caesarem jus plenissimum imperandij consequit, ex coronatione nihil novi juris Caesarii ascendet. Now the zealous Catholic Vice-chancellor of the empire, Dr. George Siegmund Seld, addressed to the Emperor a most remarkable document about it (reprinted in Goldast’s Politische Reichshandeln, Th. 5, s. 167). In the introduction he refers to the earlier pretensions of the Popes, and then continues: “Jetzud das Reich—auf Ew. Maj. erwachsen, so hebet man den alten verlegnen Zank wieder an,—u. bedenkt doch hergegen nicht, dass mittlerzeit, von den vorigen Babaten her, die Sachen weit ein andere Gestalt gewonnen. Dann da man vormals den Rom. Stuhl gar nahend angebetet, u. för Gott gehalten, da wird derselbe jetzud von einem grossen Theuff der Christenheit verachtet; u. da man vormals den Bästlichen Dann ubler, dann den zeitlichen Tod gefürchtet, da laschet man jetzunder desselben; u. da man vormals, was von Rom kommen, für göttlich u. heilig gehalten, da ist das romische Wesen u. Leben jetzund der ganzen Welt dermassen bekannt, dass schier manniglich, er sey wer er wolle, der alten oder neuen Religion, dafür ausspeyet.” Then the author goes on to show that the Emperor is under obligation to the Pope only as having the highest cure of souls; that the Emperor is to decide about the election of the Pope, has the right to call councils, to bestow ecclesiastical benefices, and to depose godless Popes. On the other hand, the Pope has no rights over the empire; coronation by him is not necessary. Thereupon he refutes the accusation of the Pope against the Emperor, and reproaches the Pope with many unseemly doings. He advises that the Pope should be set right, and, in case he will not yield, an appeal to a general council.—Both parties now let the matter drop. Paul IV. died Aug. 16, 1559; the newly-elected Pius IV. declared at once, after consulting with the cardi-
clear to all that a union of the two religious parties could no longer be expected. The Colloquy of Worms, appointed according to the condition of the treaty, 1557, was dissolved before it began. The invitation to the Council of Trent, whose sessions were resumed, was definitively rejected by the Protestants. Protestantism was so diffused, even in Austria and Bavaria, that the strict Catholic rulers of these countries, Emperor Ferdinand and Duke Albert, were compelled to make concessions by allowing the Eucharist under both forms, 1556; in Silesia Ferdinand was compelled to see the Reformed not only holding their ground, but also spreading abroad farther and farther. Had the ecclesiastical reservations not existed Germany would have soon become wholly Protestant. The Protestant princes, however, did not allow themselves...
to be restrained thereby from giving to the benefices lying nearest them, and already gained to the Reformation, bishops or administrators out of their families; at the same time, they constantly pressed at the diets for the complete abolition of such reservations, that is, for freedom of religion. These negotiations, and many other causes of complaint, were continually receiving fresh stimulus at the diet by the collision between the two religious parties; but they were not attended with perilous consequences so long as the Emperor kept to an impartial medium. This impartiality was maintained as well by the Emperor Ferdinand as by his son and successor, Maximilian II. (1564–76); although the latter was really inclined to the Reformation, and conceded to the Austrian

8 Thus the mediate benefices of Brandenburg had electoral princes as administrators: Havelburg from 1551; Lebus, 1555; Brandenburg, 1560. The archbishopric of Brandenburg had always had Brandenburg princes as archbishops, of whom Sigismund was the first Evangelical, 1553; Joachim Frederick reformed the benefice entirely, 1566. Thus, too, Saxon princes were designated to the Saxon bishoprics: Naumburg, 1561; Merseburg, 1565; Misnia, 1581; the chapters, in 1582, made a covenant that they would always remain, with their incumbents, attached to the heirs of the Elector; Camin, in 1566, received administrators from the princely family of Pomerania; Schwerin, from 1516, and Ratzeburg, from 1554, had bishops from the princely house of Mecklenburg; Halberstadt, Bremen, Lübeck, Verden, Osnabrück, and Minden received gradually evangelical bishops, especially from the neighboring princely families, without, however, being exclusively attached to any one; Eichhorn's Deutsche Staats- u. Rechtsgeschichte, 4te Aufl. iv. 149, 166.

9 First at the diet at Ratisbon, 1556; see B. G. Struven's ausführl. Historie der Religionbeschwerden zwischen den Römisch-catholischen u. Evangelischen im teutschen Reich (2 Theile. Leipzig, 1722. 8.), i. 275 ff. Haberlin's neueste teutsche Reichsgeschichte, iii. 155 ff.


11 His first inclination to it came from the teacher of his youth, Wolfg. Severus; see Raupach's Evangel. Oesterreich, i. 31. Afterward he engaged in a confidential correspondence with Protestant princes and theologians, and had an evangelical court-preacher, Joh. Sebastian Pfauzer (his life in Strobel's Beyträge zur Literatur, i. 267), whom, however, he was obliged to dismiss at the request of Maximilian (Raupach, i. 51 ff.), but recommended to his intimate friend, Duke Christopher of Württemberg (Schelhorn's Ergötzlichkeiten, i. 95), and the Palgrave Wolfgang (Strobel's Beyträg, i. 305). In Rome Maximilian was consequently regarded as an apostate (see Note 2). As he did not partake of the Catholic Eucharist for several years, and would only commune sub utraque, this was one of the chief reasons why Ferdinand demanded such a permission from the Pope (Litteræ secretiores Ferd. I. Rom. Imp. pro obtinenda Eucharistiasub utraque in gratiam Maxim. II. ann. 1560 missae ad Plum IV. P. M., ed. J. A. Schmid, Helmst., 1719. 4.; reprinted in Gerdesii Scrinium antiquarium, vii. 89). The relations between father and son were now in such tension that Maximilian even feared he should be compelled to flight; and for this event endeavored to secure a refuge with Frederick II. of the Palatinate (Abrah. Sculteti narratio apologetica de curriculo vitae. Emdæ, 1625. 4. p. 8; Strobel's Beyträg, i. 301 f.) and Philip of Hesse (Rommel's Phil. d. Grossmuthige, ii. 577 f.). In 1560 Stanislaus Hosius, Bishop of Ermeland, became the papal nuncio at the imperial court, and sought to win the King back to Catholicism
nobility the free exercise of religion in the churches of which he held the patronage.¹²

In the latter years of this Emperor,¹³ however, a change in the

(Bzovius, 1560, No. 6 ss.; Raynaldus, 1560, No. 16 ss.; Salig's Gesch. d. Trident. Conc., li. 173, Note; comp. also the letters in Cypriani Tabularium Eccl. Rom., p. 111 and 129): but that he was deceived in his oft-expressed hope of success is proved by Maximilian's later epistles to Duke Christopher; see his Correspondence in Le Bret's Magazin zum Gebrauch der Staaten- u. Kirchengesch., ix. 1. The chief reason which kept him from going over was found in the state of political affairs, especially in Spain; he always remained a decided opponent of all persecution for religion (Raupach, i. 148). Comp. Haas, Vermischte Beyträge zur Gesch. u. Literatur, Marburg, 1784, s. 1; v. Bucholtz's Gesch. der Regierung Ferdinands I., vii. 481.

¹² At first only verbally, and under condition of remaining true to the Augsburg Confession, and introducing a church order corresponding with it: with this in view, Dav. Chyträus was called to Austria (Raupach, i. 86). Pius V. sent at once a legate, Cardinal Condemon, to the Emperor, to procure a revocation of these concessions (Raupach, i. 98; ii. 174, 192), and the latter was obliged to declare to him (Gabutius, de Vita Pli V., Rome, 1605, p. 97), Pontificem omnibus excommunicationibus, ecclesiasticisque poenis in eum animadversurum, iusque privaturum imperatoria Majestate, atque catholicis Principibus in eum convocatis novum Imperatore mercurium, nisi ejusmodi decreatum, si factum esset, illico rescississet. The Emperor, however, gave that permission in a formal written assurance, 14th Jan., 1571 (Raupach, i. 125; ii. 199).

¹³ The extent to which Protestantism had until now maintained a preponderating influence over men's minds may be seen in the remarkable document of the famous General Lazarus von Schwendi, 1574: "Bedenken an Kaiser Maxim. II. von Regierung des h. Röm. Reichs u. Freystellung der Religion," in Goldast's Polit. Reichshändeln, s. 962 ff. It is there said, s. 968: "Der Adel ist fast durchaus im Reich unter Kathol. u. Luther. Obrigkeit der geänderten Religion zugethan, u. wo sie es nicht öffentlich seyn durfen, so seind sie es doch heimlichen in Gemächern, oder ist schon ein Theil der Rom. Religion noch anhängig, so ist es doch ein kalt halb Werk, u. wenig Eifers dahinnten, u. die Alten, so noch mit Andacht u. Eifer dahin geneigt, die sterben täglich hinweg, die Jugend aber kann man also nicht zugeben, sondern da man schon Fleiss dabey thut, so wils doch bey diesen Zeiten u. Exempeln u. Gemeinschaften nicht haften. Zudem so reisset solche Veränderung unter den Gelästlichen oben so wol ein. Also findt sich auf den Stiften zu mehr Oertern, dass ein guter Theil der Thumberren der Augsburgischen Confession nicht heimlich zugethan seyn, u. dass die andern auch je länger je mehr neutral u. kalt werden, u. dass sich in Summa schier Niemand unter ihnen um seinen Beruf u. geists. Stand recht annehmen will, sondern ist das meist um die Niessung der feisten Pfründen u. das gut müssig Leben zu thun. So stehet mit dem gemeinen Manne fast also durchaus, dass er von dem alten Thun u. Ceremonien der Rom. Geistlichkeit nit mehr halt, dann so weit er von seiner Obrigkeit darzu angehalten wird. Und siehet man fast überall, wenn die Predigt aus ist, dass das Volk aus der Kirchen lauft. Item, dass auch fast überall an den catholicen Orten die Leute ihre sonderne Luthersche oder evangelische Bücher haben, darinnen sie zu Haus lesen, u. einander selbst predigen u. lehren. Item so findt man aus der Erfahrung, da man schon die geänderte Religion wieder abgestellt, u. die Catholiche angerecht, als zu Costanz u. andern mehr, dass man doch auch durch sonder fleissiges Zuthum der Geistlichen in so langen Jahren die Gemütber nicht wieder gewinnen, u. der Rom. Religion anhängig machen kann. So hat auch solches bisher weder in Niederland, noch in Frankreich keine Gewalt, Obieig, Straf, Tyranney mogen zuwege bringen, u. da man sich schon ein Zeitlang duckt oder leidt, so brennet doch inwendig die Gemüthber, u. warten u. hoffen auf ein bessere Zeit u. Gelegenheit, u. wollen ehe das Äusserst darüber zusetzen. So mangel es an den Mitteln zu solchem Werk nicht wenig bey dem Stuhl zu Rom, dass er nämlich kein christliche Reformation wolle zulassen, u. gieht sich derhalben gegen der Welt ganz blosse, als ob er
state of affairs was brought about by the increasing influence of
the Jesuits in the Catholic countries of Germany. New life and
greater unity were thus given to the opponents of the Reformation;
while the Protestants were divided by violent conflicts, in conse-
quence of many of their princes becoming connected with the Re-
formed (Calvinistic) Church; and they thus lost their command-
ning position. By the activity of the Jesuits the Reformation was
first suppressed in Bavaria. Next, in 1575, followed the Abbot

nicht Gottes Ehre u. die Wahrheit, sondern nur sein eigen Geitz, Gewalt, Ehr, Reputa-
tion u. Vortbeil suche. Und lauft unter andern auch diese grosse Verstockung u. Blind-
heit diesfalls bey ihm für, dass er gar dem armen gemeinen Mann die christliche Ge-
bet, u. die Bücher des Evangell, u. Gottes Wort in seiner Sprach an denen Orten, da er
Gewalt u. Oberhand haben mag, nicht will zulassen, sondern unterstehet, ihn bey Ver-
lust des Lebens u. des Guts dahin zu dringen u. zu zwingen, dass er seinen lieben Gott
einer fremden Sprache muss anbeten, u. weiss nicht, was er bittet, u. vermeint also
nachmals die Religion allein durch Unwissenheit, u. mit äusserlicher Andacht, Zucht u.
Ceremonien zu erheben u. wiederzubringen, da doch die Grundfesten unsers christl.
Glaubens u. Heils nicht auf ausserlichen Zwang u. Kirchendiscliplin, sondern auf der
Erbarknuss u. Vertrauen an Gott stehet, u. seine Apostel, u. ihre
Nachfolger die Gebot und das Wort Gottes in gemeiner Sprach allen Völkern verkQndi-
k"tu.gelehrthaben. Darum sichsdann abermals bey jetziger Welt desto mehr ärgern u.
stoßen wird, u. lässt sich desto mehr ansehen u. muthmassen, dass die vorstehende
Veränderung nicht am Ende, sondern noch künftiglich, wie in den vergangenen Jahren
fortschreiten u. würken werde, u. dass Gottes heimlich Urtheil, Straf u. Fürschrift mit

14 At first three Jesuits were appointed professors in Ingolstadt, viz., Jar, Salmeron,
and Canisius, in 1549 (Winter's Gesch. d. Evang. Lehre in Bierm, ii. 167); in 1557 a
complete college was opened there; 1559 in Munich. In Vienna they had a firm hold
in 1551; in Cologne, 1556; in Trevcs, 1561. The Cardinal Otto, Bishop of Augsburg,
gave to them, in 1563, the institutions for education which he had founded—a seminary,
a gymnasium, and a university at Dillingen; comp. Ranke, Fürsten u. Volker v. Süd-
Europa, iii. 25.

13 On the extent to which this reached, see Historia Soc. Jesu, P. I. (by Orlandini)
lib. xi. p. 256, and P. ii. (by Sacchino) p. 821. In the year 1558, at the instigation of
the Jesuits, an Inquisition was instituted, to consult about all accused of Lutheranism
in the light of thirty-one articles; see "Die abgöttische Artikel gestellet von einem Monch
in Bayern, etc., mit einer kurzen Erinnerung Phil. Melanchthonis, 1558" (reprinted in
the Fortges. Sammlung v. alten u. neuen theol. Sachen, 1730, s. 405). Against these
articles Melancthon also wrote his Responsiones ad implos articulos Bavariae inquisitionis.
Witteb., 1558. 4. (comp. Strobels neue Beytrage zur Literatur, iii. ii. 167). In
the year 1561 all public officers were obliged to take oath to remain true to the Catholic
Church, according to those articles. Then the same oath was imposed on all subjects;
those that would not take it must sell their property and forsake the country. Jesuits
were sent round to carry out this order (Sacchino, i. c.). The violent acts which ensued
are described in the work: "Zwey Trost- u. Vermahnung-schriften an die verjagtcn
Christen aus dem Bayerland. Item ein Rathschlag Joannis Brentli," 1564. 4. (see Schel-
horn's Ergotzlichkeiten, ii. 287). Of the extent to which Munich was depressed, in conse-
quence of the emigration of many of its thrifty burghers, is described in the letter of the
magistracy to the Duke, 14th Dec., 1570, in P. Ph. Wolf's Gesch. Maximilians I., and
see Zeit, i. 83, Note.—Ranke, Fürsten u. Volker, ii. 87.

12 Immediately after he had introduced the Jesuits; Haberlin's neueste teutsche Reichs-
gesch., ix. 871; Ranke, ill. 51.
of Fulda, and the electorate of Mayence at Eichsfeld,\textsuperscript{17} in spite of the opposing imperial declaration about a religious peace; even the existence of such a treaty was denied.\textsuperscript{18} Under the Emperor Rudolph II. (1576–1612) this Catholic reaction increased greatly; for though he loved peace, yet he was wholly under the papal and Spanish influence, and he showed at once his opposition to the Protestants by abolishing the evangelical worship in the hereditary Austrian cities (1578).\textsuperscript{19} Bishop Julius of Würzburg, drove out all Protestants\textsuperscript{20} in 1586; other bishops and Catholic cities of the empire were aroused to similar acts.\textsuperscript{21} While in this

\textsuperscript{17} Which was almost wholly Protestant. Here, too, Jesuits were the soul of the reaction, and erected at once a college in Helligentadt; J. Wolf's Eichsfeldische Kirchengeschichte. Göttingen, 1816. 4. s. 176 ff.

\textsuperscript{18} See § 9, Note 41. At first the Abbot of Fulda replied to his Protestant subjects (see Beschwerde der Stadt Fulda, in Lebenmann De Pace Religionis, Buch ii. cap. ix. s. 260): "Deagleichens ware der Appendix u. Declaration des Religionsfriedens uerunendi u. in rerum natura nit gewesen, werde sich auch weder in der Müntzischen noch Cammergerichts-Canzley einig Original oder Bekrüftigung befinden; so auch schon 10 Originales bey Handen, würden sie in Rechten wenig gelten, dieweil der Religionsfriede des Appendcics mit keinem Wörtein gedenk, sondern inhalt, dass keine Declaration von Würden und kraftig seyn soll." When the secular electors demanded, at the election of Rudolph II., Oct. 15, 1575, that the Declaration should be mentioned in the stipulations, the clerical electors responded (Lehmenmann, ii. xv. a. 274), "dass sie der angeregten Declaration halben vor der Zeit nichts, als erst die Jahres gebört, ihre Räthe, so den Religionfrieden anno 1555 helfen berathenschlagen u. schliessen, waren im Leben u. bey Handen, u. hatten sich zwar wol zu erinnern, was gestalt bemeldter Frieden abgehandelt, aber wie es mit der Erklärung ergangen, waren ihnen verborgen." Thereupon a hard strife sprung up; but the Declaration was not received into the stipulations, and the secular electors satisfied themselves with guarding the rights of Protestants by Protestsations. Haberlin's neueste Reichsgeschichte, ix. 341.

\textsuperscript{19} He confirmed to the nobility, 1577, the religious freedom secured to them by Maximilian (Raupach's Evangel. Oesterreich, ii. 275). Meanwhile he had also allowed evangelical worship to be celebrated in the imperial cities in his own houses; very many of the citizens had taken part in these services. This was not forbidden under Maximilian; but it was now prohibited, at first in Vienna, where Maximilian had expressly allowed such service in houses (Raupach, ii. 283; Appendix, p. 157); next the prohibition was made general (Raupach, i. 155; ii. 302). The Flician, Josua Opitius, evangelical preacher in Vienna, had indeed caused a great excitement by his violent sermons (Raupach, ii. 285 f.). Those who applied for citizenship were to be examined on articles like the Bavarian (see Note 15), to set themselves right about their Catholicism; see Raupach, ii. 307; Appendix, 187.

\textsuperscript{20} Haberlin's neueste Reichsgesch., xiv. 518. Ranne, Fürsten u. Völker, iii. 119.

\textsuperscript{21} In Paderborn, when under Bishop Heinrich (1577–85), Protestantism was widely diffused, his successor, Theodore von Fürstenberg, founded at once a Jesuit college, and the suppressed the Protestats; they were wholly expelled in 1612 (Bessen's Gesch. des Bisth. Paderborn. Paderb., 1820, ii. 89; s. 127). In Münsler, where there was still a large number who favored Protestantism, Bishop Ernest of Bavaria introduced the Jesuits in 1588, and suppressed Protestantism (Geschichte Münsters, nach den Quellen bearbeitet, by Dr. H. A. Echard, drittes Heft. Münster, 1887). Salzburg was again made Catholic by Archbishop Wolf Dietrich, after 1588 (Gocking's Emigrationsgeschichte v. d.
way one of the imperial declarations about a religious peace was wholly disregarded, the other declaration—the so-called ecclesiastical reservation—was, on the contrary, enforced with great strictness when the Elector of Cologne, Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg, in 1582, went over to the Protestant Church; nor was any attention paid to the appeal of the Protestant princes, who were also weakened by internal feuds.22

The tension between the two religious parties was still more heightened by the Reformed Calendar of Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582;23 as the Catholics accepted it and the Protestants rejected it, there thus sprung up mutual hostilities, which were renewed almost every day. Just occasion for solicitude was also given to the Protestants by many works that were published, particularly of the Jesuits, which not only calumniated the Reformation, but also contested the validity of the religious peace.24 Nor were they less disturbed by the rumors of the plans of their opponents for the total suppression of Protestantism.25 Some events occurred which increased this solicitude. Margrave Jacob of Baden-Hochberg26

aus Salzburg vertriebenen Lutheranern, i. 88); Bamberg by Bishop Neithard, 1595 (Jäck's Gesch. v. Bamberg, iii. 199, 212).

22 Gebhard was deposed and put under the ban by the Pope, April 1, 1583; and Ernest of Bavaria put in his place by the cathedral chapter. Gebhard was thereupon banished, especially through the Bavarian influence. Cf. Mich. ab Isselt (Catholic priest about 1580 in Cologne, then in Hamburg, † 1597) Historia Belli Coloniensis, libb. iv. Colon., 1584. 8. Gerh. v. Kleinsorgen (councilor of the electorate of Cologne in Wgrl, † 1591) Tagebuch v. Gebhard Truchsess, or his Church History of Westphalia, 8er Theil. Münster, 1780. 8.—Häberlin's neueste Reichsgeschichte, xiii. Gebhard Truchsess v. Waldburg, by F. W. Barthold, in Raumer's Hist. Taschenbuch. Neue Folge, i. (Leipz., 1840) s. 1.

23 Häberlin's neueste Reichsgesch., xii. 640; xiii. 441.


26 Induced by Pistorius, his physician in ordinary, who had already gone over, and who stood in close connection with the Jesuits. The excitement was increased by the colloquies which the Margrave set on foot: one at Baden, Nov., 1589, between Pistorius and the Württemberg divines, Andreae, Heerbrandt, and Oslander (see Acta des Colloqui, zwischen den Würtemb. Theologen u. Dr. Jo. Pistorio zu Baden gehalten. Tübingen, 1590. 4.); and one at Emmendingen, June, 1590, between the Strasburg theologian,
went over to the Catholic Church in 1590, and at once threatened to suppress Protestantism in his territory. Archduke Ferdinand, a pupil of the Jesuits, since 1596 ruler of Steiermark, Carinthia, and Crain, drove all the Protestants out of his country in 1598.

Maximilian, also trained by the Jesuits, Duke of Bavaria since 1598, in order to gain the Palgrave of Neuburg for the Catholic interest, appointed a colloquy between the Jesuits and the Protestant theologians at Ratisbon, 1601; his object was not attained, but the embittered feeling between the two parties was only the more intensified. The Catholic preponderance was next shown in a menacing way in the affair of the imperial city, Donauwerth.

Pappus, and Zehbender, court preacher of the Margrave (Jo. Fehltii Hist. Colloquii Em-mendingensis. Rostochii, 1694. 8.).

He became a Catholic July 5, 1590, on the 2d August commanded his evangelical preacher and school teacher to leave the country within a quarter of a year, and died August 17; whereupon his land fell to his two Protestant uncles; Hääberlin, xv. 535.

After the decease of his father he came under the guardianship of Duke William V. of Bavaria, and had studied, 1590 sq., in Ingolstadt under the direction of the Jesuits; Wolf's Gesch. Maximilian I., i. 93. William constantly impressed upon him, orally and in writing, that the happiness and success of his government depended upon his zeal for the Catholic religion, and that nothing but misfortune could result from a different course; Schmidt's neuere Gesch. d. Deutschen, Buch iii. cap. 16.


The leading Catholic colloquists were Albert Hunger, pro-chancellor of Ingolstadt, and the Jesuits, Jac. Gretser and Adam Tanner; the Protestants, Jac. Heilbrunner, court-preacher at Neuburg, and Aegidius Hunnius, professor in Wittenberg. The Catholic edition of the acts: Actorum Colloqu. Ratisbonensis de norma doctrinae catholicae et controversiarum religionis judic, ed. II. Monachii, 1602. 4. The Protestant: Colloquium de norma doctrinae et controversiarum religionis judicem Ratisbonae habitum mense Nov. anno 1601. Lauingae, 1602. 4. Other writings, see in Walchii Bibl. Theol., iii. 882. Struven’s pfalz. Kirchenhistorie, s. 512, most complete in Senkenberg’s Forts. v. Hääberlin, i. 58. Maximilian had previously sent to the Palgrave several calumnious works against Luther, especially Conrad Andreade’s (really by the Jesuit Conr. Vetter) Der unschuldige, demüthige, wahrhaftige, etc., Luther. Ingolst., 1600. 4., in which Luther was charged with the most horrible crimes, which here seemed to be proved by his own writings. When the Protestants accused the Jesuit of falsifying the passages from Luther, he said that he was ready to have corporal punishment inflicted on him if this was proved; accordingly, after the colloquy a conference was held, in which the calumniator was shown to be guilty of what was charged, in the presence of Maximilian; see Heilbrunner’s Postcolloquium Ratisbonense. Lauingae, 1607. 4. Wolf, i. 493.
This city, wholly evangelical, because it would not allow to the Abbot of the Holy Cross (Zum heiligen Creuze) the revival of the public processions long since abolished, was laid under the imperial ban. Maximilian undertook to carry this decree into execution, transformed the free city into a Bavarian appendage, and abolished all freedom of evangelical worship, 1607.33

All complaints of the Protestants were fruitless.34 The Em-

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33 See the Report by Ulrich Grosse, then apothecary in Donauwerth, in Winckler's Aeneoda Historico-ecclesiastica Novantiqua, i. 367; Häberlin, xxii. 440; Wolf's Gesch. Maximilians I., ii. 190.

34 The mutual complaints of the parties may serve as a basis for judging about the circumstances; these were presented at the Diet of Ratibon, 1594 (see the Acts in Lehmann De Pace Religiosis, i. 481; extracts in Struven's Hist. der Religionsbeschwerden, i. 378). The Protestants, in their gravaamina, insisted that the conditions of the Religious Peace were not observed, "dass auch derselb wol zuweilen in einem andern Verstand will gezogen werden, darzu dann der Papst u. seine Legaten u. Nuntii, so hin u. wieder im Reich umziehen, auch jetzt noch bey dieser währender Reichversammlung zur Stelle seyn, nit wenig helfen. Denn es wird öffentlich ausgegeben, dass weil. König Ferdinand hochblühlichstem Gedachtnus ohne päpstlichen Consens nicht gebührt habe, ein Religionfrieden zwischen den Ständen im Reich zu treffen, dass auch derselb länger nicht, dann nach vollendetem Tridentischen Concilio kräftig seyn soll: derhalben er nunmehr sein Emandschaft erreicht, u. länger nit bindlich seye. Dahero dann die Augs. Confession unschuldig für ein verdamppte Religion angezogen, u. die darwider in das Reich geschickte päpstliche Bull mit angedrohter Execution wiederum öffentlich angeschlagen, auch die im Religionfrieden suspendirte geistliche Jurisdiction wider mä-

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niglichen wieder aufzurichten unterstanden werden will. Wie dann der Papst u. seine Nuntii ihre Jurisdiction durch die Jesuiter ihrer im Reich angemassten Gewalt u. Bot-

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gelischen aller Zutritt abgeschnitten wird.—Überdiess wird fürgegeben, als sollten die-

jenigen, welche vor dem Religionfrieden nicht zur Augsp. Confession getreten, jetzt
dass nit fürzunehmen Macht haben, u. derwege keinem Stand, sondern nur den Reich-

city einige Reformation zu verstatten sein. Derohalben es bey etlichen Städten da-
hingebacht, dass sie sich vermittelst Eids verbunden u. reversirt, bey der jetzigen
Römischen Religion zu bleiben, keinen evangelischen Bürger in Rath zu ziehen, den
Bürgern kein Exercitium, wie feindsch auch von viel tausend Bürgern darum ange-
sucht wird, zu verstatten, wie in der Stadt Coln geschieht, allda die evangelischen Bür-
ger mit neuen vom Rath angerichteten fiscalischen Processen geplagt, gethurnet, um
Geld gebracht, u. den Ubelthäthern gleich gehalten werden.—Wie in gleichem auch bey
etlichen andern oberlandischen Städten, als zu Schwäbischen Gründ, wie auch der
Stadt Kaufenbrunn u. andern fast dergleichen unterstanden, da der freye Lauf des h.
Evangelii wider die Reica-Constitutiones gehindert, auch präjudicirliche Decreta u.
Bescheid ertheilt.—Es befinden sich auch die Evangel. Augsburgischer Confession ver-
undete Stände in ihren u. Christi Mitgliedern in dem wider den Religionsfrieden nit
wenig beschwert, dass anstatt des freywilligen unausgewogenen Auszugs, so den Unter-
Thanen zu einer sondern Wohltath im Religionfrieden gegonnet, sie die Unterthanen
auszuziehen u. dabei mit allem Ernst gezwungen werden, das Ihrig in einer engen
präfgirten Zeit, so Manchen unmöglich, mit Unstatten zu verkaufen, u. das Land wie
peror Rudolph was indeed obliged, after he had been compelled to

Ubelthater zu raumen, u. da sich ja einer seiner Gelegenheit nach in ein benachbart evang. Ort begiebt, wird ihm doch mit gestattet, uf seine verlassene Statt oder Feldgüter zu gehen, u. die zu bauen, oder die gebauten Frucht ihres Gefallens einzuhemm-schen, sondern ihnen ihre Güter noch darzu wider ihren Willen, auch zum Theil unbe-wusst derselben in ganz geringen Werth gesetzt, und uberdies die Nachsteur von den Unterthanen mit Gewalt gefordert u. eingenommen werden, alles den Reichsordnungen u. der Billigkkeit zuwider. Wie dann auch diejenigen, welche schon zur Römischen Religion treten, solcher harten Weis darbey zu bleiben verpflicht gemacht werden, dass, wenn sie wieder zur Augsburg. Confession sich begeben, die Obrigkeit sie als Apostatas u. Unchristen zum höchsten zu strafen Macht haben sollten, wie die Formulae jurandi, auch derwegen hin u. wieder publicirte Mandata, darin den Evangelischen aller Handel bey Straf der Confiscation ihrer Güter verboten, ausweisen. So will man auch der Relig. halben vertriebenen auf andern Orten kein Schutz gönnen, u. die sich schützen, verfolgen u. anfeinden; die Declaration des Religionfriedens, so weit. Kaiser Ferdinand — gegeben, als unkräftig anziehen u. deuten." They also complained that the evangelical bishops had no seat in the councils of the empire; that in the courts the Catholics had a strong party majority; that the council of the imperial court, consisting almost entirely of Catholics, had cases illegally brought before it (comp. Ranke, Fürsten u. Volker, iii. 408); that the incomes which should come from Catholic countries to clois- ters under evangelical sway were kept back; that the evangelical party in Catholic territories were loaded with heavy pecuniary penalties; that Catholic princes forbade their subjects buying and selling in the neighboring evangelical cities, etc. The Cath. on the other hand, in their rejoinder, maintained, in respect to the Religious Peace, "dass sie denselben bisher — ufrichtig, mit unverfalschtem Gewissen — gehalten, auch mit gemein seyen, denselbigen in einige Disputation, Erklärungen, oder in was Namen des- sen Veränderung bedacht werden könnte,—fUr sich selbst zu ziehen, oder ziehen zu lassen.—Es lassen sich auch die kathol. Stände wenig irren, wie es billig den andern Theil auch so hoch nicht anfechten sollt.—was von Ufhebung des Religionfriedens, ob u. wie lang derselbst beständig seyn soll oder konne, disputirt, besagt, oder beschrie- ben wird.—Wie nicht weniger auch ihnen ganz u. gar kein Gefallens an dem unbe-scheidenen Ausschreien geschielt, wollen es auch wissender Ding ungern verhangen, do sie die Katholische u. ihre Religion hin u. wieder uf der Gegenthell Canszel unver-länmndt, unausgedänzelt, u. ihre höhere Stand unvervetzetz, u. vor den rechten Anti-christen ohnugezogen bleiben möchten." The spiritual jurisdiction was suspended, they said, in Protestant countries, but not in the Catholic; the latter still reverentially acknowledged the Pope as the visible head of the Church. "Zu welchem Ende dann die päpstl. Legaten u. Nuntius zuzweilen in das h. Reich verordnet werden, einzig der Inspection halben, damit bey der Katholischen Kirchen die unzertrennte Einigkeit u. altedarbey herbrachte Ordnungen in beständigem Wesen erhalten werden, darüber sie auch im Reich kein andere Verwaltung haben, oder jemand der Katholischen ihnen et- was weiter dem h. Reich oder einigen desselben Stand zu Nachthell einzuräumen ge- meint, u. wird ihnen mit keinen Fugen zugelegt, dass sie die Zeit u. Jahr zu verändern unternehmen, sondern hat allein die Papstl. Heiligkeit die Tage der Zahl halben, der Kirchen u. mathematischen Nothdurft nach, mit Wissen der Kais. Maj. u. anderer Po-tentaten (wie es Julius Cäsar gethan, u. andere lübliche Kaiser auch thun wollen) zu- rückgezogen, u. also die Zeit oder Jahr, wie es von den Anklägern den Katholischen für ein antichristische Notam will gedeutet u. fürgenutzt werden, keineswegs immutirt oder verändert." The Catholic states were not required to reply to the attacks in re- spect to the nuncios, because "in Betrachtung auch dieserseits weniger nit gedult wer- den muss, dass ihre Superintendenten ihrer Meinung nach viel Ordnung machen, u. biswollen ihre Herrn selbst u. deren Untertanen, um deswillen sie den Katholischen Ceremonien etwas nachgeben u. verhangen, oder anderer Ursachen halben, excommu- niciren u. zuweilen dem Bösen gar zuerkennen." The regalia had been constantly giv- en by the Emperor after the papal confirmation. The Catholic states were not bound

Und weiset die leidige Erfahrung aus, wie unmilt an vielen Orten mit den dazumal noch ubrigen Stiften, Kirchen, u. Klöstern umgangen, do die alte Religion verboten u. abgeschaffen, die Kirchen verändert, Altar abergerissen, Baarschaft, Kleinodia, Brief, Siegel u. Register hinweggenommen, der lieben Heiligen Reliquien, u. Corpora Martyrum Christi verunehrt, die heiligen Hostien mit Füssen getreten." Complaint was also made that the Evangelical party forced pastors of their faith upon the people instead of Catholic priests; demolished Catholic churches; deprived the Catholic clergy of their stipends; that in the Evangelical cities of the Empire churches were taken from the Catholics, and the Catholic religion oppressed or abolished; that the Catholic subjects of Evangelical princes were in many ways harassed and punished for worshipping in Catholic churches, etc.—To these complaints of the Catholics the Evangelical party responded at the Diet of 1598 (Lehenmann, i. 528; Struve, i. 395). To be particularly noted are the contradictory statements about two points in the treaty for Religious Peace. First they speak of the reservations about clerical (spiritual) affairs: "Es wird sich in actis befinden, dass ann. 52 in Aufrichtung des Passaurschen Vertrages dahin ausdrücklich ist verhandelt worden, was in damalnen fürgeschlagenen künftigen Religionfrieden gegen einem u. dem andern Theil bündig seyn, dasselb auch beyderthiel u. aller Ständ, u. ordentlichen Zuthan der Kais. Maj. beschlossen werden sollen, derwegen dieser Vergleichung zuwider nichts hat konnen noch sollen uf des einen Theils allein Anbringen u. Begehren dem hernach ann. 55 uferichten Religionfrieden einverleibt oder zugesetzt werden. Ob nun wol bisher fürgebeu, u. noch bestritten werden will, als sollten die Evangel. Stände in solchen Vorbehalt auch geweiligt, u. auf damain Röm. Kon. Maj. vielfaltige Handlung denselben ohnwidersprochen haben passiren lassen, so kann man doch Evangelischen Theils ein solches mit nichten geständig seyn; dieweil aus der Evangel. Chur. u. Fürsten Erklärung ann. 55 geschehen ausdrücklich zu erkenne, welcher Gestalt Ihre Churf. u. F. Gn. zu ernstlichstem diesen von ihnen unverwilligten Zusatz des Vorbehals aus dem Religionfrieden—wieder zu cassiren begehrt, darbey sich ausdrücklich dessen bezeuget, dass sie Gewissens halben darum auch nicht zu willfahren, noch mit solcher Willfahrun sich zu beschweren wüssten. Es müssen auch die Gegenheit ge-ständig seyn, dass selthero bey allen Reichsversammlungen zu Regensburg u. Augsburg, etc., ann. 56, 57, 59, 76, solcher Erklärung u. Protestations—wiederholt worden. Zugedem es der Evangelischen Erachten nach wider einander laufen, u. nit zu vergleichlichen seyn will, dass einem jeden, der sich zu der Religion Ausbg. Conf. begiebt, solches an Ehren, Haab, u. Güttern unnachthellig seyn, u. dagegen, wenn einer im geistl. Stand aus Gottes Erluchtung von den rom. Mißbräuchen zu der christl. evangel. Religion sich begiebt, aller seiner Dignitäten u. Einkommen alsbald zu Straf de facto entsetzet seyn soll. Und dieweil solches bey der ganzen Welt u. aller Posterität anderst nicht als für ein besonder schmähhafte Macul u. Verdammung der Evang. Rel. kann verstan- den werden, dass derselben Bekenner nit allein keiner geistl. Dignität oder Prätatur fahig, sondern auch die er zuvor gehabt durch Einnehmung u. Erkanntnuss evangelischer Wahrheit deren als unwürdig entsetzet seyn sollen, so haben die Evangelischen solchem Vorbehalt sich billig zu widersetzen gehabt:—derwegen sie auch ohne Scheu bekennen, dass sie sich bey solcher Widersprechung des oft angeregten Vorbehalts zu handhaben schuldig erachten, u. ihrer christl. Evangel. Religion solchem Schimpf u. Spott ufertragen Gewissenshalben nachzugeben nit wissen, dessen sie auch bey ansehenlichen Erz. u. andern Stiften in rubiger Possession et q. gelassen werden. Und haben sich die Römische Religionsverwandten der Profanation halben gar nicht zu befahren; sonder über dass sich die Evang. Stände—zu Genügen erboten, solche Stift vermöglich ihrer ersten Fundation unzweifelhafte Intent zu ihrem rechtlichen Gebrauch, wahren Gottesdienst, christlicher Aufzug der Jugend, u. zu andern christl. Uebungen dawieder zu richten, so würd' ihnen auch mit zuwider seyn, noch ferner sich zu vergleichen, die bezagte Profana- tion zuvorkommen: wenn allein sie uf ihrer Seiten die Sachen dahin abrichten, dass ihnen nicht grössere u. abscheulichere Profanation der geistl. Stiftungen, Gefall u. Ein-
renounce Austria and Hungary in favor of his brother Matthias, to grant concessions by letters patent, July, 1609, to Bohemia, which alone remained to him; and Archduke Matthias was not only forced to restore to the Evangelical party in Austria and Hungary their impaired rights, but also to enlarge them, March, 1609. But these favors were merely wrung from them by the circumstances of the times, and could not remove the distrust of the Protestants.

Thus the Catholic and Protestant states in Germany were constantly assuming a still more hostile attitude. The antagonism was strengthened by the controversy as to the succession in Jülich-Cleves. After the death of the last Duke, John William, March 25, 1609, seven princes contended for the succession; the electoral prince, John Sigismund, of Brandenburg, and Philip Louis, Count Palatinate of Neuburg, took possession of the province in consequence of the treaty of Dortmund, May 31, 1609, while the
Emperor favored the claims of electoral Saxony. A large part of the Protestant states had already formed the Evangelical Union at Ahausen, May, 1608, with Frederick IV., Elector of the Palatinate, at their head; and this Union had entered into a league with France, February 11, 1610, at Hall, in Suabia. In opposition to this was formed the Catholic League, under Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, by the treaty of Munich, July 10, 1609. An agreement made between these two leagues at Munich, October 14, 1610, could not long insure peace; and after the Count Palatine, Wolfgang William of Neuburg, had become Catholic, in order to obtain the whole province of Jülich, with the help of the

39 That is, the Palatinate, Württemberg, Baden, Hesse Cassel, and Anhalt, besides the counties and cities. Saxony, Hesse Darmstadt, Brunswick, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg did not join, on account of their hatred to Calvinism, to which several of those states were attached; and electoral Saxony approximated very closely to the Emperor, moved also by its jealousy against the lead which the Palatinate had among the Protestant states. The extent of the embittered feeling of the Lutherans against the Calvinists may be seen in a formal opinion of Egidius Hunnius and David Selaus, two theologians of electoral Saxony, in which they counseled Duke Frederick William, at that time the administrator of the affairs of that state, not to assent to the Protestant grievances, as drawn up and presented to the Diet of Ratisbon, 1594 (see Note 34; the document is in Haberlin, xix. p. xviii.), unless "he were allowed to add a protestation that this did not imply assent to their Calvinistic doctrine." "Dieweil inmal Reichskundig, wasvor Irrthumu.GrenelhinterderCalvinischenLchrestecken,u.wiedieselbedem alleinse-ligmachendenWortGottes,auchderchristl.Augsb.Conf.handgreiflichzuwider;dasi
man demnachvielmehripsofacto,alsnndaprotestationevonihnenindiesemWerk sich
to separiren schuldig, als nuda protestationes von ihnen in diesem Werk sich zu separiren schuldig, allermeist aus folgenden Gründen u. Ursachen. Dann erstlich ist mäßiglich unverborgen, wie Gott in seinem Wort befehlt, falsche Lehre u. der selben öffentliche Vertheidiger facto zu fliehen, u. in Glaubenssachen auch ab omní specie hujusmodi consociationis sich zu hüten.—Wie könnte man auch mit gutem Gewissen recht sagen, dass sich die Calvinische sub eodem scriptu titulo vor Stande der Augsb. Conf. dargeben, so doch sie derselben nicht nur in einem oder zweisen, sondern per accumulationem errorum nunmehr in 6 oder 7 articulis offenbarlich zuwider.—Dann die die Papisten desto weniger den Religionsfrieden zu halten sich schuldig werden erken-
den, dieweil man andere verworfene Secten in die gemeinschaftliche Augsb. Conf. u. den darauf fundirten Religionsfried ziehen wollte.—Es würden auch durch diesen Actum die Sacramentarier in ihrer gottlosen Lehre trefflich gestärkt werden," u. s. w.


41 Häberlin, xxii. 267.

42 The ground had been already laid by the three ecclesiastical electoral princes in 1606. Besides them and Bavaria, only bishops and abbots assented; Häberlin, xxii. 701; Wolf's Gesch. Maximilians i. u. seiner Zeit, ii. 421.

43 Häberlin, xxii. 323. Wolf, ii. 631.

44 Struven's Pfalz. Kirchenhistorie, s. 582. Wolf, iii. 437. Some contemporaneous reports and documents, see in the Fortges. Sammlung von alten u. neuen theolog. Sachen for the year 1722, s. 376, and in Henke's Magazin, ii. 178. It is remarkable that the Jesuit, Jac. Reihing, his court preacher, who composed a work in defense of this change, went over to the Protestant Church in 1621, and then became professor of theology in Tübingen; Wolf, iii. 494.
Spaniards and of the League, the two parties took up arms and assumed a hostile attitude toward each other.

§ 12.

THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

Bohemia cast the flaming brand into the combustible materials that had been gathered together. The Utraquists, irritated in many ways, though they formed the majority, at last revolted in 1618. Upon the death of the Emperor Maximilian, which soon ensued, they would not recognize his successor, Ferdinand, and gave their crown to Frederick V., the youthful electoral prince of the Palatinate. The support, however, which he received from his father-in-law, James I. of England, and from the Protestant Union, was insignificant. Ferdinand, on the other hand, had powerful aid from Spain and the Catholic League; and thus his general, Maximilian of Bavaria, after the battle of the White Mountain, October 29, 1620, in a short time overrun the whole kingdom. Ferdinand inflicted the severest punishments, and, with the help of the Jesuits, abolished Protestant worship in Bohemia and in

1 See below, § 14, Notes 24–26.

2 The Pope sent to him a consecrated dagger with the Jewish formula of incantation—Tetragrammaton alpha et omega, agla. Sabaoth (Miscellanea Lips. xi. 41); a remarkable omen about Rome as it then was!

3 The soul of this and the following reformations was Carl Carafa, papal nuncio at the imperial court. (The Instructions given to him, April 11, 1621, are in Münster's vermiachte Beyträge zur Kirchengesch. Copenhagen, 1798, s. 127. Compare Ranke, Fürsten u. Volker, iv. 587.) Two Relations by him are still extant: the one is a Latin manuscript on his work in Bohemia (Ranke, iii. 459; iv. 409); the other, printed in Latin, comprises his whole agency as nuncio: Car. Carafa Ep. Aversani Commentaria de Germania sacrata restaurata sub summis PP. Gregorio XV. et Urbano VIII. regnante Ang. et Piss. Imp. Ferdinando II. Colon. Agrippa. 1639. 8. (On a similar work of Carafa, in Italian and in manuscript, see Ranke, iv. 417.) At first, regard had to be paid to Saxony, which had given faithful help to the Emperor, and the persecution seemed
FOURTH PERIOD.—DIV. I.—A.D. 1517-1648.

Austria.* The Protestant Union was dissolved;* the lands of the Palatinate were seized, the Lower Palatinate by Spain, the Upper by Maximilian, upon whom also, in 1622, was conferred the electoral authority belonging to the Palatinate.* The Catholic Church was everywhere re-established by force.* In the pursuit of the troops of the Palatinate many other German countries had been overrun and oppressed,* and German freedom seemed to be endangered; on this account the department of Lower Saxony resorted to arms, under the lead of King Christian of Denmark, 1625. He was conquered by Tilly and Wallenstein, and Denmark was forced to conclude the Treaty of Lübeck, May 12, 1629. With the increase of the imperial army it became more apparent that the purpose of the Emperor was to bring about the entire preponderance of the Catholic religion.* When the north of Ger-

to be aimed only at the Calvinists. The circumstances of the times are characteristically set forth in a private letter of the imperial confessor, the Jesuit Martin Beccanus, to the court preacher of electoral Saxony, Hoe von Hoennegg, March 17, 1621 (Fortges. Sammlung v. Alten u. Neuen theol. Sachen, 1747, s. 858): Nunc igitur vellem amicos ac familiariter cum Rev. ac Nob. Dominatione Vestra conferre, an non expediret, ipsas litteras Majestatis penitus tollere ac abolere propter causas: 1. quia a spiritu Calvinismo profectae sunt; 2. quia magna ex parte dederunt occasionem rebellioni; 3. quia juste metuendum est, ne novam rebellionem concitent, nisi aboleantur; 4. quia ex earum abolitione nullum sit praeciduium aut nostrae Romanae, aut Vestrae Augustanae confessioni. Imo tam nostra, quam Vestra Confessio magno periculo liberatur, si communi consentu tollatur illud rebellium Calvinistarum. Haec privatim proposo. Si Rev. ac Nob. Dominatio Vestra non probast rationes, non repugno. Si autem probat, quod mihi est gratius, rogo, ut pro suo in S. Caes. Majestatis personam inducat S. Optimum modo inducere S. Serenissimum Electorem, ut abrogationem esse consentiat, etc. Comp. below, § 14, Notes 27, 28.

* According to his vow, renewed at a pilgrimage in Maria-Cell (Carafa, p. 103), he first began, 1623, to forbid Protestant worship in the imperial cities (l. c., p. 162); in 1624, to expel all Protestant preachers, even those of the estates, from Upper Austria (l. c., p. 182). After an insurrection of the peasants, which thence ensued, had been quelled, 1626, the nobility of Upper Austria were commanded, 1627, either to become Catholic or to leave the country (p. 288). In the same year all these regulations were extended to Lower Austria (p. 320 sq.). Comp. the Decreta, appended to Carafa, p. 174 sq. Raupach’s Evang. Oesterreich, l. 274; iv. 419; Appendix, p. 287.

* Häberlin-Senkenberg, xxv. 48.

* Ibid., s. 249. The valuable Heidelberg Library was given to the Pope by Maximilian; Leo Allatius carried it to Rome; ibid., s. 279; Ranke, iv. 393.


* Thus the department (circle) of Suabia (Häberlin-Senkenberg, xxv. 168); then, after 1623, the department (circle) of Lower Saxony, in which Tilly pursued Count Ernest of Mansfeld and Duke Christian of Brunswick; ibid., p. 269, 356.

* Already in 1626, in the Suabian circle, the Protestants were commanded to restore the property of the Church; Carafa, p. 268; Struven’s Religionsbeschwerden, l. 661.
many had also come under the authority of the imperial hosts, the Edict of Restitution was issued, March 6, 1629, defining the Catholic position on all the contested questions in respect to the religious peace. But when this was carried into execution its provisions were further extended, so as to allow of no doubt that it was intended to effect the entire extermination of Protestantism in Germany.

Count John of Nassau-Siegen had previously catholicized his province, in spite of all the reseversalia earlier given; Carafa, p. 294; Haberlin-Senkenberg, xxv. 517. In 1628, in many cities of the empire, churches were taken away from the Protestants and given to the Catholics; thus in Hall in Suabia, in Strasburg, Memmingen, etc.; Kaufbeuren was made wholly Catholic (Wagenseil's Beitrag zur Gesch. der Reformation. Leipzig, 1830, s. 89); and Hagenaun; see Struven's Religionsbeschwerden, i. 675; Haberlin-Senkenberg, xxv. 633. Comp. the imperial decrees in Carafa, Decreta, p. 11 ss.

10 In Londoq der Rom. K. Maj. u.des h. R. R. Acta publica, iii. 1047. Khevenhül-ler's Annales Ferd., x. 458: in Latin in Carafa, app., p. 8. The Emperor here decided of his own authority: 1. That the Protestant states had not had the right, after the Passau treaty, to appropriate the ecclesiastical benefits which were under their lordship. 2. Protestants, in like manner, had claimed possession of archbishoprics and bishoprics, in contradiction to the proper ecclesiastical authorities. 3. The declaration of King Ferdinand was invalid, according to which Protestant subjects were to enjoy religious peace in the states under spiritual princes. In accordance with these decrees the courts were to decide; imperial commissaries were to be sent into the empire to restore all church property that had been illegally appropriated. Moreover, the religious peace was to avail only for the Catholics and the adherents of the unaltered Augsburg Confession; all other sects were to be no longer tolerated. All opposition to these decrees was to be punished with ban and forfeiture. The most distinguished imperial councilors advised against this decree: thus Count Collalto (Khevenhüller, xl. 188), and Khevenhüller himself, who even believed that the Emperor had been misled by the craft of Richelieu (xi. 427). Carafa, the papal nuncio, was especially active in this matter; see Carafa, p. 850: licet tot tantaque difficultates emergeant, quantae et a me et a multis aliis ministri multorum mensium laboris superatae sunt, etc.

11 Thus in Augsburg the Protestant service was wholly abolished; see Haberlin-Senken-berg, xxvi. 51. In Württemberg those foundations and cloisters were appropriated which, at the time of the Interim, had only for a short time had Catholic occupants; Sattler's Gesch. von Württemberg, iv. 5.—Archduke Leopold William, who was already Master of the Teutonic Order, Bishop of Strasburg and Passau, and Abbot of Murbach, also became Archbishop of Magdeburg and Bremen, Bishop of Halberstadt, and Abbot of Hersfeld; Menzel, vii. 171, 186.

12 This fear was especially enhanced by the polemics of the Jesuits, now becoming very violent. The most sensation was made by a work like that of Burghard (§ 11, Note 24): Paeia compositio—in Com. Augustae anno 1555 edita, quam jureconsulti quidam catholicorum—quaestionibus illustrarunt Diligae, 1629. 4. Lorenz Forer, the Jesuit, was reputed to be its author. This work, besides much polemical matter on doctrinal points, interpreted the provisions of the religious peace in a manner most unfavorable to Protestants. Cf. cap. vi. qu. 81: Aequalis jure Confessionistae religione sua, tempitis, ministriis, ceremoniis utuntur, quos Catholicos? Resp. Nequaquam. Nam Catholici ex antiquissima et immemoriali possessione jure acquisitum habent fidem, religionem, Ecclesiariarum suarum: Confessionistae autem se noviter intruserunt et cum repellent non possent, tolerati sunt, etiam promissione facta propter necessitatem. Igitur Catholici nihil a Confessionistis acciperunt, sed jure suo proprio ac pristino utuntur: Confessionistae autem, quibus nullum jure competit, se solum detinendo habent, quae ipsa expresse concessa
Meanwhile the growing preponderance of the Spanish-Austrian power had long since awakened the jealousy of France. In the struggle on the succession in Mantua, the Italian princes had joined themselves to France from fear of the Spanish dominion; and thus even Pope Urban VIII. was led by political entanglements to unite with France, and so, indirectly, with the German Protestants.  

In alliance with France, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and the deliverer of the Protestants, appeared upon German soil, June 24, 1620. The sacking and barbarous treatment of Magdeburg by Tilly, May 10, 1631, brought the hesitating Protestant princes to a decision; Hesse, Brandenburg, and Saxony joined with Sweden. Tilly was defeated at Leipsic, September 7, 1631; Gustavus Adolphus marched through the Rhenish provinces, penetrated into Bavaria, freed the oppressed Protestants, and thus enlarged the hosts of his confederates. And although he fell, as a conqueror in the battle of Lützen, against Wallenstein, November 6, 1632; although the conflict afterward raged for a long time with all the horrors of a religious war, and made a large part of Germany a desert; and although the fortunes of war some-
times wavered, and Saxony separated herself from the confederates by the Peace of Prague, May 30, 1635; yet still the Protestant cause, supported as it was by Sweden, France, and the United Netherlands, attained at last a decided victory over the Imperial and Spanish arms. Negotiations for peace were begun in 1645 in Münster and Osnabrück; the victories of Turenne and Wrangel gave them urgency; and they resulted at last in the Peace of Westphalia, October 14, 1648. Protestantism in Germany obtained equal rights with the Catholic Church, and an important increase of power. In the north of Germany many foundations were secularized in favor of Protestant rulers; of the Catholic princes, only Bavaria maintained the advantages it had acquired. The Religious Peace was confirmed, and the controversies on particular points brought to a close by more exact statements and additions. In all affairs of the empire both religious parties were to have entirely equal rights. The right of reform-


16 Sweden received Upper Pomerania and Rügen, a part of Lower Pomerania, Bremen, and Verden. To compensate for their claims to these lands, Brandenburg received the benefices of Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Camin, and Minden; Mecklenburg had those of Schwerin and Ratzeburg; Brunswick the alternativa successio in Osnabrück and the cloisters of Walkenried and Gröningen; Hesse Cassel received the abbey of Hersfeld.

17 Bavaria retained the electoral dignity of the Palatinate, the Upper Palatinate, and the barony of Chalm; and a new (the eighth) electorate was erected for the Palatinate. After the extinction of the Bavarian house this last electorate was to cease, and the Palatinate line succeed to the Bavarian dignity and possessions.

18 After confirming the treaty of Passau and the Augsburg Religious Peace (Instrum. Pacis Osnabr., Art. V. § 1), it goes on: Quae vero de nonnullis in Articulis controversia hac Transactione communi partium placito statuta sunt, ex pro perpetua dictae Pacis declaratione, tam in Judicia, quam alií observanda, habeuntur, donec per Dei gratiam de Religionis ipsa convenerit, non attenta cujusvis seu Ecclesiasticis seu Politici, intr a vel extra Imperium, quocumque tempore interposita contradicione vel protestatione, quae omnes inane et nihil vigore horum declarantur. In religiis omnibus autem inter utriusque Religionis Electores, Principes, Status omnes et singulos sit equealitas exacta mutuasque. According to § 51 and 58, the deputations and courts of the empire were to be filled by both parties, with an equal number of members. § 52. In causis Religionis, omnibusque aliis negotiis, ubi Status tamquam unum corpus considerari nequeunt, ut ejusdem Catholicæ et Augustanaæ Confessionis Statibus in duas partes eundem, sola am, cabillis compositio lites dirimat, non attenta votorum pluralitate.
formation in the states was confirmed in general terms, though limited so far as this—that the rights of each religious party in the domain of the other were to be defined according to the rule of January 1, 1624. All these regulations were likewise to hold equally good for the Reformed (Calvinists), who were now for the first time favorably acknowledged. On the other hand, the

19 I. P. O., Art. V. § 2. According to § 14, all bona ecclesiastica immediata are to fall to and remain under the religious party which had them in possession January 1, 1624; and accordingly (in § 15) the Reservatum ecclesiasticum was to be in force in future.

§ 23. Quot Capitulares aut Canonici die I. Jan., anni 1624, uspiam vel Augustanae Confessionis vel Catholici fuerunt, totidem illic ex utraque religione erant semper, nec decedentibus sui ejusdem religiosos consortes surrogentur.—Exercitium vero religionis in mixtis Episcopatibus sua est restitutur et permaneat, ut et quatenus id 1624 palam receptum permissumque fuit. § 25 and 26: also all the mediate church property was to remain with the religious party that had it in possession January 1, 1624. § 30. Quum Statibus immediatis cum jure Territorii et Superioritatis ex communi per totem Imperium hactenus usitata praxi etiam jure reformandi exercitium Religionis competat, ac dum in Pace Religionis talium Statuum subditis, si a religione Domini Territorii dissentient, beneficium emigrandi concessum;—conventum est, hoc idem porro quoque ab utrisque Religionis Statibus observari, nullique statui immediato jus, quod ipsi rationes territorii et superioritatis in negotii Religionis competit, impediri oportere. § 31. Hoc tamen non obstante Statu Catholicorum Landasali, Vassali et Subditii cujusquegeneeris, qui sive publicum sive privatum August. Conf. exercitium anno 1624 ac qualunque anni parte—habuerunt, retineant id etiam ipse secundum una cum annexia, quatenus illa dicto anno exercerunt, aut exercita fuisse probare poteunter. § 34. Placuit porro, ut ipsi Catholicorum subditii Augustanae Confessionis addicti, ut et Catholici Augustanae Confessionis Statuum subditii, qui anno 1624 publicum vel etiam privatum Religionis suae exercitium nulla anni parte habuerunt, nec non qui post pacem publicatam deinceps futuro tempore diversam a Territorii Domino Religionem profitebantur et amplectentur, patieter tolerentur, et conscientia libera domini devotionis suae sine inquisitione aut turbatione privatim vacare, in vicinia vero, uti et quoties voluerint, publico Religionis exercitio interesse, vel liberos suos exteris suae Religionis schollis, aut privatia domi praeceptoribus instruendos committere non prohiberent. § 35. Sive autem Catholici sive Augustanae Confessionis fuerint subditii, nullibi ob Religionem despectatibus habentur, nec a mercatorum, opificum, aut tribuum communi, mutlo minus publicis coemiteriis, honorove sepulturae arceantris. § 36. Quod si vero subditus, qui nec publicum nec privatum suae Religionis exercitium anno 1624 habuit, vel etiam qui post pacem pacem religionem mutabit, sua sponte emigrare voluerint, aut a Territorii Domino jussus fuerit, libere ei sit, aut retentis bonis aut alienatis discedere, retenta per ministros administrare, et quoties ratio id postulat, ad res suas inspiciendas—libere et sine literis commeatas adile. § 37. Conventum autem est, ut a Territoriorum Dominis illis subditis, qui neque publicum, neque privatum exercitium religionis sua dicto anno habuerunt,—terminus non minor quinquennio; illis vero, qui post pacem publicatam Religionem mutant, non minor triennio, nisi tempus magis laxum et aptissum impetrare potuerint, ad emigrandum praefigatur. Accordingly, the right of reformation, on the part of the princes, could be applied (§ 30) only in respect to the religion which had no public worship in 1624 (§ 31). If the prince tolerated it, it must be in accordance with the provisions in § 34, 35; he might also force its adherents to emigrate; so § 36, 37.

20 I. P. O., Art. VII. § 1. All the rights resulting from the present, as well as from the Religious Peace, were to be also conceded—iis qui Reformati vocantur. Quoniam vero controversiae Religionis, quae inter modo dictas Protestantes vertuntur, hactenus non fuerunt compositae,—adeoque illi duas partes constituant, ideo de jure reformandi
Empéror would not allow the peace to be extended to his hereditary lands; only the mediate Silesian principalities had their previous religious rights confirmed to them. As a protest on the part of the Pope was of course to be anticipated, it was deprived of all influence beforehand, and so had no effect whatever when it actually came. Although the Protestant churches had still to

inter utramque ita conventum est, ut si aliquis Princoe vel alius Territorii Dominus vel alius Ecclesiae Patronus posthac ad alterius partis sacra transierit, aut Principatum, aut ditionem, ubi alterius partis sacra exercitio publico de praesenti vigent,—actus fuerit,—ipsi quidem Concionatores aulicos suae Confessionis sita subditorum onus aut praeculium secum atque in Residentia sua habere licet. At fas ei non sit, vel publicum Religionis exercitium, leges aut constitutiones ecclesiasticas hactenus ibi receptas immutare, vel tempula, scholas, hospitalia, aut eo pertinentes reeditus, pensiones, stipendia prioribus adimere, suorumque sacrorum hominibus applicare, vel iuris territorialis, Episcopalis, Patronatus allove quocunque praetextu subditis Ministros alterius Confessionis obtrudere, ullumve alium impedimentum aut praeculium directe vel indirecte alterius sacra afferre. Et ut haec conventio ex firmis observetur, licet hoc mutationis casu ipsis communitatibus praesentare, vel quae praesentand juss non habent, nominare idoneos Scholarum et Ecclesiæ Ministros, a publico loci Consistorio et Ministerio, si ejusdem cum praesentantibus vel nominantibus sunt religionis, vel hoc deficiente, eo loco, quem ipsae communitates elegerint, examinandos et ordinandos, atque a Principe vel Domino postea sine recusatione confirmandos.  


I. P. O., Art. V. § 38; see above, Note 18.  

encounter much oppression and craft, yet they attained, within certain limits, a legally impregnable position, and adequate means to insure and defend their rights.

§ 13.

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS IN SWITZERLAND TO 1648.

In the year 1624 the Swiss Reformed Church rejoiced in the concurrence of several events of a favorable character. The principality of Sax joined the Reformation;¹ Savoy, in its treaty with Berne, was obliged to give pledges that it would not make any religious changes² in the districts of Thonon, Ternier, and Gex, which it received back; the evangelicals of Glarne, after many attacks, were also recognized by the Catholic cantons.³ In Switz-
erland, however, as in Germany, a more decided Catholic antagonism now began to show itself. After 1569 this new zeal was especially stimulated by Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan († 1584), who visited in person the Catholic cantons, and endeavored to unite them for the suppression of heresy; his agency was particularly directed to the Italian part of Switzerland. Through him the Jesuits, too, obtained foothold in Lucerne, 1574, and in Freiburg, 1586, and here, as in Germany, opened an uninterrupted warfare against the Reformation. As, however, the Jesuits in the poor country districts did not find enough aid to propagate their plans, and as the old Swiss monks and clergy were too rude to be of much avail, Borromeo introduced the new order of the Capuchins, which soon became widely diffused, and appointed the most numerous and zealous champions of Catholicism that were to be found in Switzerland. Besides this, he founded in Milan the Collegium Helveticum in 1579, for the education of missionaries for Switzerland. At last, for conducting these various operations, he procured the establishment of a standing nuncio for Switzerland, in 1579. By this means, as the Catholic cantons soon afterward conceded to this nuncio spiritual jurisdiction (1580), the papal influence was unusually advanced. A new zeal took possession of the Swiss Catholics. Jacob Christoph, Bishop of Basle, made himself secure, in 1590, by a league with the Catholic cantons, and then soon expelled all the Reformed worship from the places (Laufen and Zwingen) under his control. In 1586 the Catholic cantons pledged themselves by the Golden or Borromean League, to be steadfast in the Catholic faith, to hold by and protect each other in the same, and in 1587 made

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5 Hottinger, iii. 907, 915.  
6 In Freiburg they set up a printing-office for this purpose; Hottinger, iii. 930.  
7 The first cloister in Altdorf in Uri, 1580; then, 1581, in Stanz in Unterwalden; 1586, in Schwyz; 1588, in Lucerne; 1590, in Appenzell; 1600, in Baden, etc. Hottinger, iii. 914.  
8 Hottinger, iii. 911.  
9 Hottinger, iii. 912.  
11 Hottinger, iii. 910.  
12 Hottinger, iii. 918.  
13 Hottinger, iii. 931. The document is in Lauffer's Beschreibung Helvetischer Geschichte, x. 381.
a league with Spain, in view of a possible religious war.\textsuperscript{14} Aroused by them, the Catholics in Appenzell began to persecute their Reformed brethren; and peace in this canton was only restored by giving up the outer district of Rhoden exclusively to the Reformed worship, and the centre to the Catholics, and afterward, in 1592, by conceding to both parts a separate central authority.\textsuperscript{15} French Switzerland was constantly threatened by Savoy with civil and ecclesiastical subjection. The chief ecclesiastical instrumentality in this matter was that of Francis of Sales, provost and, from 1602, nominal Bishop of Geneva, but having his seat in Annecy.\textsuperscript{16} He especially labored for the conversion of the Reformed in the districts ceded by Berne to Savoy; and, as milder measures did not prove sufficient, he influenced the Duke, in 1596, to suppress the Reformed worship by violence, setting aside the earlier treaty.\textsuperscript{17} In accordance with his advice, the Duke, in 1602, caused the city of Geneva to be attacked by a fanatical multitude assembled by a jubilee-indulgence; but this shameful plot did not succeed,\textsuperscript{18} and Geneva afterward found protection against the schemes which were constantly set on foot for its destruction,\textsuperscript{19} partly in the jealousy of France toward Spain and Savoy, partly in the aid of the Reformed cantons, especially Berne. Still more perilous was the position of the Reformed in Italian Switzerland. The Canton of the Grisons, though the Reformed preponderated, was divided as to religion; in its Italian portions, particularly in Veltlin, Catholicism was greatly preponderant. Besides this, its position between Spanish Milan and Austrian Tyrol made it of importance to these great powers, struggling for the supremacy in Italy. Thus it became the object of various ecclesiastical and political intrigues; and in consequence, ecclesiastical and political divisions were fostered and came into conflict. From Milan constant efforts were going forth to arouse a fanatical Catholicism in the Italian princi-

\textsuperscript{14} The document is in Dumont Corps Diplomatique, v. i. 459.
\textsuperscript{15} Hottinger, iii. 948, 962.
\textsuperscript{16} La Vie de S. François de Sales, par M. de Marsollier. 2 Tomex. Paris éd., 5. 1748. 12.
\textsuperscript{17} Marsollier, i. 252.
\textsuperscript{18} Thuanus, lib. 129. Spoon’s Hist. de Genève, ii. 371. Hence in Geneva the annual festival of thanksgiving called L’Escalade.
\textsuperscript{19} To this belonged especially the plan of Pope Gregory XV., to unite France and Savoy, in order to destroy Geneva (1622, 1624). See Ranke’s Fürsten und Völker, iv. 394, 402.
The final result was a horrible massacre, by which the Catholic inhabitants of Vletlin, in July, 1620, exterminated the Reformed living among them; at the same time, they renounced allegiance to the authorities of the Canton of Grisons. Thereupon the Italian principalities were seized by Spain, while Austria took possession of those districts of the canton that bordered on the Tyrol, and there, too, in 1621, suppressed the Reformed worship. But as in this way the important geographical connection between Germany and Italy fell under the Spanish-Austrian power, France and Venice took up arms for the Grisons; and thus, though the Swiss took no direct part in the Thirty Years’ War, there sprung up here a contemporary struggle closely connected with it. The German part of the Grisons regained its old freedom; but by the Treaty of Milan, 1639, the canton received back its Italian districts only under the condition that no other worship but the Catholic should be tolerated. The Reformed were totally expelled from Wallis as early as 1626, after long persecutions.

SECOND CHAPTER.

THE REFORMATION IN OTHER LANDS.

§ 14.

IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA.


24 The religious equality conceded in 1657 (§ 10, Note 44) was at once violently opposed; see De Porta, Hist. Ref. Ecclesi. Rhaet. I., ii. 280. As early as 1583 a plan for the extinction of the Reformed was discussed between the Catholics of Vletlin and the Spanish Governor of Milan. Borromeo also had part in this; see his letter to the nuncio Spezzani, of May 24, 1584, in De Porta, ii. 38. Instigated and led by the priests, an insurrection broke out, which, however, failed of its purpose, as the Reformed were prepared for it; ibid., p. 38.

31 Hottinger, iii. 1017. De Porta, ii. 289.


33 De Porta, ii. 608.

34 Hottinger, iii. 1089.
Luther's Reformation nowhere aroused more cordial sympathy than in Bohemia. Both Calixtines and the Bohemian Brethren rejoiced in this new support in their conflict with Rome, and the latter also welcomed the doctrines with which, for the most part, they agreed. By letters and messengers both parties soon greeted the Reformer.

Luther, however, still found much to criticise in the views of the Brethren, and endeavored to set them right by his treatise "On the Adoration of the Sacrament," 1523. At first the Breth-

1 Luther first spoke out more at length about the Bohemians in the explanation of some articles of his sermon on the Venerable Sacrament of the Holy Body of Christ, in the beginning of the year 1520 (in Walch, xix. 554). Here he takes the part of the Calixtines, although still holding the communion ad unum to be allowable; but he declares the Picards, or Brethren, to be heretics, because, as he had seen in one of their books, they "did not believe that the flesh and blood of Christ were truly present, besides some other heretical matters." To the same effect, in June, 1520, in his Appeal to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, No. 24 (see § 1, Note 60); yet he here speaks of the error of the Picards dubiously. Thereupon two deputies of the Brethren, John Horn and Mich. Weiss, came to him, in 1522 (Comenii Hist. Frat. Bohem. ed. Buddeus, p. 22), by whom he was brought to a more favorable view, and led to distinguish between their real belief and its imperfect doctrinal expression; see Ep. ad Spalatinum, dd. 4. Jul., 1522 (de Wette, ii. 217): Picardi apud me legates habuerunt, de fide sua consulentes: inveni ferme omnia sana, nisi quod obscura phrasit et barbara utuntur pro Scripturae phrasii. Deinde quae me movent, sunt, quod parvulorum baptismum nullius fidei et fructus asserunt, et tamen eos baptizant, et rebaptizant ad se venientes ex nostris; deinde septem sacramenta ponunt. Nam caelibatus sacerdotalis inter eos placet, cum non necessarium faciant, sed liberum. Adeo nusquam est in orbe puritas Evangelii. An et fidei et operum sanam habeant sententiam, nondum liquet, valde enim dubito: de Eucharistia nihil falsum video, nisi fallant verbis, sic nec de Baptismo.

2 Luther desired of the deputies (Note 1) that the Brethren would express their doctrine about the Lord's Supper in a more distinct manner in a special treatise. Thereupon they sent to him their Catechism, in a Latin translation prepared by their Senior, Lucas (in German in Ehwalt's Die alte und neue Lehre der Bömischen und Mährischen Brüder. Danzig, 1756, s. 355). Luther first took exception to the position "that Christ is not in the Sacrament independently and naturally, and that the Sacrament is not to be adored;" and on this account he wrote his essay "Vom Anbeten des Sacraments des heil. Leichnams Jes. Chr. an die Brüder in Böhm en u. Mähren, Waldenses genannt" (in Walch, xix. 1598). He here acknowledges their excellences with great regard and friendship, but states to them frankly the doctrinal points on which he still takes offense. [These refer not only (1) to the Sacrament, but also (2) to their having children baptized in view of their future faith; (3) particularly to their doctrine about faith and works, that "to believe in God means to follow God in love and good works;" (4) to their seven Sacraments; (5) that they insisted that ministers should remain unmarried, and in case of marriage quit the office. Yet he concedes that many things may mean differently in Bohemian from what they seemed to do to him in Latin. He also recommends strongly the study of Greek and Latin on the part of the ministry.] S. 1624: 'Aufserste, was ich am Sacrament des Leibes Christi an euch Fehl habe, ist gang droben angezeigt (comp. § 3, Note 29). Wiewol wirs noch nicht in den Schwang bringen mögen bey uns, dass wir so sittig u. christlich das Sacrament handele u. beyder Gestalt, u. solche Uebung der Lehre u. Liebe u. sittige Leben unter uns aufrichten, als
CHAP. II.—REFORMATION. § 14. IN BOHЕMIA AND MORAVIA

ren felt repelled by Luther's views; but at last they changed many things after his hints, and he responded to this docility by publishing, in 1533, the Confession which they had handed in to


3 In the year 1524 John Horn was again sent as a deputy to Luther, in order to inquire into the ecclesiastical order of the new church; but they separated unsatisfied (Comenius, ed. Buddens, p. 22). Among the Brethren was published a Bohemian reply to Luther’s exceptions (Extract in Joh. Hederici Examinatio Capitum Doctrinæ Fratrum. Francof. ad Od. 1850, 8vo; in German in Carpzov’s Religionsuntersuchung d. Böhm. u. Mähr. Brüder, s. 715 ff.).

The original Confession, written in Bohemian, had been translated into German by Michael Weiss, with several alterations favoring the Zwinglian doctrine of the Lord's Supper; and thus it was first printed at Zürich in 1532. The elders, dissatisfied with this, caused a new translation to be prepared, which was issued at Wittenberg, 1531: "Rechenschaft des Gläubens, der Dienst u. Ceremonien der Brüder in Böhmen u. Mäh ren, welche von etlichen Pickarden, u. von etlichen Waldenser genannt werden, samt einer nützlichen Vorrede Dr. Martin Luthers" (the Preface is also in Luther’s works,
the Margrave George of Brandenburg in 1532; and in the Preface he expressed much regard for them, and showed great leniency toward their peculiar dogmatic formulas. Thus he regained the confidence of the Brethren, and was often visited and questioned by them. Following the example of the German Protestants in Augsburg, the Brethren also handed in a Confession of Faith to

by Walch, iv. 306). A new translation is the Apologia verae doctrinae eorum qui vulgo appellantur Waldenses vel Picardi, obdata D. Georgio March. Brand. nunc demum multa in locis aucta et recognita anno 1538. Viteberg. 4. reprinted in Lydii Waldensia, I., ii. 92. In the time between the first and this revised translation occurred the discussions of the Brethren about the Iteratio baptismi of those who were converted from Rome: this rebaptism had been until now a custom with them, but it was abolished. In the Apologia, in the Preface, f. 2, and Pars IV. De Baptismo aquae, f. 77, there is a long discussion of the reasons which had previously led them to adopt rebaptism, and for its present abolition. The fides Christi is, after f. 25, illius misericordiae, nostri gratu- tuino misericordia, habenda fiducia. 

The Lord's Supper are truly the body and blood of Christ, is often insisted upon; but it is further explained, f. 101 verso: Quod si quis ad-huc mentem nostram in istis requirit audireque velit, dicimus, crederet esse, spiritualem, sacramentaliter, sive sensibiliter corporeis, sive spiritibus ac mentibus nostris. 

Thus in 1535 some Brethren were with him; see his letter to their Senior, Benedict Gube, April 18, 1535 (de Wette, iv. 599), also 1536 and 1542; see Comenius, ed. Buddeus, p. 28, 25.

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King Ferdinand in 1533. However, they only acquired that silent toleration which had been long conceded to them on account of the circumstances of the times.

Among the Calixtines, too, the doctrine of Luther soon gained an entrance. An assembly of the Estates in January, 1524, assented to articles which provided for the continuation of the reformation begun by Huss, in the way set forth by Luther. And the opposing party, which was strongest in Prague, effected the abolition of these articles, in July, 1524, and the renewal of the validity of the old compactata; yet the number of the Lutheran Calixtines greatly increased, and the only difference between them and the Brethren consisted in their not adopting the strict church discipline of the latter.

Thus, at the period of the Smalcalb war, the largest part of Bohemia was attached to the Reformation. In the attack on the Elector of Saxony all these Utraquists likewise saw that their own faith was in peril. Hence their estates denied to King Ferdinand the aid of their troops; they assembled of their own motion, prepared an army, and united with the Elector. After the defeat of the latter, they were also obliged to submit.


Letters of two Utraquist clergymen to him, 1519; see above, § 1, Note 50. Luther's Admonition to the Bohemian land assembly, July 10, 1522, in de Wette, ii. 225.


The counter articles set forth by the magistracy of Prague; see in Bohemia Pia, p. 103. On these controversies between the strict Utraquists and the adherents of the German Reformation, see Von Bucholtz, Gesch. der Regierung Ferdinands I., iv. 489.

The envoys of the Brethren, who came to Luther in 1542, related (Comenius, ed. Buddeus, p. 25), quomodo Hussiticae per Bohemi et Moraviae Ecclesiæ paulatim in Lutheranismum transeundo, doctrinam quidem Evangelii recipiant, in vitae tamen christiana studio nihil emendent. Remque illam detrimento cedere Ecclesiis nostris—dum licentiosi alibi quoque parum Evangelium sine disciplinae juge haberi posse jaciantes, ut se nobis nemo amplius adjungat, nonnulli utiam recedant, efficiant.


Menzel, iii. 211. Von Bucholtz, vi. 404.
upon Ferdinand (1547) gave orders that in the royal domains in future only Catholics and Utraquists, after the standard of the compactata, should be tolerated, but not the Picards, or Brethren. Many of the latter now emigrated to Poland and Russia; but the larger part contrived to maintain their ground in Bohemia and Moravia.¹⁴

The Calixtines, too, would not be brought back to the compactata, but adhered in part to the Lutheran, in part to the Swiss Confession.¹⁵ Next, when the Jesuits, from 1552, came into Bohemia taking the lead in fighting against the Reformation,¹⁶ they insisted that these compacts should be enforced; while the Calixtines struggled, on the other hand, to have them done away. Maximilian II. behaved very circumspectly toward the latter,¹⁷ but could not wholly protect them against the persecution of the Catholics, newly stimulated by the Jesuits.¹⁸ When, in 1575, the Calixtines and Brethren united,¹⁹ and handed to the King at the Diet,

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¹⁵ Regenvolscius, p. 70. Succedebant porro Calixtini in Bohemia et Moravia non solum Lutherani sive Augustanae Confessionis, sed etiam Helvetici seu Helvetiae Confessionis socii. Lutherani passim, Helvetici in ditionibus Nobilium et civitatis qui-busdam coetus suas habebant.—Utrique loca et templam Calixtinorum occupabant, et in plerisque ritus eorum externos sequabantur. Omnes autem isti Evangelici, tam Fratres, quam Calixtini, lique postea aliis Lutherani, aliis Helvetici, nominabantur vulgo sub utraque, nempe specie, coena Domini utentes, eoque titulo a Pontificiis, qui sub una, discriminabantur.

¹⁶ First 1552, Colloqui in Prag, Balbinus Epit. rerum Bohem. lib. v. c. 12, p. 598.

¹⁷ Thus he conceded on the petition of the estates sub utraque, that in the confirmation of landed privileges the compactata be omitted; see Die andere Apologia der Stände des Königreichs Böheim, so den Leib u. Blut unsers Herrn u. Heilands Jesu Christi unter beider Gestalt empfahen, aus der Bohm. Sprach in die Teutsche versetzt, ann. 1619. 4. (particularly important on account of the 135 documents appended, pp. 121—505), s. 180.

¹⁸ See the document on grievances of 1575, in the Andere Apologia, s. 136.

¹⁹ After the precedence of the Consensus Sendomirienis, agreed upon in 1570 between the Brethren, the Lutherans, and the Reformed in Poland. Comenius, ed. Buddeus, p. 41: Anno 1575, celebravit Maximilianus comitia Pragae, ordinesque Regni sub utraque syncretismum sub communio unionis confessionis tessera inire permisit, frustra id, quamquam omni nius, tam Jesuitis quam Pseudo-Hussitici impeditur tentantibus. Cum enim supplicibus suis libellis protestationibusque inter alia inseruerunt, Ordines sub utraque non esse in sde unanimes, sed sovere inter se Piccardos, Calvinistas, Lutheranos: Ordines, ut consensum testari possent, confessionis communis conscribendarum inueniunt consilium, electis ad haec theologis certis, illisque ex Baronum, Nobilium, et Civico Ordine inspectoribus datis. His ergo magistri Pragenses obtulerunt libros M. Hu-
for his assent, a common confession,\textsuperscript{20} Maximilian, in view of the opposition of the Catholic estates, did not venture to give more than an oral pledge.\textsuperscript{21} Under the government of Rudolph, which immediately followed (1576), the Jesuits obtained a preponderating influence. Now the compactata alone were held to be valid; and there was much oppression of all that went beyond them, especially of the Brethren.\textsuperscript{22} By a letter patent, forced from the Emperor by the circumstances (January, 1609), entire legal equality with the Catholics\textsuperscript{23} was indeed given to all the adherents of the Confession of 1575; but still, even in the reign of the Emperor Matthias (from 1611) there were many violations of that religious

\textsuperscript{20} It was originally written in Bohemian, and published first in German at Amberg, 1609, 8vo (also in the Appendix to Theobald), and in Latin at Frankfort, 1619 (also in Niemeyer, Collectio Confessionum, p. 819). It is called the Bohemian, and also the Augsburg Confession, because held by those in Bohemia who sympathized with the Augsburg Confession. See Köcher's Die drey letzten und vornehmsten Glaubensbekentnisse der Böhm. Brüder, Frankf. u. Leiz., 1741, 8vo; in the Historical Preface, p. 70.—This common Confession should not be confounded, as is often done, with one that was previously handed into the Emperor by the Brethren; for the Confession given to King Ferdinand in 1535 (see Note 7) was revised in Bohemian in 1564, then translated into German and presented to King Maximilian. Thereupon it was rendered into Latin, provided with a Proemium of the date 1572 by the clergy of the United Brethren, and published with an approving preface by the theological faculty of Wittenberg, in two editions, one Latin and the other German, at Wittenberg, 1573, 8vo. (Comp. the Proemium to this edition; also given in Camerarius, p. 271.) The Latin edition may also be found in the Appendix to Lydii Waldensia, ii.

\textsuperscript{21} See the guarantee about their Confession of the Estates \textit{sub utraque}, in the \textit{Andere Apologia}, s. 180.

\textsuperscript{22} Die andere Apologia, s. 9. In particular, the archbishop demanded that the priests \textit{sub utraque} should be consecrated by him, and take a wholly Catholic ordination vow (see this in the Andere Apologia, s. 140).

\textsuperscript{23} Der Majestätsbrief v. Jahr 1609, aus einer Böhm. Urkunde übersetzt, mit Anm. von Joh. Borott. Görlitz, 1803; comp. Schmidt's Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen, Buch iii. cap. 21. Häberlin's neueste teutsche Reichsgesch., xxii. 691. By this their own Consistory was guaranteed to the Utraquists, the University of Prague given up, the choice of \textit{defensores} allowed, and the provisions of the treaty of Augsburg extended to them. "Es sollen auch wider den obemeldeten errichteten Religionsfrieden, u. wider die von Uns ihnen, den Ständen \textit{sub utraque}, ertheifete feste Sicherung keine Befehle, u. nichts dergleichen, was ihnen irgend worin die geringste Verhinderung oder einige Abänderung verursachen könnte, weder von Uns, Unsern Erben u. nachfolgenden Königem in Böheim, noch von sonst jemanden an sie ergeben, auch von ihnen nicht angenommen werden. Wenn aber auch des etwas erfolgen, oder von wem immer angenommen werden mochte, soll es keine Kraft haben," etc.
pledge. At last the Archbishop of Prague and the Abbot of Braunau, by seizing the newly-built evangelical churches, occasioned a general insurrection (1618). Matthias died during these disturbances, and the Estates refused to acknowledge as king his successor, Ferdinand II., known to be a fanatical Catholic, and committed their crown to Frederick V., the young Elector of the Palatinate. When he was defeated, and Bohemia plundered by the armies of Ferdinand, the land lost not only its civil, but also its ecclesiastical freedom. Under the direction of the Jesuits, the regulations against all that were not Catholics became more strict from year to year, and ended in 1627 with a demand enforced upon all, either to become Catholic or to quit the country. Ecclesiastical commissions went from place to place, and saw to it that the order was enforced. Many yielded, at least externally, to the necessity; great crowds wandered to Saxony, Poland, and Prussia; but not a few were still enabled to maintain themselves in their fatherland, and to be true to their old faith, though with the greatest secrecy.

§ 15.

POLAND, PRUSSIA, AND LIVONIA.

In Poland, where the Hussite opinions had already in former

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27 Under direction of the papal nuncio, Car. Carafa: at first, from fear of Saxony, it seemed as though the persecution of the Utraquists would be confined to the Calvinists; but it soon became general: see § 12, Note 3. At first, 1620, the Jesuits were restored; 1621, all Calvinistic ministers were expelled as rebels (Carafa Germania Sacra Restaurata, p. 98: me pro muneris mei ratione diligent instigante. Comp. the Decreta in the Appendix, p. 62, 63); 1622, the University of Prague was manned with Catholics (Pelzel, ii. 741); in spite of all the representations of Saxony, at the repeated urgency of the nuncio, the Lutheran preachers were expelled (Carafa, p. 184 sq.); 1628, the Emperor himself came to Prague, and encouraged this work of conversion (Carafa, p. 158 sq.); 1624, decrees were issued that only Catholics could become citizens, and marry (Carafa, Decreta, p. 75, 78).
28 The imperial Instruction, in Carafa, Decreta, p. 86. Compare (J. A. Comenii) Historia Persequutionum Ecclesiae Bohemicae, s. l. 1648, 12. Pelzel, ii. 745 ff.
29 See Carpzov's Religionsuntersuchung, s. 241. Especially in the Duchy of Friedland, in the district of Westenin, and under the barons of Zerotin and Waldstein.
1 Adrian Regenvolsetl (a fictitious name; it was a Reformed preacher, Andreas Wenglerski), Systema historico-chronologicum Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum Ultrajecti, 1662.
times, here and there, found some followers, the Lutheran Reformation also gained many adherents, in spite of all opposition, particularly in the cities and among the nobility. These were most numerous in the German cities of Polish Prussia. Elbingen declared for the Reformation as early as 1523; in Dantzie there was a violent attempt to make it predominant in 1525, which was suppressed by the King, without, however, destroying the attachment to it. Thorn soon followed these examples.2

In the Grand-mastership of Prussia,3 on the contrary, the Reformation spread without hindrance. As early as 1523, at the suggestion of the Grand-master, Albert of Brandenburg, two preachers were sent by Luther to Königsberg; in the same year George von Polenz, Bishop of Samland, and soon afterward Erhardt von Queis, Bishop of Pomerania, embraced the Reformation; Albert himself renounced the Teutonic Order in 1525, confessed the Reformation, and took Prussia as a secular duchy in fief from Poland, at the peace of Cracau, April 9, 1525. Thus the Reformation was in a short time generally accepted, and Albert, in 1544, founded the University of Königsberg to sustain and promote it.4

In Livonia the Reformation was preached quite as early,5 and soon spread over the whole land, Riga taking the lead, favored by the lords of the land, who had been independent of the


2 Hartknoch's Preuss. Kirchenhistorie, s. 658.
Grand-master of the Teutonic Order since 1521; this, too, in spite of all the efforts of the Archbishop of Riga.  

Under these circumstances King Sigismund, who died in 1548, with all his prohibitions, could not prevent the progress of the Reformation in Poland also. His son and successor, Sigismund August, was inclined to the Reformers; but at first, on account of the power of the bishops, he could not change any thing in the existing laws. This obstacle, however, was removed in proportion as the nobility declared themselves, in increasing numbers, to be on the side of the Reformation.  

At the diet at Petrikow, in 1555, the representatives of the country went so far as to demand a national council to adjust the religious disputes, the result of which,

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4 As early as August, 1523, Luther addressed a printed epistle to the confessors of the Gospel in Riga, Reval, and Dorpat (in de Wette, ii. 374).  

7 His two court preachers, J. Cosmenius and Laur. Frasnisius, were attached to the Reformation, as was also the Franciscan, Franc. Lismanius, confessor of the widowed Queen Bona (Regenwolfsius, p. 124). The King held the Institutions of Calvin in special esteem (Salig, ii. 572). Calvin dedicated to him, 1549, his Comm. ad Heb.  

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8 Lochneri Comm. qua enarrantur Fata et Rationes earum Familiarum Christ. in Polon, quae ab Ecclesia Rom. Cath. alienae fuerunt inde ab eo tempore, quo Fratres Bohemi co migraverant usque ad Consensum Sandomiriensius tempus in the Acta Societatis Jablonovianae nova, T. iv. fasc. ii. (Lips., 1882. 4.) p. 25 ss.
without doubt, would have been the general introduction of the Reformation; and Rome had to use all the means at its command to prevent it. Now, too, the King expressly conceded religious freedom to the cities of Dantzie (1556), Thorn, and Elbingen (1558), and granted admission to all public dignities to the evangelical nobles of Lithuania (1563).

The whole of evangelical Livonia in 1561 was united with Poland by a treaty with the chief commander, Gotthard Kettler, insuring its religious freedom; Kettler received, on the other hand, Courland and Semgallen as a secular dukedom and Polish fief, and here, too, made the Reformation predominant.

In the train of the Reformation, however, its divisions gradually penetrated into Poland. Its first adherents followed Luther alone; but afterward many of them turned to the Zwinglian doctrine of the Lord's Supper; and when the Wittenberg Concordia had died out, the Augsburg and the Swiss Confessions were also separated in Poland. Thither, too, came, in 1548, the Brethren.
expelled from Bohemia, who, however, in 1555, retaining their church government, attached themselves to the Reformed.\(^\text{17}\) Next, the Unitarian Italians, especially after they had been expelled from Geneva, in 1558, found much access to the Polish nobility,\(^\text{18}\) and established a church of their own, after they were rejected, at the Synod of Petrikow, in 1555, from communion with the Reformed, with whom at first they connected themselves.\(^\text{19}\) On the other hand, the Lutherans, under the influence of the Melancthonian school which ruled in Wittenberg,\(^\text{20}\) united with both the Reformed and the Brethren at the Synod of Sendomir, in 1570.\(^\text{21}\) After this union, King Sigismund August, who had taken offense only at the quarrels of the Reformation, was upon the point of declaring himself in its favor;\(^\text{22}\) but he died in 1572, and with

1558, was George Israel; see Lochner's Entstehung u. erste Schicksale der Brüdergemeinde in Böhmen u. Mähren, u. Leben des Georg Israel (Nürnberg, 1832), s. 64, 71. The Brethren were spread abroad, especially in Great Poland.

\(^\text{17}\) At the General Synod at Cosminer; Regenvolscius, p. 70. Calvin testified his joy at this in Ep. ad Stan. Carninski, dd. IV. Cal. Jan., 1555 (ed. Genev., 1557, p. 170); so, too, Wolfgang Musculus, in Berne; see Comenius, ed. Buddeus, p. 29.


\(^\text{19}\) Lubieniecius, p. 201. As early as 1564 a royal edict had warned the Italians to quit the country (Regenvolsc., p. 222); but it was not obeyed. Accordingly, at the Diet of Lublin, 1566, it was ordered that the Anabaptists and Tritheites should leave the kingdom in the course of the month (Lubieniecius, p. 194).

\(^\text{20}\) The Brethren, whose doctrines in several points were blamed by the Polish Lutherans (Lochner Comm., p. 96 ss., p. 137 ss.), sent, in 1568, a deputation to Wittenberg, which there received an honorable testimony to the orthodoxy of the Brethren (see the Acts in Loscher's Historia Motuum, iii. 41).

\(^\text{21}\) D. E. Jablonski Hist. Consensus Sendomiriensis, cui subjicitur ipse Consensus. Berolini, 1781. 4. Lochner Comm., p. 167 ss. Church government and usages were left unaltered; as to the Eucharist, they united in the statement (Jablonski, p. 190): substantialem praesentiam Christi non significari duxi exstant, sed vere in Coena eos vestitibus responsantari, distribut et exhiberi corpus et sanguinem Domini, symbolis absolutis ipse rei minime nudis, secundum Sacramentorum naturam. Then they also adopted the definitions of the Confessio Saxonica (see § 9, Note 27).

him expired the male branch of the Jagello dynasty, and Poland became an elective monarchy. In the consultations about the first election, the estates determined upon a general confederation to limit the royal power, 1573; all the following Kings were obliged to assent to the prescribed conditions by *Pacta conventa*; among these was the *Pax dissidentium*, which gave equal rights to all churches existing in the kingdom.  


23 The document is in the *Jura et Libertates Dissidentium in Religione Christiana in Regno Poloniae et M. D. Lithuaniae*. Berolini, 1708, fol., p. 7, and Nova Acta Historiae-eccles., vil. 728. Universi nobis invicem spondemus,—in Regem non consentiendum prius, quam Jura nostra omnia post electionem illi offerenda jurejurando confirmavit,—imprimis vero jurejurando recipiat, pacem universalem Inter Dissidentes in Religione conservari et tuari.—Quandoquidem autem in hac Republica non parvum repetitur dissidium in causa Religionis Christianae; occurring ne ea de causa inter incolas permiscia aliqua seditione oriatur, cujus exempla in aliis Regnis luculentor videmus, spon-
now so weakened that neither the strictly Catholic opinions of Henry of Valois (1574), nor the inclination of Stephen Batori (1575–86) to tolerance, could have much influence upon ecclesiastical affairs; these were mainly dependent upon the nobility and their relation to the bishops.

In Poland, as everywhere else, there began about this time a reaction toward Catholicism. The most dangerous foe of the Reformation, Stanislaus Hosius, Bishop of Culm, afterward of Ermeland, and cardinal († 1579), called the Jesuits into Poland, and founded for them the first college in Braunsberg, in 1565. The other bishops followed his example, and thus Jesuit colleges sprung up in many cities. The successful agency of the Jesuits began under the strictly Catholic Sigismund III. (1587–1632). The fact that this King conferred all offices and dignities only upon Catholics induced many of the nobility to go over to the Catholic Church. But the Jesuit colleges had a still more important influence upon the young nobles, being frequented by them in great numbers as the best institutions for education in

\[ \text{demus omnes pro nobis et successoribus nostris in perpetuum, sub vinculo juramenti, fide, honore, et conscientiis nostris, ut qui sumus Dissidentes de religione, pacem inter nos conservare, et propter diversam fidem et ritum in Ecclesiis sanguinem non effundere, neque poenas imponere confiscationem bonorum, infamiae, carceris, exilii; et alcul Superioritati et Officio ad eujasmodi processum nullo modo auxilium dare: quinimo si aliquis illum effundere voluerit ex ista causa, opponere se omnes tenebimur. It is to be noted that the name Dissidents is here used for all, including the Catholics; it was only later that it was confined to the non-Catholics.} \]

25 Compare the answers which he gave to the zealous Catholics who called upon him to suppress the heretics (Regenrolscius, p. 215): Rex sum populorum, non conscientiarum. Nolle se conscientiis dominari, si quidem Deus haec trium operam, creare aliquid ex nilo, noesse futura, et dominari conscientiis.


27 On him see Salig's Hist. d. Augsb. Conf., ii. 598. Among his works (ed. Antverp., 1571 and Colon., 1584, 2 Tomi, fol.) the most important is his Confessio Catholicae Fidei (i. 1 sq.), which was set forth at the Synod of Petrikow in 1551, and was for a long time the point of union for the Catholics. How fanatical he was is shown especially in his Letters to King Henry and his Confessor (Opp., ii. 358, 359), in which he complains that the King had sworn assent to the Pax dissidentium, but, at the same time, lays it upon his conscience not to keep this oath. He writes to the King: Supplex Majestatem V. peto, siue peccando Petrum est secuta, sic et pro peccato suo satisfaciendo Petrum imitetur, errorem suum corrigit, et sciat, quod juramentum non est vinculum iniquitatis, nec ulius absolutionis indigere se ab hoc juramento, sibi certo persuasum habeat. Quandoquidem casse et irrita sunt omnia omni jure, quæ per Majestatem tuam parum considerate facta sunt.

28 Sacchini Hist. Soc. Jesu, P. ii. lib. viii. 114, P. iii. lib. i. 119, lib. vi. 108. Hartknoch, s. 1049. The laws prescribed by the Pope to the college in Braunsberg, see in Theiner's Schweden, and his Stellung sum hell. Stuhle, Th. 2. Urkundenbuch, s. 158.

29 Ranke, ii. 365.
the land. Thus many evangelical churches in the country lost
the protection of their noble lords, and in the cities the larger part
of their churches were gradually taken from them by the deci-
44 sions of the Catholic courts; and the disciples of the Jesuits were
often so far led astray by the arrogance of the nobles and ecclesi-
astical fanaticism that they violently attacked the dissidents and
their churches, raging against them with slaughter and burnings.
The Evangelical party was protected only in the domains of the
nobles who remained attached to their faith.

The King who succeeded, Vladislas IV. (1632–48), was per-
sonally very tolerant, and caused the Religious Conference of
Thorn to be held in 1645, to bring about peace among the con-
tending parties; but he could not radically alter the existing state
of affairs.
The Bohemian Brethren who had, in earlier times, emigrated into Hungary remained insignificant in numbers and influence. On the other hand, however, the connection which existed between the numerous Germans that were living in the Hungarian cities and Transylvania and their fatherland contributed directly and strongly to the introduction of the writings and doctrine of Luther. Many young Hungarians went to Wittenberg to study, and then became the heralds of the Reformation in their own land. The clergy, who were strong, opposed them with great zeal, and in 1523 had a bloody law passed against the Reformation; but still many cities and several powerful nobles joined in the movement. After 1523 they had the upper hand in Hermannstadt.

In 1525 the five royal free cities in Upper Hungary declared for the Reformation.

1 Ribini, i. 5. G. Bod de Reformationis Hungaricae Ministri Diss., in Gerdesii Scrinium Antiquarium, vii. 846.
2 The proposal of the Diet of Ofen, sanctioned by the King, was, Artic. LIV (Historia Diplom., p. 8; Lampe, p. 58): Omnes Lutheranos et eorum fautores, ac factioni ipsi adhaerentes, tanquam publicos haereticos, hostesque sacratissimae Virginis Mariæ, poena capitis et ablatione omnium honorum eturum Majestas Regia veluti catholicus Principis punire dignetur. Then, 1525 (l. c.): Luthariani omnes de regno extirpentur, et ubi cunque repeti fuerint, non solum per ecclesiasticas, verum etiam per seculares personas libere capiantur et comburantur. On the author of these laws, see Ribini, i. 10 ss.
3 G. Bod de Reformationis Hungaricae Patronis Diss., in Gerdesil Scrin. Antiqu., vi. 133.
4 Compare the King’s admonitory epistle to this city; Hist. Dipl., p. 9; Lampe, p. 58.
5 Leutschau, Seben, Bartfeld, Eperics, and Cascbau; Lampe, p. 64.
After the death of King Louis II., who fell in the battle of Mohácz, two rivals contended for the Hungarian throne, Archduke Ferdinand, and John of Zapolya, Voyvode of Transylvania. Both renewed the laws for the persecution of the new doctrine; but the execution of them was hindered by domestic wars, and the Reformation made incessant progress. Many of the nobility declared for it; Hermannstadt, in 1529, expelled all priests and monks; and Cronstadt soon followed this example. Among the distinguished preachers of the Reformation in Hungary was Matthias Devay (called Lutherus Ungaricus), who returned in 1531 from Wittenberg to his native land; in Transylvania, John Honter, who in 1533 came back from Basle to his native city, Cronstadt, and worked for the new doctrines by a printing-press and as a preacher.

By the Peace of 1538 Ferdinand was confirmed in his possession of the throne; John was to retain only during his lifetime the royal title, Transylvania, and a portion of Upper Hungary. Yet still, after John’s death in 1540, his widow, Isabella, endeavored to retain these possessions, with the aid of Turkey, for her late-born son, John Sigismund. She was, however, restricted to Transylvania, while a large part of Hungary fell into the hands of Turkey.

The country being thus divided up and engrossed with war, neither Isabella in Transylvania, nor Ferdinand in that part of Hungary which remained to him, could put a check upon the Reformation. The whole Saxon population of Transylvania, at the Synod of Medwisch, adopted the Augsburg Confession; a like solemn declaration in its favor followed in the same year in Hungary at the Synod of Erdöd, with which the Transylvanian Hungarians connected themselves. In all parts of the land synods were held to establish and arrange the new Church. After the defeat of the Smalcald confederates, Ferdinand, at the Diet of Pressburg, did indeed forbid heresies; but only Anabaptists and Sacramentarians seemed to be aimed at in the prohibition. No
steps were taken against the royal cities in Upper Hungary, which in 1549 handed in to the King their Confession\(^\text{11}\) (Confessio Pentapolitana). In the Turkish part of Hungary the Reformation advanced unimpeded.\(^\text{12}\)

After Isabella, expelled by Ferdinand in 1551, had been brought back by the aid of the Turks in 1556, and again assumed the government of Transylvania, in order to insure for her son the land which was already, for the most part, submissive to the Reformation, she was forced to give her assent to the decree of the Diet of Clausenburg (1557), by which equal rights with the Catholics were conceded to the adherents of the Augsburg Confession.\(^\text{13}\)

The unpropitious controversy about the Lord's Supper unfortunately very-early found an echo in Hungary; but still the Augs-

\(^{11}\) Ribini, i. 76. The Confession is there given, p. 78 ss. By Lampe, Salig, and others, this Confession is erroneously assigned to the year 1530.

\(^{12}\) On the circumstances attending the Reformation, compare the letters written in these years from Hungarians to persons in other countries: for example, that of Emerichus Zigerius to Flacius, 1549, published by the latter in German at Magdeburg, in 1550 (in Ribini, i. 501); the letters to Bullinger, in Huldrici Miscell. Tigurina, il. 192, 198, comp. p. 200. I [Gieseler] have in manuscript several letters of this description, addressed to Breslau preachers. Thus Mag. Jo. Creasingus Parochus Schemmiensium writes to Ambr. Molbanus, 1549. Interim autem vide admirabile et consolantisismum Dei consilium. Arbitramur nos, Turcas oppressores esse Evangelii filii Dei: at diversum Deus ipse efficit: fiunt enim suis bellis contra Papistas (licet nescientes) defensores. Mirum namque in modum Evangelium gloriae Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi sub ipsis bellicis tumultibus quam latissime vagatur. Tota enim Transsylvaniam Evangelium receptit, frustra prohibente—illo Georgio Monacho Episcopo, omnium praeceptum in Hungaria malorum auctore (Georg Martinuzzi, see Engel's Ungarische Gesch., iv. 132).—Et quod magis miratur, Valachia quoque Transsylvaciae vicina et Turcis subjecta Evangelium recepit. Tam vetus quam Novum Testamentum sua lingua in Corona, Transsylvaciae civitate, impressa sunt.—Sed et per Hungariam paulatim Evangelium seript. Quod si isti bellici tumultus non intervenissent, dudum Pseudoeopiscopi graviore tumultus, quam ipsamet Turcas, contra Evangelii professores concississet. Adalb. Warmloch, in Bistriz, writes to Joh. Hess, pastor in Breslau, 1546: Reformatae sunt hic in Transsylvaniam Ecclesiae urbs Saxoniearum Dei beneficio, magna ex parte etiam in Hungaria. Audimus et certo intelligimus, Budae (Ofen, then under Turkey) paucis illicis relietis Hungaria praedaicari sincerum Evangelium, et crassum quondam Sathanam papisticum vehementer obstitisse, ita ut res praebatur ad Praefectum urbis exercitusque. Qui audita controversia plus visus est approbare Evangelium, maxime ob has causas, quod doceat, unum colendum Deum, reprobetque absum imaginum, quas Turcas abominantur, et nos propter illas plurimum. Respondit tamen Praefectus, se non esse eo collocatum a Caesar suo ad diluendas Religionis nostrae controversias, sed ad conservandum regnum Caesaris ea in qua posset tranquillitatis. Est et alia Hungariae civitas, Segedinum nomine, cui praestet Bassa quidam Turcicus, qui defendit Evangelium et illius ministros praedicatores contra omnem impetum et furias Papistarum.

\(^{13}\) Decretum, dd. 1. Jun., 1557 (Benko, i. li. 186): Ecclesias quoque Hungaricas in Religionem cum Saxonibus idem sentientes Regina sub patrociniunm recipit, et Ministri illarum justos proventus integre reddi et administrari mandaturum se promittit.
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burg Confession was for a long time the bond of union among all the followers of the Reformation. But after the Calvinistic controversy had broken out in Germany, in Hungary also synods were arrayed against synods, conferences and disputations were set on foot, articles and counter-articles were exchanged, until an ecclesiastical division followed. The Germans, for the most part, remained true to the Lutheran doctrine; in Hungary the first synod that adopted a Calvinistic Confession was that of Csenger (1557 or 1558), in the Confessio Czengerina. In 1566 all the Hungarian Reformed Churches signed the Helvetic Confession. In Transylvania, in 1564, at the Synod of Enyed, a Lutheran superintendent was appointed for the Saxons, and a Reformed for the Hungarians and Seklians.

Together with these parties the Unitarians also crept in. In Hungary they were steadfastly repelled; in Transylvania, from 1566, there was much controversy with them. But after King John Sigismund and almost the whole of Clausenburg had been

14 The letter of Thomas Hilarius, pastor at Caschau, to the University of Wittenberg, 1574 (in Riederer’s Nachrichten, i. 100), designates the free cities, those of the county of Zips, and the hill cities, as true to the Augsburg Confession, and then adds: Neque patiuntur haec loca, cum praecepta Germani ea possident, et gubernant sub Imperatoris et Regis Rom. imperio, vel farraginem sacramentariorum inter Ungaros usitatam, vel fermentum Arianorum, Anabaptistarum, Flacianorum, vel vero aliarum sectarum opiniones spargi, sed nobiscum eandem confessionem verbi veritatis—in Augustana Confessione et corpore doctrinae comprehensam unanimi consensu spargunt, et contra Antichristum et ejus membra defendunt.


16 Lampe, p. 125.

17 After the controversy had continued from as far back as 1557 (Benkó, i. ii. 127), the King sent George Blandrata to make one more attempt at reconciliation, but at the same time ordered (Lampe, p. 123): Sin autem id, quod postulamus, sequi non poterit; saltem siant ordinationes pliae in tranquillitatem Ecclesiaram, ut Ecclesiae Saxonicae, et quicunque praesentiam corporis in Coena asserunt, habere possent unum certum Superintendem, virum gravem, pium et eruditem, gregi Domini sedulio vigilantium, qui in unitate doctrinae, et ceremoniarum conformitate, ac disciplina evangelica Ecclesias gubernet, et in santon ac inobedientes digna poena animadverterat: rursus quid diversam asseritionem absensia videlicet corporis Christi contundent, suas habeant Superintendem, cujus cura et vigiliis, solitias ritibus et ceremonias, Ecclesiae corum in disciplina evangelica gubernetur; atque ita distinctis limitibus et functionibus quibusque suis omnibus prospecliant, et controversiae ac contentionem passim inter utrasque partem grasseant vel hoc modo sedentur.

18 Thus Lucas Agricola was combated as Antitrinitarian, and at length, in 1568, imprisoned until he should retract, although he was still far from the Transylvanian Unitarianism; Lampe, p. 138-146, 187-217; Ribini, i. 204.

19 Lampe, p. 147 ss.
gained in their favor, religious freedom was also extended to them at a diet in 1571.20

The religious condition of Transylvania, which from this time reckoned four Religiones receptae, was on this basis brought into a regular order; but it was different in Hungary. As long as the Emperor Ferdinand ruled, in that part of Hungary which belonged to him the decrees against the Protestants were not, indeed, abolished, nor were they carried into execution. Under his successor, Maximilian II. (1564–76), Lutheranism was not only entirely tolerated, but was also strikingly favored by the imperial generals, Lazarus Schwendy and John Rüber von Pixendorf, who avowed their adhesion to it. The opposition to Calvinism continued, although without effect.21 Under Rudolph II., too (1576–1608), the Protestants for a long time had outward repose. And thus, in spite of the violent struggles between the Lutherans and Calvinists, kindled anew by the Formula Concordiae, it came to pass that the larger part of Hungary accepted the Reformation, and only three magnates remained Catholics.22

The new attack upon Protestantism proceeded here, too, from the Jesuits. As early as 1588, at the proposal of the estates of the country, they were again expelled23 from Transylvania, where they had been allowed to come in 1579, supported by Stephen Bathori, King of Poland, and had brought things into great disor-

20 They, however, at first only received permission to dwell in Clausenburg; Benkő, i. 184, 185.
21 Compare the imperial edict, 31st Oct., 1567, in Ribini, i. 207.
23 Acts in the Hist. Diplom., p. 8, and in Lampe, p. 814 ss. The estates were at first repelled by the prince, Sigismund Bathori, who was very submissive to the Jesuits, but forced the matter through upon a very emphatic renewal of their request. They say of the Jesuits (Lampe, p. 323): Non enim solum juventutem liberaliter disciplinis instituerunt (ut ipsorum proprium erat officium, sed et religionem suam palam et manifeste per plateas, templis, et compita in processionibus etiam propagarunt, in iis etiam locis, ubi nulla ipsis a Regno facta fuit potestas. Nam et Varadini S. Aegidi templum, ubi alias puriori religio docebatur, violenter occuparunt, non juventutis institutorum, sed legitimis oportet causa, ac in civium injuriis Crucifixum armatis manibus publice eduxerunt, ac turbas dererunt maximas, quas nisi il. quorum interfuit, compressissent, sed etiota ortos fuisse. His non contenti contra Regni statuta violentios pagos percurrerunt, ut Religionem suam latius spargarrent; dominum ministri Ecclesiae S. Kosmani invaserunt, injuria affectum ejecerunt, libros quos habuit disperserunt, ipsum ac cives contumeliosae tractarunt, caet.
der. But in Hungary, where they had been called (1586) by George Draskovitz, Archbishop of Kolocz, they planted themselves firmly, and soon began to break up Protestantism. Thereupon the imperial dictator of Upper Hungary, Count Belgiojoso, began a persecution of the Protestants in Caschau, in 1603, and openly avowed his purpose of exterminating them. The Emperor, in 1604, gave his formal assent to this procedure. The Jesuits at once came forward as the leaders and instruments of the persecutions which now broke out. Meanwhile the magnate Stephen Botskai put himself at the head of Protestantism in Transylvania; an insurrection in Hungary joined with him; and the Archduke Matthias could only avert the impending danger by conceding equal religious freedom to all three religious parties in the Peace of Vienna (1606), and recognizing Stephen as Prince of Transyl-

24 Doleschal, s. 244. They had already possessed a college at Tyrnau, from 1559 to 1567, but when it burned down they had again withdrawn from Hungary (ibid., s. 171, 198).

25 Lampe, p. 332. Ribini, i. 320.

26 When the Diet of Pressburg complained about the violation of religious freedom, Rudolph added to 21 articles of the diet, sent to him, a 22d, dated Prague, May 3, 1604 (Lampe, p. 333; Ribini, i. 321), in which the grievances of the estates were sharply set aside, with this addition: Cum sua sacratissima Caesarea Regiaque Majestas—sacro-sanctam catholicam fidem—in regnis et provinciis suis, ac praeestim in hoc suo Ungarie regno—ex tot falsia opinionibus et sectis erutam, ubique flore et dilatari cupiat;—idcirco Majestas sua sacratissima, motu proprio doque regiae sua potestatis plenitutine, tam sancti Regis Stephani,—quam vero omnium aliorum divorum quondam Ungarie Regum—decreta, constitutiones et articulos pro praeestata sancta catholicae Romanae fide et religione, quovis tempore praeclare or pie editos et evulgatos, non secus ac si do verbo ad verbum praeestebant literis inseriti et inscripti essent, hoc speciali suum articulo clementer ratificavit et confirmavit. Ac ne deinceps in generalibus praestim et arduis regni tractatibus et diebus aliqui religiosis negotiis ad remorandos et interrumpendos publicos tractatus quovis colore et praetextu impune movere licent, benigno statuit et serio decernit, ut contra tales inquietos rerumque novarum cupidos poena a divis quondam Regibus Ungariarum in eisdem decretes et articulis statuta confestim procedatur, et caeteris in exemplum irremissibilitatem puniantur.

27 Pacificatio Vienensis, dd. 23. Jun., 1606 (Hist. Dipl., p. 19; Lampe, p. 335). Art. I abolished the Art. 22 of the year 1604, and—juxta Sac. Caes. Regiaeque Majestatis priorum resolutionem, declared, quod omnes et singulos Status et Ordines intra ambitum Regni Hungariae solum existentes, tam Magnates, Nobiles, quam liberae civitates et Oppida privilegiata immediate ad coronam spectántia, item in confinniis quoque Regni Hungariae milites Hungaros in sua Religione et confessione nusquam et nunquam turbabit, nec per alios turbari aut impediti sint. Verum omnibus praedictis Statibus et Ordinibus liber ipsorum Religionis usus et exercitationem permittetur: absque tamen prae-judicio catholicæ Romanae Religionis, et ut Clerus, templo et Ecclesiae catholicorum Romanorum intacta et libera permaneat, atque ea quae hoc disturbiorum tempore utrinque occupata fuere, rursus idem restituantur. (This last condition was thus explained by the Archduke Matthias, Non mala fide adjectum esset; sed ut utrique pars in eorum Religione et exercitatione et templis non turbentur; Lampe, p. 336.) Art. VIII. Hungari non consentiunt, quo Jesuitae in Regno Hungariorum jurae stabilitia et possessionaria
vania. At his coronation, too, in 1608, Matthias II. confirmed these conditions, and pledged himself not to recall the Jesuits. But the powerful Catholic clergy protested against all these concessions. Though the following kings renewed them when they ascended the throne, yet the Jesuits and religious oppression were soon reintroduced. And thus Gabriel Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania, did not lack a pretext when, after the fanatical Ferdinand II. had ascended the throne, he united with Bohemia and invaded Hungary, in the hope of annexing it to his possessions. And though he did not attain this object, yet in the Treaty of Nicolsburg he forced the Emperor to renew the old pledges (1621); and as they were not kept, he again overran the land in 1623 and 1626; each time the promise to observe the Peace of Vienna was solemnly renewed, and each time immediately broken. At the

Suc
tamen Majestas juribus suis inhaeret quoad clausulas donacionum: tantum fiat donationes juxta decreta Regni et more antiquitatis solito.

Hist. Dipl., p. 22. Ribini, i. 358: Art. 1. Quantum itaque ad primum Constitutionis Vienensis Articulum attinet, deliberatum est per Status et Ordinis incliti Regni Hungariae, ut Religio exercitium tam Baronibus, Magnatibus et Nobilibus, quam etiam liberis civitatibus ac universis Statibus et Ordinibus Regni in suis ac Fisci bonis, item in confrinis quoque Regni Hungariae militibus Hungaria suae cuique Religion et Confesio, necnon oppidis et villis eam sponte ac libere acceptare volentibus ubique liberum relinquatur, nec quisquam omnium in libero ejusdem usum ac exercitio a quoquam impediat. Quinimo ad praeavenda inter Status et Ordines aliqua odia et dissensiones, ut qualibet Religion suae professionis Superiores seu Superintendentes habeat, statum est. This article has always had the force of fundamental law, and has been renewed by the kings that succeeded when they ascended the throne.

Hist. Dipl., p. 23. Art. 8. Hie quoque Articulus de Jesuitis invigoris sui perma-

Ribini, i. 431 ss. The views and modes of action of the Catholic party are made specially clear in Carafa (§ 12, Note 3) De Germania Sacra restaurata, a.d. 1625, p. 193. Reformatio Religionis hisce annis cum in Ungaria felicitatis cursum, quem in alii provinciis, tenere non potuit: nam concessio libertatis Religionis promissionibus ac diplomatibus regis robusta perfringi non potuit.—Intertamen tamen et tantaes Religiones clades divina bonitas supra omnem humanam spem magna suppeditavit auxilia, quibus Religion catholica in regno sublevata fuit. Nam inprimis magnorum vironum facta est ad catholicam fidem accessio, in quorum amplissimis dominis sacerdotes catholicici colo- cati fuerunt expulsae haeresem seminarioibus.—Deinde effectum est, ut omnia majora officia, et Regni Magistratus administrarentur per Catholicos, qui et ipsi Religionis rem potenter promoverunt. Ad has cum ante in Ungaria Academiae et scholae nullae, immo ne mediocres literarum exercitationes reperirentur, hisce annis aliquot introduc-tae sunt. Thus Petrus Pázmány, cardinal, and archbishop of Gran, founded Jesuit colleges for the children of the nobility, others for the poor, and established a Hungarian Collegium Clericorum in Vienna. When the Hungarian estates, in 1625, were on the point of electing the son of the Emperor, Ferdinand III., as younger King of Hungary, some Catholic councilors expressed doubts (p. 216), quod Religioni catholicae timent. Non enim admisissent Ordines Begem ad coronam, nisi eadem privilegia, jura, immu-
same time, the inducements which the lords of the land and the powerful clergy had at their command were so successfully plied among the nobles that in 1634 the majority of the diet had again become Catholic. Since the Evangelical party had thus lost, for the most part, the protection of the lords of the land, persecution became the more oppressive. The Prince of Transylvania, George Rakoczy, again took the part of the persecuted, and compelled the Emperor, in the Treaty of Linz, 1645, to renew the confirmation of the Peace of Vienna; but no abiding change in the state of affairs could be effected.

§ 17.

IN DENMARK, NORWAY, AND ICELAND.

Harald Huitfeld's (chancellor of the kingdom) Danische Chronik. Kopenh., 1604. 4. (in the Danish, the fifth part contains the church history). Erich Pontoppidan's kurzgefasste Reformationshist. der Dän. Kirche. Lübeck, 1734. 8.; it is again pub-

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nitates, ac Religionis praestitutas libertates jurasatet, quas parentes sacramento suo firma-verat illo tempore, cum in maximis versaretur periculis, quando necessitate quadam compulsus coactus fuit, majoris boni ergo aliquo modo cedere graviora urgentibus: ad quae adeo enormia nunc nulla necessitas filium adigebat. Sperabant in dies, vel per obitum Bethleni, vel per continuatas victorias meliora tempora successura, et sic ex-puncta iis, quae catholicam Religionem praepedicabant, posse aliquando mitius jura-mentum praestari. Meanwhile, Palatinus ipse (Nicolaus Esterhazy, who had himself gone over from the Lutheran to the Catholic Church) omnem nobis anxietatem in rebus Religionis exemit, asserebatur etiam juratus Regni articulos servatis servandis posse eventi, si Rex una cum regnicois mutatione decretorum assentueret. In special! inequiebat, res Religionis facile corrigendas, si plures catholicis fierent, et una cum Rego Religionis incommoda aut dedecora abrogantur.—His rationibus permutus Caesar non solum in electionem, sed et in coronationem—praemissae privilegiorum confirmatione non secus a filio quam a patre facienda consensit.

22 Berceviczy, s. 23.

23 Comp. the Gravamina of the Evangelicals, 1638, in the Hist. Dipl., Append., p. 16.

24 The chief passage reads thus (Hist. Dipl., p. 42): Quod omnes Status et Ordines Regni, ipsaeque liberae Civitates, necon Oppida privilegiata, et milites Hungarici in confinis Regni liberum habeant ubiue suae Religionis exercitium cum libero templo-
rum, campanarum et sepulturarum usu, nec quisquam in libero suo Religionis exercitio a quoquam modo aut quovis praetexta turbetur et impediatur. Secundo de non impediendis aut turbandis rustici in sua confessione declaratur et conclusum est, ut illi quoque propter bonum pacis et tranquillitatem Regni, sive sint Confiniarii, sive Oppidani, sive villani in quorumcumque dominorum terrestrum et Fisci bonis, juxta vigorem praecepti Articuli et conditionis in libero suo Religionis exercitio ac usus, modoque ut supra simili, a Sua Majestate Regia, vel ejusdem Ministri, aut dominis suis terrestribus, quoquam modo aut quovis sub praetexta non turbentur aut impediantur; hactenus autem impediti, coacti et turbati liberum ipsorum Religionis usum reassumere, exercere et continuare permittantur, neque ad alias Religiones ipsorum contrarias ceremonias peragendas compellantur. The prolif discussions of the diet about the execution of this treaty are given in the appendix to the Hist. Dipl.

When the Reformation began, the tyrannical Christian II. was ruling in Denmark and Norway, and contending for the throne of Sweden. In all these kingdoms the clergy was in possession of large property and privileges, and the royal power was very much restricted by them and the nobility.

In Denmark Christian II. endeavored to impair the superiority of the prelates and nobles, and, on the other hand, to elevate the oppressed burghers and peasantry. And as he thus favored the enlightenment of the people and the pursuits of industry, he was also favorably disposed toward the Reformation. In May, 1521, with several laws that had a potent bearing upon ecclesiastical matters, he went so far as to issue one encouraging the marriage of the priests. In Sweden, on the contrary, where the free peasantry and a large part of the nobility were opposed to him, he sought to regain dominion by the aid of the Pope and the clergy. A papal ban helped him; and when he caused the noblest Swedes to be executed in Stockholm in 1520, he alleged that this slaughter was but the execution of that ban. And when, upon the complaint of the Swedes, a papal legate appeared in Denmark, Sept., 1521, the King did not hesitate, in order to retain the papal protection, to issue an edict in favor of the mass, and to take back the objectionable exhortation as to the marriage of priests, 1522.

After Christian II. had been deposed, Frederick I., Duke of
Sleswick and Holstein, became King, in 1523; but he had previously made great concessions to the clergy and nobility, and bound himself to put down with persecution the Reformation that was pressing in. He was true to his promise; only he could not persecute the Reformers after he had forbidden in the duchies all violent interference with the great religious struggle (1524). Personally, too, he became more and more inclined to the Reformation. And thus Luther's doctrine now began to be more vigorously diffused, especially in Jutland, where John Taussen had been its most zealous preacher since 1524. When the King, too, declared himself for it in 1526, although he still refrained from bestowing any favors upon it, it received a mighty impulse in all the cities; and when the bishops attempted to oppose it the parties assumed an attitude of sharp opposition. To forestall the breaking out of the contest, the King, at the Diet of Odense, 1527, procured equal toleration for both sides. The number of the Lutherans increased with rapid strides. Wiborg, in Jutland, and Malmö, in Schonen, became the centres of the Reformation, which

contra jas pietatemque in regnum nostrum catholicum introduxit, Doctorem Carolistadium, fortissimum Lutheri Athletam, enutrivit.

On this capitulation, see Münter, iii. 101. Frederick, among other things, had to promise (s. 145) never to allow heretics, disciples of Luther or others, "heimlich oder öffentlich gegen den himmlischen Gott, den heil. christl. Glauben, den heil. Vater, oder die romische Kirche zu predigen oder zu lehren; und wo solche im Reich gefunden würden, sie am Leben u. Gute zu strafen."


His life is in the Danische Bibliothek (Kopenhagen, 1737. 8), Stück 1, s. 1.

was thence diffused over the whole kingdom. Contemporaneously with the Augsburg Diet, there was also to be, at the Diet of Copenhagen (July, 1530), a union of the parties. The Lutherans, with John Tausen, the preacher at Copenhagen, at their head, handed in a Confession of Faith, and several writings were interchanged in respect to it. Union was not effected, but the Lutheran party now had the decided preponderance in the kingdom. Frederick, however, true to his word, allowed the prelates to retain their power; and thus, after his death in 1533, they were in a condition to attempt a decisive reactionary movement. Since greater zeal for the Reformation was to be expected from Frederick's son, Christian, the prelates procured a postponement of the election of the King, that they might, in the interregnum, destroy all innovations. But there was no salvation for them in any quarter. A zealous Protestant, Count Christopher von Oldenburg, now took up arms for the deposed King, Christian II., and invaded a large part of Denmark. Threatened with the restoration of that tyrant, even the clergy were compelled to assent to the choice, previously refused, of Christian III. (July 4, 1534). After he had brought the civil war to a victorious issue, he had all the bishops imprisoned on the same day, August 20, 1536; and a diet at Copenhagen decreed that there should no longer be bishops with such authority, and that the Reformation should be universally introduced (October, 1536). The church property was divided partly between the King and the nobility, and partly between the new Church and pious foundations. The bishops were released only on condition of renouncing their dignities. Joachim Rönnov, Bishop of Roeskild, who refused, was kept in prison till his death. John Bugenhagen was invited to come for some years and superintend the reshaping of the Church. With his co-operation the University of Copenhagen was arranged anew; he crowned the King and Queen (August 12, 1537), and consecrated the new evangelical bishops or superintendents, September 2; the new ecclesiastical

10 Danish in 48 articles; in German in Pontoppidan, ii. 886; in Latin in Muhlfus, p. 133, and Münter, iii. 306.
12 Münter, ili. 471.
order was published on the same day, and it then received legal sanction from the Diet of Odense, 1539.

In Norway, Catholicism, supported by a powerful hierarchy, remained undisturbed till the reign of Christian III. After Oluf Engelbrechtsen, Archbishop of Drontheim, had abandoned his opposition to this King, and fled to the Netherlands (1537) with his treasures, Norway became a province of Denmark instead of a sister kingdom. The Reformation was now introduced on the part of the government; but for this reason there was among the people for a long time a marked preference for Catholicism.

In Iceland all reformatory movements were kept in check by the two bishops of the country, till Gisler Einhasen, educated in Germany, became, in 1540, Bishop of Skalholt, and began to reform his diocese after the Danish Church order. After his death, in 1543, John Aresen, Bishop of Holm, attempted to suppress the new movements by violence, but he was executed as a rebel in 1550. Thereupon the work of the Reformation was completed without any hinderance.

The Jesuits also tried to obtain a working sphere in Denmark and Norway, especially through some young Danes who had fallen into their toils, being enticed by the reputation of their schools; however, their efforts were unsuccessful, as were those of other Catholic missionaries; and the whole Danish kingdom has ever since remained true to the Lutheran Church.

§ 18.

IN SWEDEN.


16 On their redaction, see Münster, iii. 484. The royal edict on their publication is in Pontoppidan, iii. 224. Comp. A. H. Lackmann Hist. ordinationis ecclesiasticae, at the end of his Schleswig-Holsteinischer Historie, Th. 3. It was first written in Latin, and afterward translated into Danish by Palladius, Bishop of Seeland, and in this form laid before the Diet of Odense.

17 Münter, iii. 516.


19 Thus, in 1618, six Catholic preachers, who had been trained in Jesuit schools, were deposed; Pontoppidan, iii. 511.

10 Nachrichten von den Missionsversuchen der Römischen Kirche in Dänemark u. Norwegen, in Münter's Magazin für Kirchengesch. u. Kirchenrecht des Nordens, B. 2, St. 4, s. 7.
Two brothers, trained in Wittenberg, Olaf and Lawrence Peterson (Olaus and Laurentius Petri), were at work as early as 1519 at Strengnäs for the Reformation; among the adherents they gained, the most distinguished was the archdeacon Lawrence Anderson. Olaf's sermons made a great sensation at the Diet of Strengnäs, by which Gustavus Vasa was chosen King, after he had freed Sweden from the Danish rule. Gustavus was attracted to these men and their doctrine, and appointed Lawrence Anderson to be his chancellor, Olaf Peterson preacher in Stockholm, and Lawrence Peterson professor of theology in Upsala. 1 Gustavus favored the new doctrine the more readily, because it seemed to give him the opportunity of appropriating the immoderate riches of the Church, which were indispensable to the new kingdom, almost without means, and which had now become dangerous in the hands of prelates that favored Denmark. The people, too, were irritated against the priests on account of their too great power and arrogance; but still they were superstitiously attached to the Church and its forms. Under these circumstances Gustavus was able to lay heavier burdens upon the priests. For this he was accused of heresy by them, 2 and it became a matter of much consequence,

1 Bishop Brask, of Linköping, wrote, 12th July, 1528, to the Bishop of Skara (Geijer, ii. 43): Periculose pullulare incipit hæresis illa Lutherana per quemdam Magistrum Olavum in Ecclesia Strengnesensi, praeassertim contra decretum s. Rom. Ecclesiae ac ecclesiasticam libertatem ad effectum, ut status modernae Ecclesiae reducatur ad mendicatatem et statum Ecclesiae primitivae. Comp. the documents in Aug. Theiner's Schweden, und seine Stellung zum heil. Stuhl unter Johann III., Sigismund III., und Karl IX. (2 Theile, Augsb., 1838 u. 1839), Th. 2. Urkundenbuch, s. 1 ff.

2 Gustavus writes about this in 1526 to the Helsingers (Geijer, ii. 48), that the priests calumniated him only because he did not tolerate their avarice and tyranny. "Wenn sie vermerken, dass wir den Vorthell der Krone bedenken, der uns von wegen unsers
particularly because they had a fitting pretext for this in the disorders of the Anabaptists in Stockholm, 1524; and the incautious expressions of several of the new preachers. The disputation held in Upsala, 1524, had no special result. Convinced that the kingdom was too weak to bring to an end the disturbances of the country, which were specially fostered by the clergy, Gustavus, at the Diet of Westerās, 1527, proposed to resign; but instead of this the Church was surrendered to his discretion. A way was thus opened for the Reformation, and the nobility gained for it, since the larger part of the church property fell to them; but the people were wholly unprepared; and inclined to look upon all


3 Instigated by Melchior Ring and Knipperdolling; Schinmeier, s. 47.
4 Objurgations against bishops, saints, and rites; in Schinmeier, s. 50.
5 The questions in dispute, and the declarations of both parties upon them, were print- ed by Olaus Petri in 1527. They may be found in Baazius, p. 166 ss., and in Gerdesius, Tom. iii. Monumenta, p. 153 ss.
6 The contents of the final decrees of Westerās are in Geijer, ii. 66. The King was especially authorized to take the castles of the bishops, to determine the income of the bishops and the canons, to make arrangements about the cloisters. The nobility were again to receive those churches and cloisters of which they had been deprived since 1454 (when Carl Canutson limited the legacies to the Church, and confiscated much property), so far forth as their hereditary right was legally proved by the oath of twelve men. The preachers were to proclaim the pure word of God. The so-called Westerās Ordinance made still more definite arrangements about the Church (in Baazius, p. 223, and Geredes- sius, iii. 812). The bishops were to give efficient preachers to the congregations; other- wise the King was to see to it. The bishops were to hand in to the King a schedule of their revenues, that he might determine what of it should remain to the churches and what was to fall to the crown. The begging of monks was to be restricted; the inher- itance of the priest was not to accrue to the bishop; the priests, in secular matters, were to be under the royal jurisdiction; the Gospel was to be read in all the schools; excommunication was to be pronounced only after an investigation before a royal court.

7 When, in Westerās, the right was given to the preachers of proclaiming the pure word of God, the nobles added, in the way of confirming it, "nicht aber ungewisse Wun- derzeichen, Menschenerfindungen u. Fabeln, wie es bisher viel geschehen." But the burgbers and miners expressed themselves about the new faith: "Er möge untersucht
changes in ecclesiastical matters as an apostasy from Christendom. Accordingly, the King proposed that the first thing done should be to provide for their instruction, and that all changes should, in the mean time, be deferred. The assembly of the clergy in Oerebro, 1529, made their decrees in this spirit, and the mild Lawrence Peterson became Archbishop of Upsala in 1531. It was very difficult, however, to gain a welcome among the people; for the old clergy remained in their offices, and the younger ones often did more injury by chiding the old usages than good by their instructions. The King hit upon a new arrangement, making George Normann superintendent of all the clergy of the kingdom, and putting under him custodians and religious councilors for the oversight of the provinces; but this was not carried out thoroughly. During the reign of Gustavus many of the people always remained discontented with the ecclesiastical changes; and even in 1542 he was obliged to put down a dangerous rebellion. The larger part was wholly unaffected by the spirit of the Reformation. They saw in it only a change of ceremonies, and a limitation of the power of the priests. And thus it came to pass that the moral effects of this Reformation were not at all cheering; so that

wurden, gehe aber über ihren Verstand." Also the farmers: "Schwer sel tiefer zu urtheilen, als der Verstand zusagt;" see Geijer, ii. 66 f.

* See these in Bazzius, p. 240. Gerdesius, T. iii. Monum., p. 193. Here were retained the consecrated water, consecrated palms, wax-lights, salt, etc.; and they only tried, by explanations, to separate superstitious associations from them.

* A violent epistle of the King to the archbishop, Lawrence Peterson, 24th April, 1539; see Schimmeier, s. 101; Geijer, ii. 89. E. g. "Es sey kein Wunder, wenn die Gemeinen sich der evangelischen Lehre wiedersetzetten, so lange es ihnen an gehöriger Unterweisung fehle. Er hatte billig dafür sorgen sollen, dass sie mit würdigen Lehrern hinlanglich versehen worden waren.—Man merke nur gar zu deutlich, dass ihn der Verlust der vorigen Gewalt schmerze; aber er solle sich erinnern, dass er ein Prediger und kein Herr sey; er betrüge sich gewaltig, wenn er glaube, dass die Bischofe das so lange gemisbrauchte Schwert wieder erhalten würden, welches man ihnen mit sovieler Mühe aus den Handen gerissen hätte. Und da er selbst nicht verstande, wie die Predigten eingereicht werden müssten, so wollte er ihm nur sagen, dass er darin nicht auf die alten Gebreuche schimpfen, sondern den Kern der Religion vortragen solle.—Christus u. Paulus predigten den Gehorsam gegen die Obrigkeit; aber auf den Schwedischen Kanzeln höre nichts anders, als Ausrufungen über Tyrannney u. harte Herrschaft, so wie Schimpfworte auf die Obrigkeit," etc.

10 Of Nils Dacke, in Småland; the insurgents declared their purpose to be the re-establishment of Christianity, the abolition of the Swedish mass; they abused the married priests, etc.; Geijer, ii. 91 f.

11 Compare the pastoral letter of Archbishop Lawrence Petri, 1558, in Bazzius, p. 272; Gerdesius, iii. Monum., p. 197: Habemus hoc assequo gratia Dei singulare purum ejus verbum et lucem Evangelii clarissimam, qua illuminati a tenebris Papistarum liberamur, in fideque salvifica conservamur, servientes Deo juxta patefactum ejus voluntatem.
even under the sons of Gustavus ecclesiastical affairs were still in a very undecided condition. The Calvinism favored by the eldest of them, Erich XIV. (1560–63), did not plant any roots. But much more serious movements succeeded under John III. (1568–92), from the attempt to reintroduce Catholicism. The King was here led astray by the influence of his Catholic spouse, Catharina, a Polish princess, and by the hope of succeeding to the Polish throne. His intention was to have a mitigated Catholicism, midway between the contending systems; and it did not seem so very difficult to establish this in Sweden, where so little had been altered in the ecclesiastical usages. Without foreseeing it, the old archbishop, Lawrence Peterson, favored the influence of this plan of the King by the ecclesiastical arrangements that were published in 1571; but his successor (1573), Lawrence Peterson Gothus, went decidedly into this movement. Now, under the protection of the Queen, and the agency of Stanislaus Hosius, the Catholic element had a complete preponderance. Two Catholic priests, under the masks of evangelical clergymen, began (1576) at Stockholm, in a newly-founded college, to work by Le-
tures, disputations, and sermons; several others soon followed them; Swedish youth were trained in the foreign Jesuit schools; Catholic books were translated and disseminated; in 1576 an almost thorough-going Romish liturgy was issued, and forced into general reception by the King. Only South Ermanland, where Duke Charles, the King’s brother, was regent, kept itself aloof from the incoming Catholicism and the liturgy, and provided a place of resort for the clergy, expelled for their unyielding character. The King opened negotiations with the Pope, to submit to him under certain conditions; and the Jesuit, Anthony Possevinus, 18 They came from Louvain; they were the secular priest, Florentius Feyt, and the Jesuit, Lawrence Nicolai, of Norway. Stanislaus Hosius writes about it, July 8, 1576, to John Herbert (Opp., ii. 408): Ego divinitus id factum esse puto, quod venit ad vos Norvegius ille, quem esse virum prudentem, et bene docutum, et non vulgari judicium praeditum audio, magna praeterea pietate: censerem hunc modis omnibus amplexendum, ut Ecclesiam habere posset, in qua Dei verbum praedicaret.—Expedit autem, ut is, qui mittitur ad vos, omnem occasionem fugiat, quia possint animi omnium offendi. Poterit fidem in coelum usque tollere, operibus extra fidem factis nihil tribuere, Christum unicum esse mediatorem asserere, unicum illud esse sacrificium crucis, per quod salvati sumus, docere; quae cum in genere docuisset, tum demum eorum quae docuit sanum intellectum affecer, et planum omnibus facere, quod nihil aliud quam hoc fuit hactenus in Papatu praelicatum. Florentius Feyt thus describes the doings of his companion (Geijer, ii. 221): Insinuat se Pater Laurentius in amicitiam Germanorum, hi enim faciles sunt. Pergit Pater ad Ministros; sermons miscet variis de rebus. — Ministri, homines illiterati, promtuidinem sermonis et elegantiam mirantur, operam omnem promittunt, miseri laqueum, quo suspendantur postea, sibi continent. Adeunt Regem, commendant virum. Rex gratam sibi esse commendationem significant, gaudent in suo rem dextre confectam. Hanc opportunitatem nactus Rex Patrem Laurentium in theologiae Professorum cooptavit, statuens, ut quoquit Holmiae ministri essent (erant autem plus minus 80) Patris lectionibus interessent.—Porro cum salutis nostrae inimicus omne animarum fructum semper impedire continit, excitavit semulum quendam P. Laurentio, Abrahamum (Angermannum) Scholae Rectorem: is animos auditorum subvertit et alienos a Patre fecit. Progressit tamen Pater, quoquot auditores veniant, insinuavit se in familiaritatem aliquorum, nunc hunc, nunc illum dante Deo ad fidem occulte reducit, caet. Theiner, i. 431.

19 Especially in the German college at Rome, in the colleges at Braunsberg, Ollmitz, and Fulda; Theiner, i. 525. The Queen, Catharina, left a legacy for this object to the college in Braunsberg of 10,000 Thl.; Geijer, ii. 225.

20 E. g. Eccii Enchiridion, Catechismus Canisii, Consultationes Cassandri: on the other hand, Luther’s Catechism was forbidden in the schools; Geijer, ii. 275.

21 It was drawn up by the King himself and his secretary, Peter Fecht, and printed under the auspices of the Jesuits; the archbishop had to publish it with a preface under his name; see Historia Liturgica opuss Ar, 1638, of Laurent. Raymundio (pastor at Thuring, in South Ermanland), edited by V. Stierman. Stockholm, 1745. 4. The liturgy is printed, with a historical introduction, in F. Münter’s Magazin für Kirchengesch. u. Kirchenrecht des Nordens, ii. i. 1. Documents about it, ibid., ii. iii. 40. On the Lutheran elements that still remained, see Theiner, i. 415.

22 To these belonged especially (Geijer, ii. 224), that the mass might be solemnized in part in Swedish; that the cup remain to the laity; that bishops be judged by the King in respect to crimes deserving death, and treason; that no claim should be set up to the confiscated church property; that the marriage of priests be allowed, though they
came to Sweden to negotiate with the King, nominally an imperial, but in fact a papal legate. Meanwhile, as the Pope neither accepted the conditions, nor favored the political designs of the King, while, at the same time, clergy and people became more and more incensed at the increasing boldness of the Jesuits, the King gradually cooled down in his Catholic zeal. At last, after Queen Catharina’s death in 1583, and after the new Queen, Gunnila, had declared herself decidedly opposed to Catholicism, the Jesuits were banished and the Catholics persecuted, but the King held fast to the new liturgy in the most obstinate style.

John’s regulations led to the opposite of what was proposed. Popular opinion, before this quite indifferent, was now decidedly hostile to the papacy, and demanded, after the King’s death (1592), when his Catholic son, Sigismund of Poland, was about to succeed, that Protestantism should be restored, and guarantees given that the Polish and Catholic preferences of the King should not be injurious to the country. Charles, Duke of South Ermanland, convened, as regent, an ecclesiastical council at Upsala (1593), which abolished all the church arrangements of John, accepted the Augsburg Confession as the symbolical book, and banished Catholicism from Sweden. After long resistance, Sigismund, too, confirmed these arrangements, but as he did not cease, in

should be encouraged to celibacy; that the King might take part in heretical worship till Catholicism should be predominant. Theiner, i. 469.

23 Theiner, i. 466 ff. On the secret change of the King, May, 1578; ibid., s. 487. Possevin’s report to the Pope; ibid., Th. ii.; Urkundenbuch, s. 267 ff.

24 Theiner, i. 502 ff.

25 First by a papal marriage dispensation, on account of which Laurentius Nicolai, the mediator in the case, was excommunicated by the Archbishop of Upsala, 1578; see Theiner, i. 543. Soon after the archbishop and many of the clergy pronounced against the new liturgy, and were supported by Duke Charles of South Ermanland; ibid., s. 548.

26 Especially in consequence of the earnest demands of the Diet of Wadstena, 1580; Theiner, i. 607.


28 Again, in 1588, he issued a patent against the clergy in South Ermanland, who had lately condemned the liturgy anew, calling them blockheads, jackass heads, Satanists, and, as imps of the devil, declaring them to be outlaws in the whole kingdom.

29 History of this council in Münter’s Magazin, ii. i. 69.

30 19th February, 1594; the documents in Baaz., p. 556 ss. He promised, in particular: Hanc Religionem in patria sartam tectam defendemus, non admittentes, ut alieni docentes in templis vel schola patriae allicubi suam doctrinam per vim aut dolum admissent. Sin vero privatam agunt vitam in hoc regno, qui alienae Religionis sunt addicti, utantur legibus civilibus cum Patriotis, quamdiu quiete vivunt, nec haeresin pro-
spite of this, the attempt to gain a sure footing for Catholicism in Sweden, his subjects became more and more alienated. In 1599 decisive conditions were laid before him; he replied in an unsatisfactory manner; whereupon Gustavus Vasa's youngest son, Charles IX., was first appointed Administrator of the kingdom, and then, in 1604, made King. Though inclined to Calvinism, he was obliged to yield to the general zeal for Lutheranism; and to this Sweden has remained true without swerving.

§ 19.

IN ITALY.


pagatam cupiunt. Ad officia publica etiam politica nulli promovebuntur in patria, qui Religionem Evangelicam nolunt salvam, quin potius qui eam serio defendere volunt publicis officiis praeficiant. To quiet his conscience, Sigismund, by advice of the nun who accompanied his, handed in a secret protestation (Ranke, Fürsten u. Volker von Südeuropa im 16ten u. 17ten Jahrh., iii. 381), come S. M. non con la volontà sua ma per pura forza si era indotto a concedere ciò che haveva concesso; and the nunco at the same time induced him, che concedesda parte agli cattolici altretanto quanto haveva conceduto alli heretici, which was in direct contradiction with the public pledge. This last he at once broke by putting Catholics in state offices, and restoring Catholic worship in four places.

31 At the Diet of Söderköping, October, 1595, the entire regency had already been committed to Duke Charles, and the following decree passed (Baaz., p. 567): Quanquam promiserit Rex noster ore et manu, non esse suadiligentia hic tolerandos alienae Religionis docentes; tamen videmus multos in patria remanere post Regis discessum factionis Jesuiticae socios, qui non solum publica habent exercitia Holmiae, in Drontholm et Wastenia: sed frequenter oberrant in patria, ut simpliciores decipiunt. Conclusimn igitur purgandum necessario esse patriam ab omnibusque Sectariss, et approbamus unanimi consensu, ut omnes Sectarii ab Evangelica Religioniis alieni, qui sedem elegerunt in patria, omnes ac singuli intra spatium sex hebdomadum totu Regno discedant, aut auctoritate Magistratus compellantur abire. Officiarii politicai, qui a Sectariss sunt seducti, nec amore nostrae Religionis tanguntur, hi sunt ab officis removendi. Maneant tamen Sueci in patria privatam vitam agentes,—quamdiu scandala Religionis non parint. By order of the duke, the archbishop, Abraham Angermann, thereupon had a general church visitation, 1696, to extirpate all relics of the papacy (Baazius, p. 571 ss.). The cloister at Wadstena was now abolished.

32 Exegesis historica non minus sequas quam graves causas commemorans, quibus Ordines Sueciae Sigismundum renunciantes—Carolum subrogarunt. Stockholmiae, 1610. 4. (originally written in Swedish at the request of Charles IX.; translated into Latin by John Messenius).

33 In his regal pledge, March 27, 1607, he confirmed the decrees of the Council of Upsala (Geijer, ii. 385). When afterward the Scotchman, John Forbesius, invited by a Calvinistic party at the court, defended the Calvinistic decretum absolutum (Baazius, p. 623 ss.) in a disputation at Upsala, Nov. 17, 1608, the King too became inclined to Calvinism (Baazius, p. 660).
In Italy a widely diffused culture was favorable to the Reformation; on the other hand, national pride, the power of the hierarchy, and the self-interest of Italy, aided by the papal omnipotence, worked against it. On this account it had currency almost exclusively among the cultivated, and but a slight hold upon the people. Luther's writings and those of other reformers were early and warmly welcomed; they were reprinted in part under fictitious names, that they might be circulated without impediment. Then, too, the years of the war that began in 1526 were favorable to the diffusion of the new ideas; for then the clerical oversight was lessened, and many zealous Protestants also came to Italy in the imperial army which plundered Rome in 1527, and for a long time afterward tarried in Naples.

The good right of the German Reformation, in opposition to ecclesiastical mechanism and the fatal doctrine of salvation by works, was conceded by the more enlightened Italians, and also by the clergy, in wide circles. Hence the study of the Scriptures was enlivened, and Antonio Brucioli first published a correct and

1 The Basle bookseller, John Froben, reports to Luther, Feb. 14, 1519, about his writings (Tom. i. Jen. fol. 367, 5.): Calvus bibliopola Papiensis—bonam Hbellorumpartem in Italiandeporavit, por omnes civitates sparsurus. Neque enim tam sectatur lucrum, quam cupit renascenti pietati suppetias ferre.—Is promisit ab omnibus eruditis in Italiviris Epigrammata semissurnm intuisit laudem scripta. Such an epigram, composed in Milan, 1521, see in Schelhornii Amoenitates hist. eccl. et liter., ii. 624.

2 Thus, especially Melancthon's Loci Theologici, in an Italian translation, published by Paul Manutius in Venice; I principii della Theologia di Ippolito de terra nigra (Scligeriana secunda, p. 207). Several of Luther's writings were circulated anonymously; Zwingle's went under the names Coricius Cogelius and Abydenus Corallus; Bucer's under the name Arelius Felinus.

3 Paul Sarpi Hist. du Concile de Trente trad. par Courayer, l. 85; Dans l'Italie même plusieurs personnes goutèrent la nouvelle Réforme. Car ayant été deux ans sans Pape et sans Cour Romaine, on regardait les malheurs, qu'elle avait essuyés comme l'exécution d'une sentence de la justice divine contre ce Gouvernement; et l'on préchait contre l'Eglise Romaine dans les maisons particulières de plusieurs Villes, et sur-tout à Faènza Ville du Domaine du Pape, en sorte que l'on voyoit augmenter tous les jours le nombre des Luthériens, qui avoient pris le nom d'Evangéliques. Clement VII. said, in his brief to the inquisitor in Ferrara and Modena, 18th Jan., 1530 (Raynald. b. a., No. 51): Cum, sicut ex relations pro parte tua nobis facta cum gravi nostrae mentis molestia innuit, in diversis Italiae partibus adeo pestifera haeresis Lutheri non tantum apud saeculares personas, sed etiam ecclesiasticas et regulares, tam mendicantes quam non mendicantes, invulnerat, ut aliquando nonnulli ex eis suis sermonibus et verbis, et quod deterior est publicis praedicationibus tali labo plerosque inficiant, caet.
FOURTH PERIOD.—DIV. I.—A.D. 1517-1648.

A readable edition of the Holy Scriptures. At the same time, among the more earnest minds, Augustinianism gained a hold, as being the most decided antidote to the corruption of the Church. Many distinguished men remained in this stage, kept from further steps partly by the fear of a division in the Church, and in part by some other doctrines of the German reformers. They were the more inclined to remain true to the Church when the Pope, Paul III., raised several of them to the cardinal's dignity, and gave them great influence, particularly Gasparus Contarenus, in 1535, Reginald Pole in 1536, Federicus Fegosius, Archbishop of Salerno, in 1539, John de Morone, Archbishop of Modena, in 1542. Others, however, united more decidedly with the German reformers; and, even when they did not wholly abandon the Catholic wor...

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4 The New Testament was first published, Venice, 1530. The whole Bible, 1532, fol. Comp. Schelhorn's Ergötzlichkeiten, i. 379, 643.

5 Comp. Ranke's Fürsten u. Volker von Südeuropa im 16ten u. 17ten Jahrh., ii. 132. Marcus Antonius Flaminius takes an important position among them at the court of Ferrara; he died 1550. Comp. Joach. Camerarii Narratio de Flaminio (prefixed to an edition of his letters, Noriberg, 1571. 8., and in Schelhornii Amoenitates literariae, x. 1149) and Schelhorn de religione M. A. Flaminii, in his Amoenit. hist. etc. etl., ii. 1. His chief writings were his Comm. in Psalterium, a metrical paraphrase of thirty psalms, sacred poems, and epistles. He every where teaches the entire inability of man to good, and his salvation only through faith. He says in a letter (Schelhorn Aomoen., ii. 141): Vitae Christianae summa est accepta ab hominibus gratia Evangelii, i. e., justificatio per fidem. Comp. p. 102 s. and 115 s. On the other hand, he defends the mass in a letter to Carneseca (l. c., p. 146), propter quod exequanda secta Zuingleana prograditum omnino cresendo, et multi sequentes opinionem Lutheri condemnant idololatriam Missae. Comp. p. 154: Et nos, vir praestantissime, si non volumus naufragium facere in istis periculosissimis sociis, humiliter abjiciamus nosamnosimus ullas rationes, quantum vis verisimilis apparent, ut nos separamus ab Ecclesia catholica. In voluntate autem judicando res divinas humana disputatone refutabimus abs Deo, et his contentiosius temporibus ita applicabimus uni parti, et odio prosequemur alteram, ut penitus amittamus judicium ac caritatem, et perhibeasamus lucem tenebras, et tenebras lucem, et persuadendo nobis, quod simus divites ac beati, erimns paupercs, miseriet miserabiles, quod non sciamus scparare pretiosam a vili, qua scientia absque spiritu Christi doceri non potest.—Wholly in the same evangelical spirit with the commentary of Flaminius is the Comm. in Psalmos, written by Jo. Bapt. Folengius (Benedictinum in Monte Cassino, † 1559 in Mantua); see extracts in Gerdes, p. 257 ss.

6 Two old biographies of him, an anonymous Italian, and one in Latin by Jo. Casa; see in Regin. Poli Epistt., ed. Quirini, P. iii. Praef., p. 97 et 142.

7 Sleidan already says of him, lib. x. (ed. am Ende, ii. 54): Qui familiariter hominem norunt, Evangeli doctrinam el probe cognitam esse dicunt. Against Surius, who declares this to be a calumny, see Schelhorn Amoenit. hist. etc. etl., i. 141 ss. Polus is very harshly judged as a hypocrite in an anonymous work, written by P. P. Vergerius: Giudizio sopra le lettere di tredici huomini illustri, 1555; see the passage in Schelhorn, l. c. ii. 7 ss.

8 On his Trattato della Oratone, see Riederer's Nachrichten, Iv. 118, 232.

9 Cardinal Giovanni Morone, in Münch's Denkwürdigkeiten zur politischen Reformations- u. Sittengeschichte der drey letzten Jahrhunderte (Stuttgart, 1839), s. 175.
ship, they formed societies for religious instruction and edification. The difference between these two parties, the Protestant Evangelical and the Catholic Evangelical, really consisted only in the importance they attached to the unity of the Church; and yet it was so impossible for the former class to manifest their real alienation from the Church by any decisive outward manifestation, that in the case of many men it could hardly be determined to which class they belonged; and both parties, too, were kept by personal friendship in many relations to each other.

The more decided advocates of the Reformation first came out openly in Ferrara, after the marriage of the French princess, Renata,\(^{10}\) in 1527, with the Duke Hercules II.: she gave them protection. From this point Protestantism spread into Modena, where it was welcomed, especially in the Academy.\(^{11}\) In Venice,\(^ {12}\) too, it had friends very early; their numbers rapidly increased; they found powerful advocates, and were diffused through the territory of the republic, particularly in Vicenza and Treviso. Reformatory ideas were first introduced into Naples with the imperial army: they gained a more decisive influence through the efforts of a Spanish nobleman, Juan Valdez,\(^ {13}\) who came thither in 1535 as secretary of the Viceroy, and died in 1540. Here, also, the two

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\(^ {11}\) In 1542 it was the general report that Modena was città Lutheranana (Quirini in the Pref. to Poli Epist., T. iii. p. 84).
\(^ {12}\) Luther writes, as early as March 7, 1528, to Gabr. Didymus (de Wette, iii. 289): Lactus audio de Venetis quae scribis, quod verbum Dei receperint. When unfavorable rumors about Melancthon's yielding disposition were in circulation in Augsburg, 1530, the Venetian, Lucio Paoli Roselli, wrote to him two letters of counsel and encouragement, July 26 and Aug. 1, 1530 (in Mel. Opp. ed. Bretschneider, ii. 226 u. 248). In the first he writes: Scias igitur, Italos omnes expectare Augustanidis bjuus vestri conventus decreta. Quicquid enim in eo determinatum fuerit, id caeterae omnes christianae provinciae approbabunt ob Imperatoris praeceptum auctoritatem. In 1539 Melancthon wrote ad Venetus quosdam Evangelii studiosos (usually wrongly cited ad Senatum Venetum; see Schelhorn's Ergotzlichkeiten, i. 422 ff.; the letter itself, see in Bretschneider, iii. 745), unfolding to them the principles of the Reformation in Germany, and warning them as to the Unitarianism of Servetus. In 1542 Balthasar Alteur (Altieri. comp. on him F. Meyer's die evang. Gemeinde in Locarno, i. 83, 86, 465), secretary of the English ambassador at Venice, wrote to Luther (the letter is in Beckendorf, iii. 401) in the name of the Fratres Ecclesiae Venetiarum, Vicentiae et Tarvisii, and asked him to persuade the German princes to cause letters of recommendation to be written to the Senate, ut permettant quemlibet ritu suo vivere, dum tamen seditio et publicae quietis perturbation cavetur. Luther answered 13th June, 1543, and 12th Nov., 1544 (de Wette, v. 565, 695).
\(^ {13}\) On Valdez, see Schelhorn Amoen. hist. eccl., ii. 47; M'Crie, Gesch. der Reform. in Spanien, translated by Pleninger, s. 148 ff.; Dr. C. Schmidt in Illgen's Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol., vill. iv. 123.
most remarkable preachers of Italy became favorable to the Reformation, viz., Bernardino Ochino, General of the Capuchins, and reverenced almost as a saint, and Peter Martyr Vermigli, the learned Augustinian. From this circle proceeded, in 1540, the


On these occurrences in Naples there is a report by the Catholic Ant. Caraccioli in the Vita Cajetani Thienacci, who, with Joh. Petr. Caraffa, had founded the Order of the Theatines (Ant. Caracci de vita Pauli IV. Collectanea hist. Colon. Ubiorum, 1612. 4. p. 239 ss., and Acta SS. August. II., 297 ss.): Haeretici homines regiam urbem Neapolim—Lutherianos ab inferno suavitatem passim ediderunt. Ils postea alio amandatis unus Joannes Valdesius Hispanus, qui anno 1535, Neapolim venit, longe majorem mentum stragem dedit, quam multa illa haereticorum sibilus millia. Hic enim litera succincta illis, quae ad compose remandam cruditiopium satis vulgo essent, placido adsectu, qui ne innocentiam prae se ferret, comitato suavitateque sermonis eteerroram impetatem incredibili vaframento occultabat. Itaque brevi ad se traxit multis illos artibus illos deceptoqae. In his duo fuere, ceteris omnibus insigniores, et dignior obditi, cunctisque impetitam eteerroram passim eipetebant. Petrus vero, linguasrem peritiam suceptum in coenoobis S. Petri, cui praeerat, epistolae Pauli Apostoli publice exponendo ad sensum haereticorum dexterere pervertebat. Initium detegendae impetatis a Nostris (the Theatines) factum: quippe Cajetanus, perepsicavi vir ingenio, rem odorari coepit. Advertit enim dogmatam, quae illi Satanicæ Reipublicæ Triumvirum de purgatorii poenae, de summis Pontificum potestate, de libero hominum arbitrio, de reorum justificatione passimi inpergebant, sapere novitatem teremarim, atque adeo detestabili impetatem. Observaveratque Ochimum ab usque anno 1586, quo in aede S. Joannis Majoris concionatus fuerat, ambiguis quibusdam dilemmatis, et obrectatione in ecclesiasticis magistratus coepisse auditores neqvismissim persuasionibus inscarse. Hoc vero anno 1589, nempe paulo post quam Nostrorum Paulinum sedem depeti sunt, is ipsa Ochinium cillumino indumento, et rancius declarationibus, h. e. instrumentis ad concitandum multitudinem instruxissent, et Metropolitani templi pulpitum multo liberius apertiusque Lutheriana serebat dogmatam. Cajetansis igitur, qui ad hos audientes observandoque et ipsa ire, et alios dedita opera mittere solitus erat, nihil jam cunctandum ratus Cardinale Thesinum (Caraffa), qui tum Romae Paulum III. P. M. ad instituentum in ea urbe supremum Inquisitionis magistratum magis magis solici assiduus, de illis rebus atque hominibus impius certiorem fecit; et Neapolitanos interim ipsa monuit, ut porro sibi caverrent. Denique conatus est modis omnibus hypocritis illis larvam detrahere. Quocirca et saepe sub ovin pelle luper aliquot annos cum magna Campaniae pernicie latitantur; tamen aliquando tandem, crescente nimium in dies nequitiae sospicione, et patefactis promiscuis et pudibundis virorum ac foeminarum coeitibus, quos clanculum cogebant, ommes ut periculo praevertentur, quod sibi ab urbe imminebat, alios alio auxuggurant. The Reformed Josias Simler relates, on the other
treatise Del Beneficio di Christo, which had a very wide circu-

hand, in the Vita Petri Martyris (see Note 15) Scrin. Antiqui., iii. 13 ss., how Martyr, in Naples, had turned from scholasticism and the Church fathers to the Holy Scriptures, and then had also read Protestant books: nactus Bucerii commentaria in Evangelistas, et annotationes in Psalmos, quas ille sub Aretii Felini nomine editavit, diligentere evol-

vit, Zwinglii quoque librum de vera et falsa religione, et alterum ejusdem de providen-
tia Dei, nonnulla etiam Erasmi et legit, et se horum omnium lectione multum proficisci
sse inpunge confessus est. Interea quotidie pene cum amicis, qui purae religionis stu-
diosi erant, aliud ex sacris litteris et commentabatur, sic ut hujusmodi colloquii mul-
tum utrinque in vera religione aedificaretur. — Fuit eo tempore non spernenda ecclesia
piorum hominum in urbe Neapolitana: nam in illo coetu multi viri erant nobiles et
docti, multis etiam excellenti virtute foeminae.— Quamvis autem hujus Ecclesiae prima
praebes debesatur Valdesio, nihilominus tamen Martyris quoque virtus commemoranda est,
qui posteaquam a Domino amplior et divinae veritatis donatus fuit, et se coetu pior-
num adunxit, eam quam veram doctrinam esse norat statim aliiis quoque prae dicare vo-
luit. Etenim epistolam D. Pauli ad Corinthios priorem publice interpretari cepit, idque
magno cum fructu, namque illum non tantum ejus Collegii socii audiebant, verum etiam
aliquot Episcopi et multa nobiles. — As he did not interpret 1 Cor. iii. 13 sq. of purga-
tory, he was forbidden to give lectures. Sed Martyr—causae bonitatem fuit Romam ad
Pontificem provocavit, et illic amicorum ore adversarios superavit. Habuit enim tum
in urbe amicos potentem et gratiosum, Herculem Gonzagam Cardinali Mantuanum,
Casparem Contarenun, Reginaldum Polum, Petrum Bimbium, Fridericum Fregesium,
omnes et doctos et apud Pontificem gratiosos, et qui tum vierentur aliquid reformatio-
nem Ecclesiae desiderare. Horum gratia et opibus subnixus facile obtinuit, ut inter-
dictum illud adversarium tolleretur, et sibi concederetur pristina docendi libertas.
Right afterward he was obliged to leave Naples on account of his health.

17 The work is described in Riederer's Nachrichten, iv. 121, 235 ff. The author is un-

known. On this point it is said by P. P. Vergerius, the editor of the Articuli contra
Card. Moronum (Tubingae), 1558. 8.: Multi sunt in ea opinione, quod wix fuerit nostras
asset, saltem lingua Italica, libellus scriptus tam suavis, tam pius, tam simplex, et ad
instructuos, praesertim in articulo de justificatione, rudiores atque infirmiores tam aptus
tamque idoneus. Imo dicam amplius, Reginaldum Polum, Cardinalem Britannum,
Iustius Moroni amicum summissum, existimari ejus libri auctorem, aut bonam partem in
eo habere: saltem certum est illum defendisse et promovisse cum suis Flaminius, suis
Prinulis, alisque allocemus. The same Vergerius says, in his remarks to the Catal. libr.
prohib., 1549, that the book had two authors, who still lived in Italy and favored by the
Roman court (Schelhorn's Ergötzlichkeiten, ii. 27 s.). Laderchius Ann. Eccles. ann.
1567, No. 49, calls Valdesius the author of this book, and says that Flaminius had writ-
ten an Apologeticus for it. In fine, a report of the Inquisition declares (Ranke, Fürsten
u. Völker, i. 128): Quel libro del beneficio di Christo, fu il suo autore un monaco di
Sanseverino in Napoli, discepolo del Valdes, fu revisore di detto libro il Flaminio, fu
stampato molte volte ma particolamente a Modena de mandato Moroni, inganno molti,
perche trattava della giustificazione con dolce modo ma hereticamente. Schelhorn
(Amoen. hist. eccl. et liter., i. 157), and after him many others, conjecture that Palea-
rius is the author, because he says in his Oratio pro se ipso: Ex Christi morte qua,s
commoda allata sinit humano generi, cum hoc ipso anno thuce scripsissem, objectum
fuit in accusatione. But this work, for which Palearius was called to an inquisition in
the same year in which he wrote it, can not be the one above designated, which was so
widely diffused, and as to the author of which there is still constant hesitation. [Com-
pare Benefit of Christ's Death, Lond., 1856, from an Italian edition, 1548, and a French
translation of 1561, found in St. John's College. There was an English version in 1548.
In 1849 there were two new Italian versions, at Pisa and Florence, from Ayre's English
translation. The book had been supposed hopelessly lost, though 40,000 copies of it
were circulated 1548 to 1548. A translation into German, Von d. Wohlthat Christi, from
lation, and gained many converts to the doctrine of justification by faith. Peter Martyr gathered around him a similar circle in Lucca, after his appointment as prior of the monastery in that place, and at the same time trained many young persons in a very evangelical spirit at a college which he there founded. Even in the States of the Church the Reformation found friends; very many in Bologna.

The controversy about the Lord's Supper, which unhappily divided the Reformers every where, was also transferred to Italy. The Italians who favored the Reformation took, for the most part, the side of the Swiss, in consequence of their predominant preference for intelligibility. This rational tendency, too, paved the way for the Anti-Trinitarianism of Servetus, although these opinions had to be kept in the strictest secrecy.

Under Paul III. those Evangelical Catholics had so great influence, that for a long time it seemed as if the Reformation, by the recognition of its most important demands, was about to be reconciled with the Church. A commission appointed by the Pope, consisting for the most part of men of this tendency, exposed ecclesiastical abuses with unexpected frankness, in their memorial upon reform, 1537, and brought forward far-reaching projects another copy, was published at Leipz., 1855. Comp. Gersdorff's Rep., Nov. 1855. Notes and Queries, x. 884, 406; xi. 447; also for June 20, 1857.]

19 When, in 1533, John von Plantitz was in Bologna, as ambassador of the Elector of Saxony to the Emperor, the Bolognesi who favored the Reformation addressed to him a letter, in which they urged him most importunately to obtain the calling of a council; the letter is in Seekendorf Comm. de Luthero, iii. 68. In 1545 Alterius wrote to a merchant of Nuremberg that an Evangelical nobleman in Bologna was ready to fit out 6000 soldiers for a war against the Pope; Seekendorf, iii. 578 s.
20 On this division, Alterius, in his letter to Luther, 1542, entreated him to give an explanation, which he did in his two replies, with his customary severity against the Sacramentarians; see above, Note 12.
21 Melancthon writes to the Venetians as early as 1529 (see Note 12): Intellextistic circumferi Serveti libellum; and warns against his doctrine. Among the Italian refugees there were so many Unitarians that almost all the Evangelical Italians were suspected of holding similar views. Thus the Unitarians reckon Valdesius and Ochino among their number (Sandii Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum, p. 2). This has least proof in the case of Valdesius; when Bexa, Epistt., p. 40, calls his Considerationes—scriptum implum et irreligiosum: this does not refer to Unitarian doctrine, but rather to mystical excesses (Bock, Hist. Antitr., ii. 219).—Bexa, Epistt., p. 190, calls Ochino—Arianorum clandestinum factorem; Stanislaus Hosius, in the De Judicio Tigurinorum (Opp., i. 639), accuses him in the same way; other conflicting opinions in Bock, Hist. Antitr., ii. 509. [Comp. Fock's Socinianismus, 8vo, Kiel., 1847. L. Lange, Gesch. d. Unitarier. 1831. Zeitschrift f. d. hist. Theol., 1843 and 1845.]
22 There were nine of the clergy—among them the cardinals, Caspar Contareni, Joh.
of amelioration. In the negotiations with the German Protestants at Ratisbon, 1541, the papal legate, Contareni, gave in his adhesion to the fundamental Protestant doctrine of justification by faith.

Petr. Caraffa, Jacob. Ladoletus, Reginald Pole, and Frederick Fregoso, Archbishop of Salerno. It was printed in Rome, 1538, and again in Latin by John Sturm, in Strasbourg, and published by Luther in Wittenberg in a German translation with biting impieties, and then incorporated in the Collection of Councils of Petrus Crabbe, Colon. Agripp., 1551. But after it was put by Paul IV., though he had been one of the authors, into the Index of 1559, and afterward in all the Indices, it was omitted in the later collections of councils, and even in the Annals of Raynaldus; but it was still often issued by the opponents of the papacy (e. g., in Brown App. of Fasciculum rerum expetend. et fugiend., p. 231). At last the Cardinal Quirini asserted that the prohibition referred only to the edition of Sturm, and though Schelhorn refuted him (De Consilio de emendanda Ecclesia, auspiciis Pauli III. consecrito, ac a Paulo IV. damnato ad Eminent. A. M. Card. Quirinum Epistola J. G. Schelhorni, Tiguri, 1748. 4.), yet, since then, this Consilium has been again received into the Catholic collections of councils (in Mansi Concill. Suppl., v. 537, and in Jod. Le Plat Monum. ad hist. Conc. Trident. spectantia, ii. 596).

Its characteristics may be seen from the Introduction: Sanctitastua mandavit, ut nullius aut commodi tui, aut eujuspiam alterius habitas ratione, tibi significaremus absus illos, gravissimos ac sordidos morbos, quibus jam pridem Ecclesia Dei laborat, ac prae- terim haec Romana curia: quibus effectum est, quod nonnulli pontifices ut praedecessores purientes aurius, ut inquit Apostolus, coacervavere ut si magistros ad desideria suas, non ut ab eis discerent quid facerent, sed ut eorum studio et callditate inveniretur ratio qua licet id quod liberet. Inde effectum est, prae- terquam quod principatum omnem sequitur adulatione, ut umbra corpus, difficillimus quae semper fuit aditus veritatis ad aures Principum, quod confestim prodirent doctores, qui do- cèrent Pontificem esse dominum beneficiorum omnium, ac ideo, cum dominus jure vendat id quod suum est, necessario sequi, in Pontificem non posse cadere Simoni- um. Et quia voluntas Pontificis, qualscumque ea fuerit, sit regula qua eujus operationes et actiones dirigatur; ex quo procul dubio efficac, ut quidquid libeat, id etiam liceat. Ex hoc fonte, sancte Pater, et quibusque ex eum Trojanum, irrupere in Ecclesiam Dei tot abusus et tam graves morbi, quibus nunc conspicimus eam ad desperationem ferre salutis laborasse, etc. Besides this, Contareni, in two letters to the Pope, refuted the exaggerations of the papal power defended by flatterers; see these in Rocaberti Biblioth. Pontificia, xiii. 178; Le Plat Monumenta, ii. 605. He relates to his friend Polus how kindly the Pope received this, dd. 11. Nov., 1538 (Epistt. Poli, ed. Quirini, ii. 141); plurima Christianae mecum disseruit, quo effectum est, ut iterum conceperim magnam spem eum alicub Deum boni acturarum, neque portas inferi praevaluitur esse contra Domini spiritum. How much the Evangelical party expected from this Reformation, see Poli Epist. ad Contarenum, dd. 10. Jun., 1537 (Epistt. Poli, i. 68); in maximam spem venit, Pontificia perseverante in censura morum, in caeteris non ipsa magna futuram controversiam, ut non facile ad professionem unius fidei in caritate omnes provinciae consentiant.

See the articles as compared above, § 7, Note 42. Comp. Contareni Epist. a. Tract. de justificatione, written in Ratisbon, May 25, 1541, to explain and defend the fide justificau (this tract appeared in Paris, 1571; but in the Venice edition (1589) it is revised by the General Inquisitor in Venice after the Tridentine decrees; expurgatus prodit. In Epistoll. Regin. Poli, ed. Quirini, P. iii. p. cxxii., it is found like the Paris edition; p. cxxiii. the Venetian changes are added). In Rome this view of the doctrine made a great sensation (Jo. Casa in Vita Contareni, Epistt. Poli, iii. p. clixv.): Nec deerant Romae, qui dicerent, nulla alia de causa ipsum Germania grantum acceptumque esse, nisi quia adversariis indulsiesset, ac decreta, quae pugnavisse defendere debebat, iisdem prodig-
But this party had now reached the height of its influence. The strict Catholics, who opposed it, earnestly insisted that such manifestations encouraged Protestantism in general, and particularly in Italy. The Pope receded, and, by advice of the Cardinal John Peter Caraffa (1542), appointed an Inquisition for the suppression of Protestantism in all Italy. Caraffa himself was commissioned to guide it; all the Italian states granted the needful aid; and the new Inquisition took such energetic measures against all suspected persons, that crowds of them abandoned their fatherland and sought security for the most part in Switzerland. Many of them were, by this persecution, first forced to abandon a half-way position, and take a decided stand for the Reformation. Among these refugees, to the general astonishment of Italy, were, in 1542, Bernardino Ochino and Peter Martyr Vermigli: the lat-

disset. Hae vero graves acerbaeque voce—non tantum illie, ubi plurimum ipsi obesse poterat, improbe mittebatur, verum etiam per omnem Italiam fusae ac disseminatae magnopere illius existimationem ac dignitatem laederant), and Contareni had to be defended by his friends; e.g., by Aloysius Priolus (Epistoll. Poli, iii. p. xvi.), and by Pole. How fully the latter agreed with Contareni is shown in his letters to him. He writes to him on the articles that were compared, dated May 17, 1541 (Epistt. Poli, iii. 25): Sensi vero, tali me profundi gaudio, cum hanc consonantiam opinionum viderem, quanto nulla quamvis suavii harmonia animum et aures unquam permulcere posset; nec vero tantum ob eam causam, quod magnum fundamentum pacis et concordiae jactum esse videbam, quam quod hoc fundamentum illud agnoscerem, quod super omnia, ut mihi quidem videtur, gloriam Christi illustrat; est vero fundamentum totius doctrinae Christianae. Etsi enim diversa tractari videntur, ut de fide et operibus, ac justificatione; tamen omnia ad unum justificationis caput referri, et de eo convenisse utriusque partis theologos maxime gratular. —Quod vero jubes, ut ne divulgem, sed secrete apud me habeam, quae de hac concordia sunt scripta, doleo ita temporum exiguere. July 16 he expresses himself in praise of the Tractatus of Contareni (I. c., p. 28): Cum vero eadem (quam proposuistis de justificatione sententias) tuo nominatam aliquam inferre videbarat, quasi in ea novi alicius dogmati approbabarem, ut ostenderea (novehatnam, nemo opinio, ut audeo, fuit, quae plures, ab ea abalienavit, ad nomen quidem magis quam ad me pertinebat, omnem ejusmodi labem, quantum in me esset, eluere. —Cum ad reliqua dignitatis munera per te sanctissime praestita hoc accessit, ut istam veritatis sententiam, quam quasi margaritam pretiosum partim abortea, partim apertam Ecclesia semper tenet, in me multorum manus et quasi possessionem deare, de eo facere non possum, quin tibi maxime gratuler. The Cardinal Quirini tries to prove that Contareni's doctrine of justification is Catholic, in his Diatriba qua illustrantur et vindicantur gesta Card. Gasp. Contareni in conv. Ratisbonensi (Epistoll. Poli, iii. p. 1.), cap. v. (I. c., p. xii.). Against him, Kiesling ad Quirinum epist. de Contareno, purioris doctrinarum de justificatione in conv. Ratisbon. teste et confessore. Lips., 1749. 4.

From this proceeded, in 1542, the papal directions, De modo concionandi (in Epistt. Poli, ed. Quirini, T. iii., praef., p. 75), in which Cardinal Pole had the most important part.

Comp. Onuphrius and Antonius Caraffa, in Ant. Caraccioli de Vita Pauli IV., Collectanea Historica, p. 44 and 156. The Bulle, Licet ad initio, 21st July, 1542, in Cocque-lines Bullarium, iv. i. 211.

Before his flight he talked with Contareni, then legate in Bologna, upon his death-
ter went to Zurich, and then became professor of theology in Stras-
burg. Not less was the surprise when, in 1548, Pier Paolo Ver-
gerio, Bishop of Capo d'Istria, who had been frequently employed as a papal legate, fled to the Protestants, at first betaking himself to the Grisons; and when Galeazzo Caracciolo, Marquis of Vico, and son of a sister of that foe of heretics, Caraffa, gave up, in 1551, his brilliant position in Italy, to go over to the Reformed Church in Geneva.

The Inquisition became still more cruel, when its leading spirit, Cardinal Caraffa, took the papal chair as Paul IV., 1555-59. Under him the persecution was also extended to those who united an evangelical tendency with strict ecclesiastical views; bishops and cardinals were, in 1557, subjected to investigation; John Mo-

bed. According to Ochini's declaration, C. complained of the persecution that was be-

Vania His life in Museum Helveticum, viii. 519.

31 Among other refugees were also eighteen disciples of Peter Martyr, who left Italy in 1550 (Adami in Vita Sanchii, p. 75). Two of them were canons of the Lateran Church—Count Celsus Martinengus, who became preacher of the Italian church in Ge-

nervia; and Hieronymus Zanchius, who became professor in Strasburg, afterward in Hei-
delberg. How they came to know the truth is related in a letter of Zanchius to Philip, landgrave of Hesse, in Gerdesii Scriniurn Antiq., v. 230 s. Emanuel Tremellius was also one of Martyr's disciples; he taught in many places, and at length was professor of the Hebrew language in Sedan. Olympia Fulvia Morata, one of the ladies of the court of the Duchess Renata, of Ferrara, could only escape the persecution by following a German physician, Grünthler, to whom she was married in 1549, to his native city; her life in Münch's Vermischte Schriften, ii. 39. [Comp. M'Crie's Ref. in Italy, 39, 189, etc. Olympiae Moratae Opera. Basil, 1590. Jules Bonnet Vie de Olympia Morata, 3me ed., 1856, Paris.] Among these refugees were also Caellius Secundus Curio, who belonged to the circle in Ferrara, in 1543 fled, and became a teacher in Lausanne (Gerdes. Ital. Reform., p. 284), Francis Stancmarus, Laelius Socinns, and others.

32 The Epistola Busdragi to a cardinal, 1558, in Gerdesii Scrin. Antiq., i. 819, is manifestly an ironical work, written by one of evangelical views, to set forth the insuffici-
cy of all human agencies against the truth.

33 Among those arrested were the Cardinal Morone; Foscarari, Bishop of Modena; San Felicio, Bishop of Cava. Cardinal Pole was recalled from his legation in England (Raynald. 1557, No. 42 ss.), and was examined, as was his intimate friend Aloysius Priulus. Comp. Poli Epist. ad Paulum, iv. (Epistol. Poli, v. 81), in which Polus seeks to prove the innocence of Aloysius Priulus, of the Cardinal Morone, and of himself.
rone was imprisoned until the death of this Pope. To put a stop to one of the chief sources of heresy, Paul V. published, in 1559, an *Index librorum prohibitorum*, as a strict guide in detecting and burning heretical books.

In this perilous time the rumor of the Reformation penetrated to a small body of Waldenses, who had been living for centuries in two cities of Calabria, Santo Xisto and La Guardia; by external conformity to Catholic usages, insuring a peaceful enjoyment of a purer doctrine. Aroused by the new movement, they turned to Geneva, received preachers from that city, and adopted the Genevese church constitution. But in this way they brought

34 Jo. Ge. Fricki de Jo. Morono, Articulisque quibus tanquam Lutheranismi suspicatus accusatur, in Schelhornii Amoenitates Literariae, xii. 537. Card. Giov. Morona, Beitrag zur Gesch. desselben, in Münch's Vern. Hist. Schriften, ii. 111. Ibid., Denkwürdigkeiten zur Gesch. der drei letzten Jahrh., s. 213. The articles upon which he was accused are published by P. P. Vergerius, 1558, reprinted in Schelhorn, i. 1., p. 568. The chief points of accusation: Art. 8. Dixit Concilium Tridentinum quoad articulum justificationis esse retractandum. 4. Scripsit Viciarios mutinensi, quod faceret intimare populis, quod deberent tantummodo confidere in sanguine Christi. 5. Tenuit, Sacerdotem non absolvere poenitentem, cujus audit peccata in confessione sacramentali, sed tantum declarare absolutum. 7. Tenuit, Pontifici non esse parandum ut Viciario Christi, sed tantummodo tanquam Principi temporali. 8. Tenuit, opera nostra, quantumcumque in gratia Dei facta, non esse meritoria. 10. Tenuit, sanctos non esse invo- 

35 P. P. Vergerius published them with notes (Opp. i. 236). On this writes the Venetian, Natalis Comes, in his Historiarum temporum (Venet., 1581), lib. xi., f. 268: Egit edictum, ut libri omnes impressi, vel compositi, vel explanationibus ab haereticis scriptoribus contaminati, at non illustrati, sanctissimis magistratis quaeestionum ubique afferrentur, propositis etiam gravissimis suppliciis, si quia illos occultasset, suppresset, ac non obtulisset. Tanta concermeat est omnis genera librorum ubique copia et multitudo, ut Trojanum propc incendium, si in unum collatius fuisse, appareret posset. Nulla enim fuit Bibliotheca vel privata vel publica, quae fuerit immunitis ab cedere, ac non prope exinanita.

36 Hier. Zanchii Epist. ad Jo. a Lasco, 1558 (in his Epistol. Hanov., 1609. 8., lib. ii. 236): In Calabria castellis duobus, quorum unus est sub ditione Dncis Montis alti, alterum est cujusdam Nobillis Neapolitanis, reperta sunt quatuor millia fratrum, et reliquis illorum fratrum, qui Waldenses appellantur. Il annos permutus incogniti, tuto in pater- nis aedibus vixerunt. Eti enim Missas non probabant, sentiebant tamen posse eas a fidelibus salvis conscientia adiri. At ubi hanc malam doctrinam dedocti fuerant, omnes simul ab eis abstinerentur. Itaque factum est, ut non potuerint amplius latere. Persecutio igitur adversus illos est excitata. Scripserunt ad fratres Genevam, ut tum præcibus, tum consilio, tum etiam humana ope se adjuvent. To this is to be added what is written by Floril.ius to Crataleurus (see Note 37): Antea quam Genevam dixererem, mis- 

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themselves under the notice of the persecutors of heresy, and both congregations were wholly rooted out in a terrible massacre, in 1560.37

The numerous Protestants in Venice had until now been little affected by the general persecution; but when, in 1560, they called a preacher to form a church, terrible barbarities began to be practiced upon them, and many of them were drowned by night in the sea.38 Even in the seventeenth century some Protestants were secretly living in Venice; but the republic was falsely judged when charged with an inclination for Protestantism on account of its opposition to the papal usurpations.39

In all other parts of Italy the vestiges of Protestantism were destroyed with inflexible strictness under Pius V. (1566–72), who had previously been the president of the Inquisition.40 Among the many who under him fell a sacrifice to their convictions, the most celebrated were the two learned men, Pietro Carnesecchi,41 a Florentine, in 1567; and in 1570 Aonio Paleario,42 professor of eloquence in Lucca.

37 Simon Florillus, preacher in Chiavenna, writes about it to Wilh. Cratalorus, in Basle, 1561, and sends him the narrative of a Catholic eye-witness of this slaughter: both letters are in H. Pantaleonis Martyrum Historia, Basil., 1563, p. 337, and in Gerdesii Ital. Reform., p. 138.

38 M'Crie, p. 224 ff.


§ 20.

IN SPAIN.


The indignation of the Spaniards, still glowing against the oppression of the Inquisition, naturally produced a certain susceptibility to ecclesiastical changes. In narrower circles a mystical tendency had gained ground, and in connection with this a more spiritual tone of piety. Among the learned the writings of Erasmus were much read, and awakened a disposition to examine the condition and relations of the Church. Thus the soil was prepared for the new ideas of the Reformation, when these began to penetrate into this country also, favored by the union, under one ruler, of Spain with Germany and the Netherlands. The writings of Luther were diffused in numerous copies, coming especially from Antwerp, and also in Spanish translations. The Inquisition soon found cause to persecute men of high standing among the clergy and men of learning for holding Lutheran or mystical opinions, while the mass of the people were filled with horror at the

1 See M'Crie, p. 114 sq. On the attempt of the Cortes of Castile, Aragon, and Catalonia, at the accession of Charles V., to procure a reformation of the Inquisition, see Llorente's Hist. of the Inquisition in Spain, i. 876. The Cortes of Aragon actually procured from Leo X. three briefs (1519) enjoining upon the Inquisitors to proceed according to the common law, and providing that they should be proposed by the bishops, and visited by them every three years; ibid., p. 895 sq. But the King and the Inquisition were opposed, and started negotiations and intrigues in Rome. Leo's death put an end to the matter.

2 See M'Crie, p. 152. The Spanish mystics (called Alumbrados, Illuminati, on account of the value they ascribed to the internal illumination) are described in the Indulgence of the Spanish Inquisition, January 28, 1559, in Llorente, ii. 8.

3 M'Crie, p. 186.

4 So, in particular, 1527, Juan de Avila, commonly called the apostle of the Anabaptists; see Llorente, ii. 6. Compare, on his remarkable work as a priest, Nici. Antonii Bibliotheca Hisp. Nova, Tom. i. (Matriti, 1783, fol.), p. 689.
Lutheran heresy by revolting accounts of it. 5 However, from 1530, when the Emperor first returned to Germany after several years of absence, many Spaniards in his suite became acquainted with the true genius of the Reformation, and were converted to it. Several of them fell a sacrifice to their faith while still away from their fatherland; 6 others, immediately after their return, fell into the hands of the Inquisition; 7 yet still the Reformation, from this time onward, began to make important though secret progress in Spain. 8 Seville and Valladolid were its chief seats. In Seville


6 Thus was it in case of Jacobus Enzinas, or Dryander, who was burned in Rome in 1546; M'Crie, p. 187. Most terrible was the assassination of John Diaz by his brother, in Neuburg, in 1546; see the account of a companion of the unhappy man, a Savoyard, Claud. Senarcie. Hist. Vera de morte Jo. Diazii, 1546. 8 (reprinted in Gerdesii Script. Antiqu., viii. 389). Bleidonius, lib. xvii. ed. ad. Enide, ii. 435. Seckendorf Hist. Luth., iii. 653. M'Crie, p. 190. Comp. Veessenmeyer in Ilgen's Zeitschrift. f. d. hist. Theol.; new series, i. iii. 156.

7 Particularly Alfonso de Virves, a Benedictine, chaplain of Charles V., who had taken him with himself to Germany, and afterward would not hear any other preacher. He was imprisoned 1534, and obliged, in 1537, to renounce several Lutheran positions; Llorente, ii. 8. On account of the favor of the Emperor, he was, however, in 1540, made Bishop of the Canary Islands, and wrote, to purify himself from all suspicion, Philippicae disputationes XX. adversus Lutheranos dogmaton per Phil. Melanchthonem defensa. Antwerp 1541. Disp. XIX. is remarkable, where he shows that heretics should be convinced, but not maltreated.

8 The Inquisition itself helped to making known the Lutheran doctrine, by adopting into the decree of denunciation, annually proclaimed, the Lutheran doctrines, not, indeed, without perversions; Llorente, ii. 1; iv. 418 sq. The inferences which the Inquisitors drew from them also served for their further explanation. Thus it is related by Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus (Raymond Gonzalez de Montes, a Spanish Dominican, who in 1588 escaped from the prison of the Inquisition in Seville, and went over to the Reformation, Llorente, ii. 23), Sanctae Inquisitionis Hispaniae ars aliquot detectae, Heidelbergae, 1567. 8. p. 81, that a simple peasant was subjected to examination by the Inquisition, because he had said, prae ter Christi sanguinem nunnum se aliud purgatorium agnosceret. He was immediately ready to recant, but the Inquisitors, not contented with this, ex illa praemissa deducunt misero aratoro: ergo Ecclesia Romana, quas contra se suis legibus decrevit olim, errat. Item, errat Concilium. Item justificationem sola fide constare, in qua et noxa et poena sit absolutus: et ut tandem finiamus, ex iis deducunt totem illorum dogmatum concatenationem, quas ipse haereses vocant, onerantque singulis his miserum hominum, ac si omnia dietis verbis asseruerisset, vel ipsa obstinante re clamante, asserenteque, se neque scire quidem quid ea sibi velit, absens tantum, ut sa aliquando venissent in mentem. Quis non videt, quam hase agendi ratio plena sit fraudae doloque ac diabolic plane calumnia, quantum est ex sancto illo officio? Verum spectanda adorandaque hic maxime est divina providentia erga eos, quos elegit, qui cum commodioribus ad ipsorum vocationem atque...
the movement was initiated by Rodrigo de Valero;\(^9\) the most distinguished preachers of the city, Doctor John Egidius,\(^10\) and the Emperor's chaplain, Constantine Ponce de la Fuente,\(^11\) became connected with it. Into the cloisters of Seville, too, especially in that of San Isidro del Campo, belonging to the Hieronymites, the Reformation found an entrance. In Valladolid it received, in 1555, a distinguished leader, the imperial chaplain, Augustine Cazalla,\(^12\) and likewise made converts in the cloisters. Besides this, from Béarn, which was wholly Protestant, it was widely diffused in many cities of Aragon. In public its adherents were only distinguished by a simple, Biblical mode of teaching, and they avoided all opposition to the Church; but in private they taught all the doctrines of the German Reformers.\(^13\)

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\(^1\) Who in 1541 was confined in a cloister; see Regin. Gonsalv. Montanus, p. 259. M'Crie, p. 155.


\(^3\) In Seville, where Egidius gained him for the Gospel, the Emperor heard him preach, and made him his chaplain. He went with Prince Philip to Belgium and England. During the Smalcald war he had, in Biberach, a remarkable conversation with Jac. Schopper, by which his knowledge of the Gospel was enlarged and confirmed (see the account in Jac. Schopperi Orat. de Vita et Obitu sui parentis, p. 26, republished in Andr. Caroli Memoria Eccles. saec. xvii., T. i., p. 342). In 1555 he returned to Seville, and became professor of theology in the college there. Montanus, p. 275. An- 

\(^4\) M'Crie, p. 216.

\(^5\) Montanus, p. 238: Erant Hispali illius tempore factiones duae concionatorum, quos auditorum studiosa partium ingens turba sequabantur. Alia, si verba ipsa spectares, ad Epicteti Stoici placta, quam ad Scripturarum sacrarum normam acceperat propius, eo Epicteto inferior, quo idem factis sermoni consentiatis serio videretur agere, illa omnino secus. De crebris enim jejunibus, de mortificatione et abnegatione sui, de perpetuo precando, de praes re liberta submissione ac dejectione animi, quam humilitatem ipsi vocant, in ipsa vestitu, sermone, vultu, ac in universa deum vitae ratione multus ac pene infinitus sermo: at sub ista adeo plausibili ac speciosa pietatis larva, si propius inspexisses, vidisses, ne quid durius dicam, plane homines. Summa, sanctimoniae totius praem et puppim, quod ajunt, in operibus adversus contrarias factiones institutam collocantes, actus inprimis videri cupiebant. Eo studio, utpote ex ignorantia verae justitiae nato, ad Missas complures, ad sacrarum locorum frequentationes, ad Confessionis et communiones, quas vocant, usum frequentissimum, et ad multa alia nugament;—a verae justitiae exercitatis, judicio elicite et misericordia, atque adeo ab ipsa fide, unia acquirendae justitiae ratione, expiationis ergo diversitatem. Urgebant paupertatem ac
Many Spaniards who were friendly to the Reformation lived in foreign lands, from fear of the Inquisition; but they promoted the Reformation at home by writings, which in great numbers were secretly introduced and widely diffused. Especially important was the effect of the Spanish translations of the New Testament by Franz Enzinas (Antwerp, 1543), and Juan Perez (Venice, 1556).

But just these secret associations, when discovered, gave to the Inquisition the opportunity of seeing clearly how widely the Reformation was diffused in Spain; and it at once adopted the

coeilabat ue conjugibus, in primis vero obedientiae votum, monachorum credo aemulatione, qua auditores sibi adstringebant. Hanc ajeabant esse ipsam propriae voluntatis abnegationem, eisdemque prorsus ornabant titulis, quibus obedientiam sui ornat Deus. Ut vero in perpetuis tenebris liberius liceret in impostura progridi, a bonorum auctorum lectione, maxime autem Erasmi, a quo nihil scilicet praeerat quam superbe sapere edocendi essent, velati a peste deterrebat suas, ablegentes eos ad Henricum Herpium, Bonaventurae opuscula, Abecedarii, Montis Sionis ascensum, et id genus alios, ex quibus humilitatem, in primis vero corphaeis obedire didicissent.—Altera facioza concionatorum erat quorundam, qui ut sincerius tractabant sacras litteras, etiam verum justitiae ac sanctitatis fontem ex eisdem aperiebant hominibus, quorum et industria factum est, ut ea urbs, hoc inprimis nomine omnium totius Hispaniae felicissima, totos decem annos, quod ad verse justitiae argumentum attinet, purum Christi evangelium audiverit, neque sine fructu.—Erat istius primarili assertor, doctores Constantinus, Aegidius, Varquios (Vargas).

15 M'Crie, p. 208. Perez also published a translation of the Psalms, a Catechismo, and a Sumario de Doctrina Christiano (Antoni Bibl., i. 757); also several works of Joh. Valdez (M'Crie, p. 154).
16 The abbot Gundisalvos de Illescassaysof this, in his Historia Pontifical y Catolica (Salmanticae, 1574), according to the translation in Mosheimii Dissertat. ad hist. eccl. pertin., i. 672: Olim quicumque captivi ex carceribus Inquisitionis producebantur, ut infelicitatis simia commiserunt, erat prorsim annis carceres, theatra et regos tribunalis nostri plenos vidimus hominibus illustribus nobilem stirpe satis, viris item tam pietate, quam artibus, nisi signa prorsus fallunt externa, longe supra reliquis positis. Causam hujus et multorum aliorum malorum, quibus afflicti sumus, in Regibus nostris catholicis unice quaesiveris. Namque hi, quem eximio esset amore ac studio erga Germaniam, Angliam, aliasque provincias, quae Romanae Ecclesiae legibus et imperio sese subduxerant, viros quosdam eruditos et eloquentiis insigni praeditos in bas terras miserant, sperantes fore, ut horum sermonibus homines in errores delapsi ad veritatem reducerentur obsequiuntur. Sed praecelarum hoc consilium malo quodam factum interversum est, plusquaque nobis calamitatis attuit, quam fructus et utilitatis. Theologi nimium illi, qui ad alios illuminandos amandati erant, ipsim lumine capti ad nos redderunt, decipient ab haereticis exemplum eorum in patria reversi sunt imitati; nec scio utrum id opinionis errore contigerit, an vero arrogantiis vitio ceciderint, idque hominibus delectionem suaserit, quod see pro eruditis haberi cernerent, et apud externos populos majorem etiam eruditionis copiam acquisuisse videri vellet. And in another place: Quemadmodum hi captivi prae multis alia dignitate et praestantia eminente, ita numerus eorum suntus erat, ut totam certum sim Hispaniam ab illis corruptam et erroribus imbutamuisse futuram, si bino aut tres menses medicinam distulissent Inquisitores, qua malum hoc curatum sulp. So it is said in Ludov. a Paramo de Origine et Progressu Officii sanctorum Inquisitionis, Matriti, 1598, fol., p. 800: Nullus est, qui dubi-
most decisive measures. In 1557 and 1558 a large number of the suspected were imprisoned; only a few could save themselves by flight. The General Inquisitor, Fernando Valdez, appointed Vice-General Inquisitors for Seville and Valladolid; new papal and royal decrees were published for the support of the Inquisition. In two large auto-da-fés in Valladolid (May 21 and Oct. 8, 1559), and in two in Seville (Sept. 24, 1559, and Dec. 22, 1560), the secret Protestants of those places were exterminated; in 1570, after victims had fallen a sacrifice in all parts of the kingdom, and many evangelical Spaniards had saved themselves by flight, Protestantism may be said to have been destroyed in Spain. But even the truest sons of the Church were dragged before the Inquisition on the charge of Lutheranism, whenever they avowed their

17 Llorente, ii. 214.

18 Already, Feb. 23, 1557, Philip II. had revived an ordinance that had fallen into disuse, according to which a fourth part of the confiscated property of heretics should fall to the accuser (Llorente, ii. 217). Sept. 7, 1558, he decreed the penalty of death and the confiscation of goods upon all who should buy, sell, keep, or read books forbidden by the Inquisition, and commanded the printing of the Index Librorum Prohibitorum (Llorente, i. 470). Pope Paul IV., at the suggestion of the King, issued a brief, Jan. 4, 1559, to the Grand Inquisitor, Ferdinand Valdez, according to which all who should teach the Lutheran doctrines, even though not relapsi, and in case they only gave doubtful signs of repentance, should be executed (Llorente, ii. 215). By a bull, Jan. 5, 1559, he abolished all concessions about forbidden books; commanded the general Inquisitor to persecute them; demanded that father confessors should impose the prohibition upon all who came to confession, under penalty of excommunication, and that they should reveal to the Inquisition whatever they knew about the diffusion of them (ibid., p. 216). By a bull, Jan. 7, 1559, he granted to the Inquisition, to defray the costs, a canonry in every Spanish foundation, and an immediate appropriation of 100,000 ducats from the church revenues (ibid., p. 217). On the same day he empowered the Grand Inquisitor, for two years, to examine even bishops of all grades as to the Lutheran heresy, in case of need to imprison them, and then to send them to Rome to receive sentence (Llorente, iii. 228).

19 Llorente, ii. 214. In the first Aug. Cazalla was also burned.

20 Llorente, ii. 255. Egidius had died in 1556; Constantine Ponce de la Fuente died in prison (on his process, Montanus, p. 287 ss.; Llorente, ii. 275 ss.); so that only the bones and effigies of these two could be burned; Llorente, ii. 144, 278.


22 On their diffusion, see M'Crie, p. 356. Spanish Reformed Churches were formed in Antwerp, Geneva, and London.
belief in the Augustinian doctrine of justification, now rejected at the Council of Trent. Bartholomew da Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, one of the fathers of Trent, was forced to spend the remnant of his life in prison (1558–1576); 23 eight other bishops and twenty-five doctors of theology were subjected to trial for the same cause, and the most of them were condemned to recant. 24 In order to ward off the new irruption of heresies the strictest censorship of books was decreed, 25 and learned investigations in the universities were put under such limitations that all spiritual life must needs expire. 26

§ 21.

IN FRANCE.


Active as he had been just before in the restoration of Catholicism in England under Mary (comp. Nic. Antonii Bibl. Hisp. nova, i. 189; his trial at length in Llorente, iii. 183–315). Carranza had the same tendency with the Evangelical Catholics in Italy—Antonius Flaminius, Pole, Morone, etc. (see § 19, Notes 5, 31); and his earlier connection with them was one of the points of accusation (Llorente, iii. 246). With them, he judged more mildly about the decided adherents of the Reformation; several of them had been his pupils, and he was still in friendly relations with them; this, too, was objected to him (Llorente, iii. 222). Especially in his Catechism was Lutheran heresy detected; yet, on the other hand, the Council of Trent, which in vain took part with the archbishop, declared it to be orthodox (ibid., p. 268). Only by the most urgent threats could Pius V. obtain his release (ibid., p. 285). Carranza came to Rome in 1567, and was here kept with much milder restrictions. Pius V. wished to acquit him, but was prevented by Philip II. (ibid., p. 296); and Gregory XIII. at last condemned the archbishop to forswear sixteen Lutheran positions (in 1576, ibid., p. 306), about which he was suspected, and the most of which referred to the doctrine of justification. A few weeks afterward Carranza died in Rome.

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23 Llorente, iii. 61.
24 M'Crie, p. 889.
25 M'Crie, p. 894.
FOURTH PERIOD.—DIV. I.—A.D. 1517-1648.


UNDER FRANCIS I. AND HENRY II., TO 1659.

John Huss, in Constance, had already found that no reform in doctrine could be expected from the anti-papal party in the French Church. The Sorbonne in 1521 formally condemned the doctrine of Luther.1 As it still had many friends, and had gained in Meaux, since 1521, a strong lodgment, under the protection of Bishop Guillaume Brignonnet,2 the Parliament at once lent its arm to the clergy for a bloody persecution.3 Francis I. was a friend of the Eras-

1 Determinatio Theologiae Facultatis Parisiensis super doctrina Lutherana hactenus per eam revisa, dd. 15 Apr., 1521, in d'Argentré collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus, T. ii., p. ii. ss., u. in Gerdesii hist. Reform., T. iv. Monument., p. 10. The Propositiones it rejected were all taken from Lutheri lib. de captiv. Babylonica; see in d'Argentré, l., ii. 867. Melanchthon at once published an Apologia adversus furiosum Parisiensem Theologastrorum decretem. Viteb., 1521. 4. (recusa in Lutheri opp. Jen. ii. 451); cf. Seckendorf Comm. de Lutheranismo, l. 185.

2 Bée, i. 5: Alors estoit Evesque de Meaux un bon personnage natif de Paris, nommé Guillaume Brignonnet, lequel nonobstant les Censures de Sorbonne, fut esmeun de tel seel, qu'il n'espargna rien qui fust en son pouvoir pour adstraver la Doctrine de verité en son Diocese, conjoinquant les oeuvres de Charité avec la Doctrine de verité: et non seulement preschant luy mesme (ce qui estoit lors fort nouveau) mais aussi appellant à soy beaucoup de gens de bien et de sçavoir, tant Docteurs qu'autres, comme Jaques Fabri, Guillaume Farel (estant lors à Paris, regent au college du Cardinal le Molé), Martial et Girad Ruffi, etc.

3 The censures of the Sorbonne, see in d'Argentré, l. ii., in Indice, p. iv., u. ii. l. 1 ss.
mian culture, and in this sense elevated above many ecclesiastic al prejudices, and inclined to a reformation; but the severe earnestness of the French Lutherans, and their enthusiasm sometimes degenerating into fanaticism, repelled him, and appeared to him equally dangerous, in a political point of view, with the religious divisions which he feared would ensue among his subjects. Besides this, in his constant conflicts with the Emperor he wished to maintain friendly relations with the Pope. At his court there were several persons, particularly his sister Margaret, Queen of Navarre, inclined to the Reformation; but a powerful party, at the head of which were the Queen-mother and the Cardinal and Chancellor Anton du Prat, was opposed to it. And thus the persecution of the Lutherans went forward, even after the King had made an alliance with the German Protestant princes. He declared to them, to pacify them, that he let only fanatics be persecuted; assured them of his desire for a reformation of the Church;

Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, Doctor of the Sorbonne, was censured, 1521, because he thought that he found Magdalenes in the New Testament; d'Argentre, ii. i., p. 7. He then wrote in Meaux his Exposition sur les Evangiles, which was condemned by the Sorbonne in 1523; ibid., p. 11. He found security in Nerac in Navarre, and died 1537. The first martyr was Jean le Clerc, of Meaux, executed 1524 in Metz (Bèze, i. 6). A special sensation was aroused, when Louis de Berquin, a royal counselor, and a zealous adherent of the Reformation, whose writings and translations had been previously (1523) condemned by the Sorbonne (d'Argentre, ii. i., p. 11), was hung and then burned, in Paris, in 1529 (H. Pantaleonis Martyrum historia, Basileae, 1568, fol. p. 68. Vater's kirchenhist. Archiv, 1824, ii. 2). The decrees of the Councils of Sens (held in Paris by the Chancellor Anton du Prat, Archbishop of Sens) and Bourges (held by Archbishop Franz of Tournon) against the Lutherans, 1528, see in Harduini Acta Concill., ix, 1824 ss.


5 Capefigue, i. 196. On some calumnious writings of the year 1534, see Strobel Von Melanchthon's Ruf nach Frankreich. Nürnberg, 1794, s. 6, ff. There, p. 14, one of them is reprinted, viz., Articles veritables sur les horribles, grands et importables abus de la Messe papale, and in Gerdesii Hist. Reform. iv., Monum. p. 60. Luther's Preface to the Smalcauld Articles: "Es ist heu zu Wittenberg gewest ein Doctor (Gervasius Waim, 1581; see Schelhorn's Ergotzlichkeiten, i. 290) gesand, der für uns öffentlich sagt, dass sein König gewiss u. über gewiss wäre, dass bey uns keine Kirche, keine Oberkeit, kein Ehestand sey, sondern ginge alles unter einander wie das Viehe, u. thät jedermann, was er wolt."


7 Francis had several of the Reformed executed in a barbarous way in Paris, January, 1555, at the same time that he, with his children, was taking part in a brilliant procession (Bèze, i. 20. Strobel Von Melanchthon's Ruf nach Frankreich, s. 29). They were not wholly guiltless; Starmil Ep. ad Melanchth., d. 4. Mart., 1535 (Bretschneider, ii. 855): Per mensem Octobrem—libellos uno tempore de ordinibus ecclesiasticis, de Missa, de Eucharistia per universam fere Galliam nocte in omnibus angulis affixerunt, immi nibus et tragicis exclamationibus, ante Regis etiam conclave aggutinarunt, quo certiora
and even, in 1535, invited Melancthon to come to him, that he might introduce attempts at peace and mediation in the sense of Erasmus; but Melancthon did not come. After this, too, the

et magis quoque perniciosa pericula crearentur. Nam perturbatus haec re populus, territae multorum cogitationes; concitati Magistratus, inflammatus Rex gravissima judicia instituerunt, nec inmitteri, si tamen in re modus servari posset. Latomus, then professor in Paris, wrote about it to Erasmus (Erasmii Epist. Basili., 1538, p. 1097): Fuimus praeterea hyeme in magno periculo et invidia Germani omnes in hac urbe proper quo- rundam temperitatem, qui libellos seditosos non solum tota urbe Parisiorum, sed etiam in aula Regis fixerant. Dederunt tamen illi poenas: atque utinam omnes dedissent. Sed interim et alii complures eadem tempestate abrepti sunt. The King excused himself to the German princes in his letter of Feb. 1, 1535 (in Freheri Script. Rerum Germ., iii. 299, in Melancthon's German translation in Bretschneider, ii. 828. It is dated Feb. 1, 1534, \textit{mote Gallico}, the year beginning at Easter): Quum ad nos delatae fuerint impudentes quaedam calumniae, quae per Germaniam totam disseminatae, nominis nostri honorem et deus labefactarent; — facturos nos operae pretium putavimus, si illis ipsis calumniis responderemus.— Superior! autumno post Legati mei a vobis reditum, quum is ab iisdem vestria concionatoribus quosdam velut isagogicos libelles de sedantis ipsi controversiis attulisset, et cor non ade impulsi optimo initio nihil esset; ecce nobis dissensionem et mendacii parentis, veritatis et quietis hostis, quosdam excitavit furiosos magis quam amantes, qui omnium expetendarum rerum subversionem hau dubie mol- rentur ac tantum erit, quorum ego paradoxa malo iisdem sepeliri tenebris, unde subito emererant, quam apud vos, amplissimi ordinis, hoc est in orbis terrarum luce, memora- ri. Tantum hoc dico, si qui unquam inter vos eorum similes, aut longo etiam intervalllo ab iis separat extirterunt; abominati (ut debuit) illos atque execrati estis omnes. Quae nimina contigosa pestis, atque ad deterrimam spectans seditionem, ne latius in Gallia serperet, omni sollicitudine, opera, industria restitui. In conscius omnem, qui- cunque fuere deprehensis, uti more majorum ac legibus animadvertetur, esse, nulli hominum generi parciens aut nationi.

The King, in this matter, was chiefly led by the brothers Jean and Guillaume du Bellay, the first of whom was Bishop of Paris and cardinal in 1535, the other a minister of the King; John Sturm, then professor in Paris, also joined them. Melancthon sent a memorial, in August, 1531, to Guillaume Bellay, setting forth the simplest essentials of the new doctrine, and how it could be united with the Catholic doctrine (Consilium de moderandis controversiis religionis scriptum a Ph. Mel. ad Gallos, in Bretschneider, iii. 741). By these men the King was made acquainted with Melancthon and his \textit{Loci Communes}, which work pleased him much. Sturm wrote this to Melancthon, and invit- ed him to France, dd. 4. Mart., 1535 (Bretschneider, ii. 855). About the sentiments of the King he says: Videt in altera causae, quae vetusta est, tamen multa esse videt, in altera, quae veritate nititur, plurimum periculis cu cupidissimos et seditosissimos homini- bus. Melancthon answered cordially, but not without scruples, dd. 9. Maj. (l. c., p. 874): Jam si id agatur, ut, etiamis leviores quidam articuli nobis donetur, tamen reli- qui graviores obruantur et deleantur, ego neque causae publicae neque Ecclesiae profuero. Thereupon a formal invitation followed, in a letter from the King of June 23, and oth- ers, from Cardinal Bellay, June 27 (ibid., p. 879), from Sturm (ibid., iv. 1029), and Guillaume Bellay (ibid., iv. 1038), brought by a special envoy, Barnabas Voscos Fossa. Melancthon asked of the Elector permission to make the journey, August 17 (ibid., p. 903), and Luther seconded the request (de Wette, iv. 619). The Elector, already dis- pleased with the Memorial of Melancthon, on account of his yielding disposition, sharply refused the request, August 24 (in Bretschneider, ii. 910), and wrote about it to his chancel- lor, Bruck (ibid., p. 909): "Wir tragen nicht wenig Sorge, so Philipps in Frank- reich reisen werde, er werde mit seiner grossen Weisheit u. Fleiss, den er haben wird, den König irgend auf eine Meinung zu bringen, viel nachlassen, das hernach Dr. Mart- tinus u. die andern Theologen nicht werden einräumen können.— Zu dem ist nicht zu
King made another attempt to come to an understanding, 10 but
verbatim, that den Franzosen Ernst sey des Evangeliums halben, sondern weil die
Wankelmüthigheit bey dem Philippo spuren, dass sie werden anhalten, ihn weiter aus-
zulernen, und darnach seine Unbeständigkeit auszubreiten, u. ihn zu verunglimpften.
So ist auch wohl abzunehmen, dass die Leute, die die Sache fördern, mehr Erasmisch,
Von Melanchthon's Ruf nach Frankreich u. seinem dahin geschickten Religionsbedenken.
Nürnberg, 1794. 8. (from his Neue Beytr. zur Liter., v. 1, a special reprint).
10 Melanchthon's Consilium, with many alterations, was presented to the Sorbonne,
August, 1535, for their decision, in the form of a Confession of Faith of the Germans,
and it was declared by them to be thoroughly objectionable; see d'Argenté Collect.
Judic., l. ii. 395 ss.; Strobel, s. 167 ff. Yet still the King, by his ambassador, Guillaume
Bellay, announced to the Protestant princes convened at Smalcald, in Dec., 1535, his
very favorable opinions about the articles of Melanchthon. These declarations, written
down by Spalatin, are in Seckendorf, iii. 105; Gerdesii Hist. Ref., iv., Monum., p. 68;
with other acts in relation to that embassy in Melanchth. Epist., ed. Bretschneider, ii.
1009 ss. Primum, de primatu Romani Pontificis sive Papae sentire Regem Gallorum
nobiscum, jure tantum humano non divino eum habere.— Secundo, sententiam nostram
de sacramento Eucharistiae Regi placere, ipsius autem theologis non item, ut qui trans-
substantiationem velint modum omnibus servatam. Regem igitur querere certa, ut ha-
beat quod sequatur, esse enim solum, qui in regno suo imperet. Tertio, de Missis—
magnum esse alterationem. hic igitur Regem sic sentire: condonandum esse a nos-
tris aliquid, imo nostris suam Missam esse permettendum, deinde modum adhibendum:
neque plures quotidie in parochialibus templis, quam tres, habendas.— Regem etiam esse
in eo, ut putet, orationes et legendas multas, ut ineptas et impias, abrogandas, aut sal-
tem emendandas.— Regem etiam dixisse, se habere orarium ante multos annos scriptum,
in quibus de intercessione Sanctorum nulla prorsus sit mentio, ut qui trans-
substantiationem velint modum omnibus servatam. Regem igitur querere certa, ut ha-
beat quod sequatur, esse enim solum, qui in regno suo imperet. tertia, de Missis—
was soon turned about by opposite impressions. At that time, too, John Calvin left France, and in his Institutions gave to the French Reformed a doctrinal point of union; in the Preface he exposed the injustice of the King. Under his direction a Reformed Church was soon developed in French Switzerland, particularly at Geneva. Here was the hearth and home from which the Reformation in France was constantly receiving new encouragement and support. Persecution, however, increased in the same degree: the most horrible was that of the Waldenses in Mérindol and Cabrières in the Provençe, which in 1545 ended in a general massacre.

Yet the number of the Reformed was already very large when Francis I. died, in 1547, and was constantly increasing under
Henry II., although this weak ruler, under the influence of zealous Catholics, sharpened the instruments of persecution. Anton, King of Navarre, and his spouse, Jeanne d'Albret, a daughter of Queen Margaret, avowed their adhesion to the Reformation; in Béarn the Reformed worship was openly observed. Henry's alliance with the German Protestants against the Emperor was favorable to the progress of the Reformation; in the French army there was a company, under the lead of D'Andelot, composed entirely of Reformers of noble rank. But after the King, in the Treaty of Passau, had again made friends with the Pope, and, in 1555, formed with him the Holy League; and when, at the same time, the Reformed in Paris, Meaux, Bourges, Orleans, and many other places, began to unite in regular congregations, and in 1559, in a general synod at Paris, had agreed upon a Confession of Faith and a church order, then the Catholic party, with the Guises at their head, renewed the persecutions with redoubled violence. Among the common people the Reformed were hated and calumniated; among the educated their numbers increased with rapid
strides. As a milder tone was penetrating even the Parliament, it was proposed to introduce a spiritual inquisition. The Pope issued the needful bull,20 April 25, 1557; the King forced the Parliament, in spite of its opposition, to accept the royal edict which followed up the bull;21 but the work remained unfinished, because he died immediately afterward, June 29, 1559.

§ 22.

CONTINUATION TO THE EDICT OF NANTES.

When Francis II.1 ascended the throne, in his fifteenth year, the widowed Queen, Catherine de Medici, supported by the Guises, immediately got possession of the government, and was able to set aside the King of Navarre, Anton de Bourbon, the first prince of the blood. All the zealous Catholics adhered to the Guises; the Reformed looked for security to the Bourbons. After the conspiracy of Amboise, 1560, in which the Guises were to be deprived of the government, the Reformed, under the name of Huguenots,3 which had been given to them, formed both a political...
and an ecclesiastical party, attached as well to the doctrine of Calvin as to the Bourbons. Meanwhile, outside of this party, the feeling of the necessity for ecclesiastical reformation and religious toleration had become so general, and was so distinctly declared even by the Estates General assembled at Orleans in Dec., 1560, that the Regent, Catharine, determined to adopt a middle course. 

Dieu, prêcher, et communiquer aux saints Sacrements: tellement qu‘encore qu‘ils ne feissent peur, ne tort à personne, si est-ce que les prestrses par derision les feirent suceder à ces esprits qui rodoient la nuit. De cela advint nom estant tout commun en la bouche du menu peuple d’appeller ceux de la Religion Huguenote au pays de Touraine; et premierslie à Tours, que ceux de la religion s’assemblans de nuit furent surnommés Huguenota, comme s’ils ensent esté la troupe de leur roi Huguet: et pour quelle la premiere descouverte de l’entreprise d’Ambaise se fit à Tours, qui en baillerent la premier advertisezement sous ce nom de Huguenota, ce sobriquet leur en est demeuré. So, too, Thuanus, lib. xxiv., p. 741. It is remarkable that, instead of being content with this explanation, which befitsthefirstappearance of this name, and is adequately verified, the most manifold and strange explanations have been attempted (see Benoist, i. 22). Among these, the derivation from sidynots (confederates, see § 10, Note 23) has the greatest probability. This was advocated by the Viscount de Tavannes, while his father was still living; this origin of it, however, could not, it would seem, have escaped the knowledge of Beza. [Comp. E. Castel, Les Huguenots, Paris, 1859, pp. 1-119.] 

2 Preparations for this were made by the Assemblée de Notables in Fontainebleau, Aug., 1560, called by the Chancellor l’Hospital (about him see Kauzer’s Geschichte Europas, ii. 202). In this assembly Jean de Montluc, Bishop of Valence, and Charles de Marillac, Archbishop of Vienne, exposed in the frankest way the corruptions of the Church, demanded a council, and condemned the execution of the Huguenots; see Servanus, i. 48. Béze, i. 277. Thuanus, lib. xxv., p. 761. Cf. Capéfigue, ii. 144. Of the same purport is the address with which the Chancellor l’Hospital opened the Estates General (Béze, i. 407), and which found much sympathy. 

4 Comp. the document which she sent forth, in preparing which the Bishop of Valence is said to have had much influence, and which is usually cited as a letter of the Queen to the Pope, Aug. 14, 1561 (extracts in Thuanus, lib. xxviii.; more fully in Servanus, i. 105), given in full in Béze, i. 650 ss. (according to Capéfigue, ii. 184, also in the MSS. de Bethune, Bibl. du Roi, vol. cot. 8476); but according to Beza it was first composed after the colloquy of Poissy, and is probably to be considered as the instructions of an envoy sent to the Pope; perhaps the instructions given to Monsieur de Laussac (Béze, i. 649). Here it is said, Que la quatrième partie de ce Royaume est separee de la communion de l’Eglise, laquelle cinquième partie est de gentils hommes, de gens de lettres, et des principaux bourgeois des viles, et de ceux du menu peuple. They were so united and strong, qu‘il ne faut point esperer de les pouvoir diviser, et encore moins de les ramener avec la force, sans mettre ce Royaume en danger, d‘estre proye de celui qui le voudroit conquérir, ou bien d‘affoiblier ou mettre tant au bas ses forces, que de cinquante ans apres il ne pourroit revenir à son premier estat. However, a union in France was much easier, qu‘il n‘y a point d‘Anabaptistes, ni hereticques, qui contredissent aux 12 articles de la foi, ni à la declaration, qui en a esté faite par les anciens Conciles generaux. Et se trouvent quelques personnages de scévors, — qui disent, que nostre S. Pere pourroit accepter en la communion de l‘eglise ceux qui feroient la confession de leur foi telle, qu‘elle est universelle par tout le monde, que les anciens ont dit la vraie et certaine roige de foi, contenant les 12 articles, et ce que depuis nous a esté decla-ré par les suedites conciles generaux, et que la difference des autres opinions ne pourroit empecher qu‘ils ne fussent tous de l‘eglise, sous l‘obeissance du saint siège: non plus qu‘anciennement la diversité de la celebration de la Pasque, de l‘obeissance des
After the death of Francis II, Dec. 3, 1560, Charles IX. succeeded, at the age of nine years. The Regent now drew back some-
what from the Guises, declared the King of Navarre Lieutenant-General of the King, and, to attempt a reconciliation, set on foot the Colloquy of Poissy, in Sept., 1551, between the two religious parties; and, although this conference did not lead to any results, conceded to the Reformed a restricted religious freedom, Jan. 17, 1562. But as the Huguenots were now rapidly increasing, and began to feel their power, and to express openly their abhorrence of the Catholic superstitions, the Catholics also became more im-

CHAP. II.—REFORMATION. § 22. IN FRANCE.

Ainsi qu'ils ont eté institués et ordonnés: et toutes les fois, qu'ils sont persuadés, qu'on y a ajouté ou diminué pour y faire quelque changement, ils pensent être certainement hors du chemin de leur salut. — Le troisième point est, que plusieurs savans personnages de ce Royaume et autres, qui sont en grand nombre, sont scandalisés, de la procession, qui se fait tous les ans le jour qu'on appelle du Corpus Domini, à laquelle procession ils disent qu'ils ne peuvent assister en saine conscience pour ces trois raisons. La première, disent ils, pource que c'est directement contre l'institution du S. Sacrement, où il est dit: *Prenez, mangez, et puis: faites ceci en ma commémoration, c'est à dire, ce que j'ai fait: et disent, qu'il y a pareille différence entre le prendre et le manger, et le voir et porter par les rues, comme on pourrait dire, si un médecin avait commandé de prendre une médecine au malade pour sa santé, et que celui là au lieu de la prendre, la fit porter honorably par la maison. — Pour la seconde raison, ils allegent, que Jesus Christ est au regne de son Père, et ne requiert de nous que l'honneur spirituel et l'adoration en esprit et vérité. — Voilà la plainte, qui est faite non pas par les séparés, mais par un grand nombre d'autres personnes, qui ne pensent à rien moins, qu'à se desunir de l'Eglise, ains pour contenir les infirmes à ce qu'ils ne se départent point, desirent, que ce qui apporte plus de scandal que de fruit, plus d'abus que de devotion, soit du tout absté, ou pour le moins réformé. — La Messe est le tiers article, pour lequel plusieurs sont scandalisés. Tout le monde dit, que c'est un grand scandal en la Chrétienté de la voir ainsi mettre en vente par des prestres ignorans, malvivans et vagabonds: et toutefois personne ne fait semblant d'y pourvoir. Cela a fait grandement diminuer la devotion du peuple: mais il y en a plusieurs, qui sont encore avec nous, qui ont passé plus ouvert, et font grand scrupule en ladite messe, tant pour la substance, que pour la forme d'icelle. —

Reste à parler de la manière de servir Dieu, sur quoi vient à noter, que tout ainsi qu'en la primitive Eglise le chant des Psaumes et prières publiques en langage entendu d'un chacun contenait les Chrétiens en la crainte de Dieu, en la devotion de l'invoquer souvent, en la fraternelle amitié; attirer les ennemis à vouloir entendre ce que c'estoit de la religion; et rendoit les hommes mieux vivans et plus devots envers Dieu: aussi voyons-nous de nostre temps, que ceux qui se sont séparés de nous, attièrent en leur compagnie tous ceux qui leur oyent chanter des Psaumes et faire les prières. Attendu donc, que c'est une chose bonne et louable, et dont l'Eglise a si longuemment usé, il seroit bon d'user de mesme artifice et recevoir en nos Eglises, deux fois le jour, le chant des Psaumes en langage vulgaire avec les prières publiques, et telles que chacun Evesque pourroit ordonner en son diocèse.
bittered against them. The Duke of Guise, by the massacre of Vassy, March, 1562, gave the signal of war. The weak King of Navarre, intimidated by Spain, stood on the Catholic side; his brother, the Prince of Condé, was the leader of the Huguenots. These wars were interrupted only by short periods of peace. After the treaty of St. Germain en Laye, August 8, 1570, it appeared as though the court earnestly desired to maintain peace; but the high carnival of blood, the Night of St. Bartholomew, August 24, 1572, revealed the hidden craft, and was the signal for a new series of still more embittered wars. With every treaty the Huguenots gained larger advantages; but both Charles IX., who died May 30, 1574, and Henry III. were too feeble to hold their engagements against the Catholic party. After the Peace of Beaulieu, May, 1576, the Duke of Guise formed the Holy League to exterminate the Huguenots, and, favored by the Pope and Spain, he got possession of so much power that Henry III. sank down into the...

8 Several contemporaneous accounts, see in the Archives curieuses de l'history de France. Serie i., T. iv., p. 108 sq. The Reformed (Bèze, i. 722) and the Catholic (Capefigue, ii. 237) vary much, especially as to the occasion of it. The most unprejudiced is Thuanus, lib. xxix., T. ii., p. 78. Raumer Gesch. Europa's, li. 223. [H. W. G. Soldan, in Raumers Hist. Taschenbuch, 1854, on the Bartholomew Night; La France et le St. Barthélemy, Paris, 1855; Ranke's Civil Wars, pp. 248-278.]


10 See the edict in Benoist, i. Anhang, p. 9.


12 Thuanus, lib. lxiii. init. They united, ad restituendam in integrum legem Dei, conservandum sanctissimum ipsius cultum juxta formam et ritum 8. R. E. Then it was further said: foederis praefectus creator (naturally, the Duke of Guise), cui universi promptam obedientiam et obsequium sine conditione praestare teneantur: si quis officio non satis fecerit, aut tergiversatus uilla in re fuerit, ad praefecti arbitrium, cui cuncti se submitterent, puniatur. The party even went so far as to insist upon giving back the French crown to the Carolingian line, from which the Guises claimed descent, and taking it from the Capetian, who, it was said, had usurped it; see the instructions of David, the parliamentary advocate, sent to Rome, in Thuanus, lib. lxiii. p. 176; Capefigue, iv. 44.
mere shadow of a king, and the kingdom was in a state of anarchy. The Pope declared that the Bourbons had forfeited their rights to the throne of France, for which the Duke of Guise was struggling. The crafty Henry III. tried to help himself by murder: two of the Guises fell in 1588; the third brother, the Duke of Mayenne, at the head of the League, so pressed the King that he was forced to seek refuge with the King of Navarre. When he was murdered in his camp at St. Cloud, in 1589, the latter became his successor, as Henry IV.; but he had to contend continually against the League; and even after he had renounced Protestantism and gone over to the Catholic Church, in 1595, he could not at once disarm all opposition; first in 1595 he was absolved from the papal ban. After he had obtained the peaceful possession of the government he guaranteed to his former compan-

13 The bull of Sept. 9, 1585, may be found in the reply: Franc. Hottomanni Sixti V. Fulmen brutum in Henricum Regem Navarrae et Henr. Bourbonium Principem evibratum (1585. 8., and often), also in Goldast Monarchia Imperil, ill. 124; Thuanus, lib. lxxxii. p. 44.

14 Contemporaneous reports, see in the Archives curieuses de l'hist. de France, Série i., Tom. xii. 361; Thuanus, lib. xevii. p. 456. The murderer, the Dominican, Jacques Clement, had inquired of a learned brother of the order, salvane conscientia Henricum Valesium occideroposset; and received the answer: siquidem non odio aut ultionis privatæ studio, sed amore Dei inflammatus, pro religione et patriae salute id suscipiat, non solum id inoffensæ conscientia facere posse, sed multum apud Deum meritum, et si in actu ipso moriatur, proculdubiointer beatorum choros animam ejus evoluram. Cf. Capefigue, v. 290. The same doctrines were openly taught in the Jesuit college in Paris, and the Jesuits, Petr. Ribadeneira and Job. Mariana, praised the deed of Clement in their writings; D'Argentr Collectio Judiciorum, ii. i. 503. Also Pope Sixtus V.; Raumer, ii. 382.

15 Comp. on this the Mémoires de Maxim. de Bethune (Sully), Amsted., fol. T. i. chap. 88 ss. Sully saw clearly that without the same Henry they could never come to a peaceful government; in respect to religion, he held it to be—for infallible, qu'en quelque sorte de Religion, dont les hommes fassent profession extérieure, s'ils meurent en l'observation du Decalogue, creance au Symbole, aiment Dieu de tout leur coeur, ont charité envers leurs prochains, esperent en la miséricorde de Dieu, et d'obtenir salut par la mort, le merite, et la justice de Jesus-Christ, qu'ils ne peuvent faillir d'estre sauves, pource que dès lors ne sont ils plus d'aucune Religion erronee, mais de celle qui est la plus agreable à Dieu. He ended his investigation in relation to the King with the assertion, il vous sera impossible de regner jamais pacifiquement, tant que vous serez de profession exterieure d'une Religion, qui est en si grande aversion à la pluspart des grands et des petits de votre Royaume. The confession of faith made by the King (chap. 49) is the Profesio Fidel Pil IV., in which, however, were omitted the mention of the Council of Trent, as that was not received in France, and also at the end the words (hanc veram catholicam fidem) a mea subsidia, ills illis, quorum cura ad me in meo munere spectabat, teneri, doceri et praedicari, quantum in me erit, curaturum (spondeo). Capefigue, vi. 300. Raumer, ii. 362. Banke, Furstern u. Velker von Südeuropa, ili. 236. F. W. Ph. v. Ammon, Gallerie der denkwürdigsten Personen, welche zur kath. Kirche übergetreten sind. Erlangen, 1833. 8., s. 56. [Stähelin, Uebertritt Henri IV., 1865.]
ions in the faith legal rights and standing in the Edict of Nantes, April 13, 1598.

§ 23.

CONTINUATION TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

The Reformed at once proceeded not only to arrange their Church constitution, giving it a firm basis by founding institutions for education, which soon took a high rank, but also to shape their league in such a way as was necessary for the protection of their political rights. In the long struggles through which they passed the two religious parties had come to such a state of hatred that they could not immediately live together in peace. The

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1 See this in Benoist, i.; Appendix, p. 62. Here it is first provided that all the past was to be forgotten, and that the Huguenots (nos sujets de la Religion pretendue Reformée) should every where be allowed to have private worship, and also public, under certain restrictions: in particular, § 14, they were forbidden de faire aucun exercice de ladite Religion en nôtre Cour et suite, ni pareillement en nos terres et paiz qui sont delà les Monts, ni aussi en nôtre ville de Paris, ni à cinq lieües de ladite ville. The preachers are not to stir up the people (§ 17); from the Reformed their children are not to be taken (§ 18); and they are not to be disturbed (§ 19): on the other hand, they are to refrain from all mere work on the days of the Catholic festivals (§ 20). They are to be admitted to schools, universities, hospitals, and public poor-houses equally with the Catholics (§ 22); but they are not to marry within the degrees of relationship forbidden by the canon law (§ 23). They are to be admitted to all offices and dignities (§ 27); in the Paris Parliament is to be a Chambre de l'Edit, to decide upon the complaints of the Reformed, and six Reformed councilors are to be appointed (§ 30); chambers of the same kind to be formed by the Parliaments of Toulouse, Grenoble, and Bordeaux, half of the members to be Reformed and half Catholic (chambres miparties, § 31). To the edict of 92 articles was added, May 2, one of 52 articles secrets et particuliers, and two brevets of 30th April. By the second brevet (l. c., p. 95) it was conceded to the Reformed: que toutes les Places, Villes et Châteaux, qu'ils tenoient jusqu'à la fin du mois d'Aofltdernier, esquelles y aura garnisons,—de mueront en leur garde sous l'autorité et obeissance de Sadite Majesté par l'espace de huit ans.—Et pour les autres, qu'ils tiennent, ou il n'y aura point des garnisons, n'y sera point alteré ni innové. (So La Rochelle, Montauban, Nîmes u a., welche fast ganz unabhängig waren)—Et ce terme desdites huit années expiré,—toutefois S. M. leur a encore accordé et promis, que si sedites Villes elle continué après ledit temps d'y tenir garnisons, eu y laiser un Gouverneur pour commandier, qu'elle n'en depoissedera point celui qui s'en trouvera pourvu, pour y en mettre un autre.


2 Upon the church constitution, and the political organization of the Protestants, see Weber's Darstellung des Calvinismus im Verhältniss zum Staat in Genf u. Frankreich, s. 187 ff.

3 Among the leaders of the Reformed was Philip Mornay (Seigneur du Plessis-Marly),
high Huguenot nobles, accustomed to independence, and to victory in the contests with the Court, were still in a very excited state; and this was favored by the position now assigned to the Huguenots as a political corporation. Under Henry IV. they seemed to be by degrees pacified. During the minority of Louis XIII., however, the powerful Huguenot League could not remain without participation in the party struggles of the great princes. Afterward Louis XIII. himself gave occasion to new wars, by violent[who caused much excitement by his violent controversial writings, especially by the work De l'institution, usage et doctrine de l'eucharistie en l'église ancienne; à Rochelle, 1598. 4. (often republished). This called out several Catholic rejoinders (see Walch, Bibl. Theol., ii. 227), and also was the occasion of a colloquy of the author with Du Perron, Bishop of Evreux, at Fontainebleau, in the presence of the King, 1600. Du Perron tried to convict him of having made many false citations from the fathers and scholastics: see Actes de la Conference tenue entre le Sieur Evesque d'Evreux et le Sieur du Plessis, en presence du Roi à Fontainebleau le 4. de May, 1600, à Evreux, 1601, S. Comp. the Memoires de Sully on the Assemblée générale of the Reformed at Châteleraut, 1605, in which Sully appeared as the plenipotentiary of the King (in the Amsterdam folio edition, Tom. ii. chap. 51; in the revised edition of London, 1778, 8vo, Tom. vi. chap. 22). Sully had here to contend against the reports and fears that the Reformed were again to be robbed of all their privileges, particularly against the bruit, que ceux de la cabale de Messieurs de Bouillon, Desdigulieres et du Plesses ont fait courir, que le Roi ait délibéré de retrancher ce qui estoit destine pour les Ministres, et de ne permettre plus d'Assemblée (ed. Amst., ii. 380). Of that union instructions had already come to the knowledge of the King (l. c., p. 381), which they had to cause for former en ce Royaume une Republique separée en effet de son autorité souveraine, à quoi tendent l'union, que vous savez avoir été proposée pour la mutuelle defense et conservation des chefs de parti, et les sermens, auxquels on pretend assujettir les Gouverneurs des Places, avec le rejet de ses Officiers,—et les conseils qu'ils entendent dresser et establir en chacune Province du Royaume, avec les intelligences estrangeres, desquelles nous savons qu'ils veulent et esperent s'apuyer et fortifier avec plus de soin, que jamais. Sully wrote on this to the royal cabinet (l. c., p. 385): Quant aux plaintes, que vous me faites des tsesoignages, que ceux de ceste assemblée rendent de se deffier du Roi, et de rechercher en eux mesmes leur subsistance, c'est chose dont je leur ai parlé plusieurs fois, et fait toucher au doigt et à l'oeil l'impertinence de ce dessin: mais ils m'ont toujours repondu, que si le Roi estoit immortel, ils ne voudroient jamais autre chose que sa foi et sa parole, pour leur maintien et conservation; qu'ils quittoient dès à present toutes leurs villes et places de sureté, se departiroient de toutes intelligences, unions et associations, tant dedans que dehors le Royaume, etc. —de la possession et continuation desquels s'ils estoient une fois departis, et qu'ils vinssent à avoir un Roi, qui les en aversion, il les dissiperoit et disperseroit aussitot. —Quant à cette union proposée, que vous tsesoignez d'appréhender, je vous prie croire que c'est une chimere, qui ne consis ters jamais, qu'en mines et en paroles, et que la prudence et la generosité du Roi lui seront toujours pour un Bellerophon, et dedans et dehors le Royaume, car cela sais-je de science. Quant à ce qu'une telle union pourrait produire pour le regard de Monsieur le Dauphin, s'il suit les desseins du Roi son pere, il aura le même pouvoir. —Quant à la prolongation des villes de sûreté, dont vous faites tant de cas, et tous ces gens d'Assemblées aussi, c'est encor une autre chimere facile à debeller: et plus ils en ont, plus cette amplitude les rend folles,—dont eux mesmes feront une experience dommageable, si jamais ils viennent à perdre la bienveillance du Roi, et le contraignent de tourner ses armes contre eux.

4 Weber, s. 195.
ently changing the ecclesiastical and civil constitution in the whole of the Reformed Béarn, in 1620. Richelieu, who took the rudder of the state in 1626, made it his chief object to annul all political independence, excepting that of the King; and of course to destroy the Huguenot League. He attained the latter end after the capture of New Rochelle, in 1628, and the last leader of the Huguenots, the Duke de Rohan, submitted to the Edict of Nîmes, July, 1629, which allowed to the Protestants all their previous ecclesiastical rights, but deprived them of the character of a political body. From this period the Reformed lived in peace under Louis XIII., and were distinguished for their faithfulness to the King, their culture, and their skill in industrial pursuits.

Weber, s. 216.

There were already frequent desertions of the Reformed party by the nobles; Weber, a. 228. Ranke’s Fürsten u. Völker, ii. 474. Duplessis (royal historiographer, † 1661) says on this, with hateful exaggeration, but with a basis of truth, in his Hist. de Louis XIII., p. 220: Mais eux (les Gentilshommes) reconnaissent aussi, que les ministres et le menu peuple des religionnaires ne tendent qu’à la destruction de la monarchie et ensuite de toute supériorité et masse de la noblesse, pour former des démocraties et états populaires, prennent leur avantage du temps et des occasions, et aiment mieux maintenir la condition de leur naissance sous l’autorité de leur Roi, que d’attendre d’être dégradés de tous honneurs et même massacrés par la populace, lorsqu’elle se trouverait assez puissante pour établir des républiques.

Weber, a. 250.

Already, in the Declaration du Roi, 19th October, 1622 (Benoist Hist. de l’Edit de Nantes, ii., Anhang, p. 63), it is said: Defendons très-expresément a nosdits sujets de la Religion pretendue Reformée toutes sortes d’Assemblées generales et particulières, Cercles, Conseils, Abregez de Synodes, et toutes autres de quelque qualité qu’elles puissent être, à peine de crime de lese-Majesté, s’ils n’ont expresse permission de Nous : ainsi seulement leur sont permises les Assemblées des Consistoires, Colloques, Synodes pour purs affaires Ecclesiastiques, avec inhibitions très-expresses y d’traitar d’autan af faire politique sur les peines que dessus. The Edict of Nîmes (l’Edit de grace, by Benoist, l. c., p. 92) says, § 2: Et desirons sur toutes choses voir à l’avenir une perpetuelle union entre nos sujets : comme nous voulons et entendons maintenir ceux, qui font profession de la Religion pretendue Reformée, en l’exercice libre tranquille d’icelle, et sans aucun trouble, nous ne pouvons que nous ne désirions leur conversion, pour laquelle nous offrons continuellement nos prières à Dieu. C’est pourquoi nous exhorteons tous nosdits sujets de ladite Religion pretendue Reformée, se depouiller de toute passion, pour être plus capables de recevoir la lumière du Ciel, et revenir au giron de l’Eglise, etc. Then, § 5, the Edict of Nantes is confirmed, but § 7 it is ordered, que toutes les fortifications desdites Villes et lieux soient entièrement rasées et démolies, lors la censure des murailles, dans le temps de trois mois, à la diligence desdits habitans ; auxquels nous en confiant, nous ne mettons pour cet effet aucunes garnisons ni citadelle esdites Villes.

Mazarin says of them: Je n’ai point à me plaindre du petit troupeau : s’il broute de mauvaises herbes, du moins il ne s’écarte pas; see Eclaircissements Historiques sur les Causes de la Revocation de l’Edit de Nantes, et sur l’état des Protestants en France, tirés des differentes Archives du Gouvernement (par de Rhuilhères, 1786), L. 18. Weber, a. 286.
§ 24.

IN THE NETHERLANDS.


In the Netherland civil freedom and culture had, in an earlier period, proved favorable to reformatory movements, and soon brought about decided sympathy with the Reformation of Luther, in spite of its condemnation at Louvain;¹ and this as well in the flourishing cities of Flanders and Brabant, particularly in Antwerp, as in Holland itself.² The Emperor Charles V. earnestly desired

¹ 7th Nov., 1519 (in Lutheri Opp. Lat. Jen., i. 466, in Löweher, iii. 850). The Louvain theologians declared that they were led to this by the currency of the Opuscula Lutheri, Basil., 1518: Curavimus, quantum in nobis fuit, ne in nostris Universitate (liber) publice venderetur. Verum cum experientia comperissemus, istud adhuc satis non esse, sed librum et auctorem ejus multos habere fuitores et defensores, assenterent hujus libri doctrinam esse esse christianam, quorum suau et auctoritate multi et simplicioribus ipsum librum cupidius amplectuntur,—visum est nobis necessarium, nostram adhibere censuram.

² Erasmus writes from Louvain to Bilib. Pirkhaimer, 26th Jan., 1519 (Erasmi Episttt., T. i. Ep. 234): Ego hic in quotidians concionibus lapidor a Praedicatoribus, et Lutherohopulor, quicum mihi nihil est negozi: sed ita stolide rem gerunt, ut populos etiam crassissimus intelligat. Non poterant magis officere Romano Pontifici, neque magis magis Luturum commendare affectibus hominum. Nunc demum inclinunt illi favere, to Luther, 30th May, 1519 (Ep. 427) : Habes in Anglia, qui de suis scriptis optimi sentiant, et sunt hi maximmi. Sunt et hic, quorum est eximius quidam, qui tuus favent.—Est Antverpiae Prior ejus Monasterii (the Augustinian, Jacobus Spreng, usually called Jacobus Praepositus), vir pure christianus, qui te unice deamad, tuus olim discipulas, ut praedicaet. Is omnium paene solus Christum praedicaet, casteri fere aut hominum fabulas, aut sum quasatum praedican. Jacobus Praepositus was imprisoned in 1520, and carried to Brussels, and in 1521 forced to recant. Soon after he was again preaching the Reformation in Brugge, was again put in prison in Brussels, but escaped (Seccondorf De Lutheran, l. 179), was in Wittenberg with Luther in 1522 (see Luther to Spalatin, in de Wette, ii. 182), and afterward became pastor in Bremen.
to suppress the heresy in this his hereditary land. A penal law against it, which he issued at Worms, May 8, 1521, for the Netherlands, made more impression here than the one which was sent out at the same time for Germany. Two Augustinians in Brussels were the very first martyrs any where of the Reformation, July 1, 1523. As the laws against the heretics were often re-

3 In Dort a Dominican, Vincentius, aroused a tumult in 1519 by a controversial sermon; see Erasmi Ep. ad Godeschalcum Rosamundum (Ep. 491): Imputat mihi Vincentius tumultum Hollandicum, quod illic post multissimam conexionem propemodum fue- rit lapidatus a plebe, cum ego nulli Hollando neque bene scripsir de Luthero, neque male. Comp. Ep. 562. Erasmus, in a letter to Alexander, secretary of the Count of Nassau, dd. Lovanij iii. Idus Mart., 1521 (Epist. App. No. 314), tells some delectable things about the controversial sermons of the monks. The Dominicans drove it in the most scandalous style in Antwerp, where the Augustinians were for Luther: ut Magis- tratus haudquaquam stultus, metuens populi tumultum, admonuerit eos, ut apud popu- lum nec probarent Lutherum, nec incesserent, sed praedicarent Evangelium Christi.

4 See it in the Ordonnancien, Statuten, Edicen ende Placcaertenvan Vlaendren, Deel i. (2te Ausg., Antwerpen, 1662, fol.), p. 88. It agrees essentially, for the most part verbally, with the Edict of Worms for Germany (§ 1, Note 80).

5 The Emperor appointed as inquisitors his councilor, Franz van der Hulst, and the Carmelitte, Nicol van Egmont. In 1522 they brought Corn. Grapheus, secretary of the city of Antwerp, a prisoner to Brussels, on account of a Preface to the work of John von Goch on Christian Freedom, which he had translated; and they sentenced him to re- cantation, loss of property, deposition, and banishment (see his letter to the chancellour of Brabant, in Brandt, i. 71). The cloister of the Augustines in Antwerp was demolished, Oct., 1522; see Luther to Wenc. Link, Dec. 19, 1522 (de Wette, ii. 265): Quae Antver- plac gesta sunt, credo te nosse, quomodo mulieres vi Henricum (Heinrich v. Zütphen, prior of the Augustines, who was imprisoned in Brussels) liberarint. Monasterio ex- pulsi frates, ali allis loci captivi, ali negato Christo dimissi, ali aduc sunt fortes: qui autem filli civitatis sunt, in domum Beghardorum sunt detrusi; vendita omnia vasa monasterii, et ecclesia cum monasterio clausa et obstructa, tandem demolienda. Sacra- mentum cum pompa in ecclesiam b. Virginis translatum, tanquam e loco haeretico, sus- ceptum honorifico a Domina Margaretha: cives aliquot et mulieres vexatae et puniatae.

6 Heinr. Voss and Joh. Esch. Comp. Die Artikel, warumb die zween christl. Augustiner Münch zu Brüssel verbrannet sind, sampt einem Sendbrief Dr. Mart. Luther's an die Christen in Holland u. Brabant. Wittenb., 1523. 4. (in Walch, xxxi. 45; in de Wette, ii. 362, is merely the missing). In this missive, among other things, it is said: "Euch ists fur aller Welt geben, das Evangelium nicht alleine zu horen, u. Christum zu erken- nen: sondern auch die Ersten zu seyn, die umb Christus willen Schand u. Schaden, Angst u. Noth, Gefangniss u. Fählichkeit leiden, und nu so voller Frucht u. Stärk wor- den, dass ihrn auch mit eigenem Blut begossen u. bekräftigt habt; da bey euch die zwey edle Kleinod Christi, Hinricus u. Johannes, zu Brussel ihr Leben gering gauht haben, auf dass Christus mit seinem Wort gepreiset wnrde. O wie verachtlihe sind die zwo Seelen hingerichtet, aber wie herrlich u. in ewiger Freuden werden sie mit Christo wider- kommen, u. recht richten diejenigen, von denen sie ists mit Unrecht gericht sind.—Gott gelobt, und in Ewigkeit gebenedeyet, dass wir erlebt haben rechte Heiligen, und wahr- haftige Heiligen sehen und horen, die wir bisher so viel falscher Heiligen erhebt u. angebetet haben. Wir hieroben sind noch bisher nicht wirdig gewesen, Christo ein solches theures werthes Opfer zu werden; wiewohl unser Glieder viel nicht ohn Verfolgung ge- wesen, und noch sind. Darumb, meine Allerliebsten, seydy getrost u. frohlich in Christo, und lasst uns danken seinen grossen Zeichon u. Wundern, so er angefangen hat unter uns zu thun," u. a. w. Luther also sung the praises of those two martyrs in the song, found in many of the old Lutheran hymn-books, "Ein neues Lied wir heben an" (in
peated in new edicts, there were also after this some persecutions and executions. However, the Stadtholder, Margaret of Savoy (+ 1530), was at least not fanatical; her successor, Maria, the wid-

Rambach's Anthologie christl. Gesänge, ii. 40, with Latin and Dutch versions in Kist en Royaards Archief voor kerkeleyke Geschiedenis, v. 469). Enthusiasm must have been aroused especially by this verse:

Quiet their ashes will not lie;  
But, scattered far and near,  
Stream, dungeon, bolt, and grave defy;  
Their foe's man and fear.  
To silence could subdue,  
He must, when dead, let sing the songs,  
Which, in all languages and tongues,  
Resound the wide world through.

Die Aschen will nicht lassen ab,  
Sie staubt in allen Landen.  
Hie hilft kein Bach, Loch, Grub noch Grab:  
Sie macht den Feind zu Schanden.  
Die er im Leben durch den Mord  
Zu schweigen hat gedrungen,  
Die muss er todt an allem Ort  
Mit aller Stimm' und Zungen  
Gar fröhlich lassen singen.

7 Placcaet dd. Mecheln, 17ten Jul., 1526 (Ordonnantien ende Placcarten van Vlaen-  
dern, i. 103), forbidding conventicles, and all communications and disputations about heretical doctrines, and all heretical books.—Dd. Bruxelles, 14. Oct., 1529 (l. c., p. 107):  
by the 25th Nov. all heretical books must be given up to the first magistrates of the cities; the disobedient are threatened, the Relapsi, d'estre executd par le feu, et les au-  
tres, a savoir les Femmes par la Fosse. So, too, up to that  
time, the errorists may confess and forswear their errors, before the same persons.  
Those that denounce them shall have la moytiif des biens des cculx, qu'ils aurontac-  
cusez, attain set convaincuz, provided the same does not exceed the sum of centlivres  
de gros monnoye de Flandres; of the excess they are to have the tenth. Two council-  
ors of the Conseil en Flandres are to decide in all these matters without tedious process-  
es. Dilatory magistrates are threatened with deposition; all are to make reports every  
three months to the Stadtholder about their doings.—Dd. Bruxelles, Oct. 7, 1581 (p.  
118); against the translation of the Bible, and the printing of such translations, without  
permission.—Dd. Brüssel, 17. Febr., 1536 (p. 119): that monks and nuns who fled should  
not be entertained, but informed against.—Dd. Brüssel, 22. Sept., 1540 (p. 122), u. dd.  
Brüssel, 17. Dec., 1544 (p. 129); new penalties affixed to earlier laws, particularly those  
for book prohibitions.—Dd. Brüssel, June 30, 1546 (p. 134); against the printing, sale,  
and possession of heretical books, with a catalogue of such, prepared by the theological  
faculty of Louvain.

8 Seckendorf's Comm. de Lutheran, i. 129, gives the following extracts about it from  
a pamphlet published at the time of the Diet of Worms, 1521: Lovanienses Magistri  
conquesti fuerunt Dominae Margarethae,—quod Lutherus suis scriptis subverteret rem  
Christianam. Interrogavit ipsa: quismam est iste Lutherus? indoctus est, inquirunt, mon-  
achus. Respondit ipsa: Scribite multi docti contra unum indoctum, tunc totus mundus  
plus credet multis doctis, quam uni indocto. It directed the city authorities, Sept. 22,  
1525, to see to it that preachers and school-teachers do not injure the Church by telling  
false and impure customs; the 27th of the month the heads of cloisters were written to  
(Hand, i. 97): Wy syn volkomelyken onderricht, dat die dwaelingen, die onder den  
gemeenen volken geresen is, meest toekompt ende gekomen is uit de indicrete sermoemen  
van de Predikanten, Religienen ende andereren. Hence they are admonished to allow  
only such persons to preach, who are serious, verstandig, ende van goede manieren syn,  
ende wel geexerceert ende geschoout in de manieren van preken: ende dat gy de selve  
sulks onderwyst, aler by preken sal, by hem hacht, 't gemeen volk te scandelle-  
ren mit onbehoorlyke fabulen, redenen ende narration als ook wel geschiedt is: dat hy  
ook niet en vermaene van Martinus Luther, ofte syno leerlingen, noch ook van d'opinie  
vande ketters, die hier vortyds geweest syn.
owed Queen of Hungary, and sister to the Emperor, was even secretely inclined to the Reformation.\(^9\) Besides, the execution of those laws depended upon the provincial and city authorities, and were frequently made more lenient by their personal inclinations.\(^{10}\) While under these circumstances the adherents of the Reformation, instead of diminishing, were ever on the increase, some fanatical sects sprung up among them; the first was that of the Free Spirit,\(^{11}\) and then the Anabaptists.\(^{12}\) The disorders of Münster were occasioned by the Dutch Anabaptists, but the former

\(^9\) Pope Paul III. complained of it, in 1539, directly to the Emperor (Raynaldus ad h. a. No. 14): Quae clandestine factioni Lutheranae faveat, eamque effaret, submissisque hominibus causam Catholicam deprimat, atque omntie ab Administris Caesareis constituta impedita, etc.

\(^{10}\) In spite of all edicts, Bible translations were issued with the name of the publisher: the New Testament, after the Lutheran version, translated into Dutch, published by Doen Pieters-Soon, Amsterd., 1523; the New Testament, partly after Luther, partly after the Vulgate, by Joh. Roemund, Antwerpen, 1525; the whole Bible several times, by Jac. Liesveld, in Antwerp. The latter person was at length executed, 1546, on account of the marginal gloss, dat de Saelschcitder menschcn allcenkompt by Jcsus Christum. Besides this, the whole Bible was issued by Doen Pieters-Soon, Amsterd., 1527; see Gerdesius, iii. 57 ss.—In 1532 the magistrate in Deventer would not permit the imperial plenipotentiaries, who wanted to hunt up Lutherans, to come there, but declared, nullo modo concedi posse, ut ulli Commissarii extranei id juris usurparint, sed accusari debere suspeitos coram consule aut senatu ad hoc delegatis; see Rev. Deventria illustrata, p. 250.

\(^{11}\) 1525, in Antwerpen, see Ein Brief Dr. M. Luther an die Christen zu Antorf (Antwerpen), Wittenberg, 1525. 4. (in de Wette, iii. 60): "Also, lieben Freunde, ist auch unter euch kommen ein leibhaftiger Rumpelgeist, welcher euch will irr machen, u. vom rechten Verstand führen auf seine Dunkel. Da schet euch für und seyd gewarnet. Auf dass aber ihr deste bas seine Tücke meidet, will ich hier derselben etliche erzahlen. Ein Artikel ist, dass er hält, ein jeglich Mensch hat den heiligen Geist. Der ander: der heil. Geist ist nichts anders, denn unser Vernunft u. Verstand. Der dritte: ein jeglich Mensch glaubt. Der vierte: Es ist keine Helle oder Verdammnis, sondern alleine das Fleisch wird verdampt. Der fünfte: eine jegliche Seele wird das ewige Leben haben. Der sechste: die Natur lehret, dass ich meinem Nahisten thun solle, was ich mir will gethan haben; solches wollen, ist der Glaube. Der siebende: das Gesetz wird nicht verbrochen mit boser Lust, so lange ich nicht bewillige der Lust. Der achte: wer den heil. Geist nicht hat, der hat auch keine Sünde, denn er hat keine Vernunft." In these articles the sect of the Free Spirit can not, indeed, be distinctly detected; for the Antwerp errorist, who had been with Luther, and given occasion to this letter, did not, probably, venture to come out with his doctrines in full. That Libertinism came from Holland to France and Geneva, see § 10, Note 36. The Walloon Church in Wesel renounced Libertinism in its Confession (1545, see Archief voor kerkel. Gesch., v. 426): Nous confessions aussi, que les femmes ne doiivent point estre communes.—Par quoi nous rejets—toutes sectes,—comme les Anabaptistes, les Sacramentaires, les Libertains, etc. Philipp Marnix de Aldegonde, one of the chief helpers of William of Orange (+ 1598), also wrote a Tractatus contra Libertinos, and an Apologetica Resposio contra Amony- mun quendam Libertinum.

\(^{12}\) Many persecuted Anabaptists fled to Emden, Melchior Hoffmann at the head of them; thence they penetrated into the Netherlands, and found adherents, especially in Amsterdam, 1538; see Gerdesii Hist. Reform., iii. 88 ss.
likewise worked back on the latter, and thus new parties arose among them, upon which the sect of the Free Spirit seems to have had some influence. Among the majority of the adherents of the Reformation, however, in consequence of their relation to their co-religionists in France, Calvinism gradually got the upper hand.

As the persecution of heresy up to this time had not achieved its object, Charles V. wished to give to it more impressiveness by a regular Inquisition, after the pattern of the Spanish, 1550; but this could be only very imperfectly realized, and in the chief seat of the Reformation, Antwerp, not at all. Philip II., guided

13 On contemporaneous attempts of Anabaptists to obtain power in Dutch places, see Gerdesius, iii. 89 s.
14 After the defeat of the Münster Anabaptists, a party was formed under Ubbo Philippus, and under Menno, which wholly abandoned the political tendencies of the sect. On the other hand, the Batenburgers aimed at restoring the Kingdom of Christ, scattered at Münster. David Joris, in Delft, in fine, mixed up Libertinism with Anabaptism (Gerdesius., ill. 111 s.).
17 Sleidanus, lib. xxii., p. 207: Eo decreto promulgato vehementer attonitis fuerunt plerique, Germani praesertim et Angli mercaiores, qui per Caesaris provincias et urbes, Antverpiæ potissimum, maximo numero negotiantur. Itaque sic illi judicabant, aut ilud esse muligandum, aut alio commingrandum, imo clause tabernis multâ cogitabant
by Granvella, Bishop of Arras, hated by the Dutch, first tried to carry that ordinance of his father into strict execution,18 and at once erected thirteen new bishoprics (1559) for the sake of a more exact ecclesiastical supervision.19 In vain was the general opposition, springing from the injured freedom of the country; in vain did the Reformed hope to bring the King to a better opinion by the publication of their Confession of Faith (Confessio Belgica, 1562).20 Philip immovably demanded the acceptance of the Council of Trent, and the execution of the laws, against here-abire vitandi causa periculi. Senatus etiam Antverpianus, et privatim civis, qui maxi-mo et incredibili suo dispensio futurum hoc esse viderent, magnis erant in angustiis, et quum eo venissent qui inquisitionem instituerent, omni studio et contentionem repugnant, et ad Mariam reginam protecti, quanta non ipsorum modo, sed totius quoque regionis interitis, ne fast, demonstrant. Maria thereupon herself went on a journey to the Emperor in Germany, and obtained an alteration of the decree. This new form, in which it appeared Sept. 25, 1550, agreed literally with the previous, only rejecting Inquisition and Inquisitors. Besides this, it is also therein said: Ende angehende dem vremden coopliedien, ende andere die in onze voorschreven Nederlanden zouden willen komen, onze meeninghe en es niet, dezelve te bedwijnhen, de voorschreven Certificatie (of his pastor) te overbrijchen ende exhiberen: behoudelick dat sy aldaer leven navolghende onze voorschreven Ordonnancien, ende hemelieden draghien zonder schandalisatie als vooren. Yet still this edict was published in Antwerp, only with a protest in favor of the city liberties; see Gerdesii Hist. Ref., iii. 216 ss.—According to all this, the statements must appear very exaggerated, that 50,000 martyrs died under Charles V. (Scultet. Ann., p. 87); they are even put at 100,000 in Grotii Annales et Historiae de rebus Belgicis. Amstelaed., 1658. 8., p. 12.

On the following, see the narrative in Belgarum sub Albani Ducis imperio exulum libellus supplex ad Maximil. II., Imp. et Ordines Imperii in Comitis Sprensisibus, ann. 1570, in Gerdesii Scrinium Antiquarium, viii. 577. Raumer's Gesch. Europas seit dem Ende des 15ten Jahrh., i. 1.

Raynaldus, ad ann. 1559, No. 83. Until now the Netherlands had only four bishoprics—Cambray, Arras, and Tournay, under the Archbishop of Rheims; Utrecht under the Archbishop of Cologne. The new ecclesiastical arrangement was: the archbishopric of Mechlin, with the bishoprics of Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Ypern, Herzogenbusch, Roremonde; archbishopric of Cambray, with the bishoprics of Arras, Tournay, St. Omer, Namur; archbishopric of Utrecht, with the bishoprics of Haarlem, Deventer, Leuwarden, and Middelburg.

tics; and thus provoked hostilities in defense of the freedom not only of the country, but also of conscience.\textsuperscript{21} A league of the nobles,\textsuperscript{22} the Compromiss (1566) grew with furious speed, and the court had soon to repent of having at first ridiculed them under the name of Beggars (Gueux).\textsuperscript{23} Soon afterward the rage of the people broke out in the demolition of churches and images;\textsuperscript{24} starting from Flanders, this zeal soon penetrated all the provinces (1566). Even the Stadtholder, Margaret of Parma, avenged these disorders cruelly upon the Reformers, who were considered as alone to blame, though they were not so.\textsuperscript{25} But the ferocious Duke of Alba appeared, in August, 1567, at the head of a Spanish army, to annihilate all traces of the Reformation.

\textsuperscript{21} The Reformers were encouraged by the religious freedom which their brethren in France had obtained and bravely defended, see § 22, Note 6, ff.; see Libellus supplex, 1570 (Gerdesii Scri., viii. 600): Interea autem temporis, dum libertas religionis in Gallia constituatur, publicaque fide promulgatur, finitima Gallia urbes Belgii eam ipsam evangelicam religionem, quam proprie totos quadraginta annos intra privatos parietes retinguerant, jam palam atque aperte publicis concionibus profitteri insipienti, partim quod viderent non posse se aliter a calumnii, quae privatiss illis ac clandestinis conventibus vulgo impingeabantur, liberari, partim quod cernerent populi multitudinem, quae illam religionem amplexia esset, baud amplius poste privatissimis occultari.—Mox quidem per summam Inquisitionis ac suppliciorum acerbitate unum omnium oppressi.

\textsuperscript{22} First made by a few persons in the house of Philip v. Marnix, lord of St. Adelgonde, in Breda, February 26, 1566; see P. C. Hoofts Nederlandsche Historienseedersde Oeverdraghtder Heerschappyevan Kaizar Karel V. op Koning Philips (Amst. en Leyden, 4te Ausg., 1703, 2 Theile, fol.), i. 71. The document drawn up by Marnix is in the rare work: La description de l'Estatsuccesetoccurrences,advenuesau Pais bas au faict de la Religion. Imprimé en Aougst, 1569. 8. Its unknown author was Jac. van Wesenbeek, councilor and syndic of the city of Antwerp.

\textsuperscript{23} Nicolai Burgtmdii (Prof, juris in Ingolstadt, † 1630) Historia Belgica ab anno 1558. Ingolst., 1629. 4., p. 182. When the confederates came before the Stadtholder in Brussels, April, 1566, and asked that the Inquisition might be abolished, a state-councilor, Barlaimont, said to her (the Stadtholder): Securam ego te efficio: non est, quod Gueusios illos (ces Gueux) extimescas. Hooft, i. 73: welk Fransch woordt (Gueux), gesmeedt schijnend na het Nederlandsche gults, zoo veel als fielen, oft landlopers zeggen wil. This name was accepted by the confederates as a title of honor; they began to wear medals, on one side of which was a royal throne, on the other a beggar's bag held by two hands joined together, with the inscription, Fidelles au Roy jusques à la besace.

\textsuperscript{24} Two days before had arrived the denial of Philip to the request of the Stadholder, that the laws about heretics might be made more mild; see this in Burgundius, p. 281.

\textsuperscript{25} After she had arrived at Antwerp, April, 1567, she caused the following laws to be proclaimed, and at once carried into execution (Burgundius, p. 480): Conclonatones no-vae religiosom amissis bonis capite plectuntor. Fautores eorum puniuntor arbitrio Gu- bernatoris.—Conventicula ne suntu. Magistratus haec ipsa dissipanto.—Matrimonía aliosque ritus novae religiosom exercentibus laquei poenam irrogant. Infantes ab hae- reticis baptizati rebaptizantor.—Magistratus, praetores, visitatores bibliopolarum et typo- graphorum diligentem rationem habento. Qui libros illicitos saepius distrahexerit, capite plectutor, caeteri poena extraordinaria, etc.
Thousands fell at the order of the Council of Blood, which he established; a far larger number deserted their fatherland, to save it with arms in their hands under the lead of Prince William of Orange. In April, 1572, Briel was captured by the rebel beggars; the northern provinces joined in the revolt—they were all ready for it. Alba, in November, 1573, quit the Netherlands, laden with the curses of the land; but he was so far from having coerced the freedom of the Netherlands, that, by the Treaty of Ghent, November 8, 1576, the southern provinces united with the northern for the expulsion of the Spaniards, and to arrange their ecclesiastical affairs in a righteous order.


It was hastened by the horrible cruelties of the Spaniards in Antwerp, November 4, 1576; see Thuanus, ixii. 11; Hooft 1, 479. The treaties in Dutch and French (see in Dumont Corps Universel Diplomatique, v. i. 278) were made by the estates of Brabant, Flanders, Artois, Hennegau, Valenciennes, Lille, Douay, Orchies, Namur, Tournay, Utrech, and Mechlin, on the one side, and by the Prince of Orange, with the estates of Holland and Zeeland, on the other, occasioned by the ambition and rigorous Government of the Spaniards, and by their injustices and violence, — par où les dits Pays sont tombés dans une grande misère. — Pendant qu’on espérait quelque soulagement et compassion de la part de Sa Majesté, les dits Espagnols ont de jour en jour continué d’opprimer et ruiner les pauvres sujets, et ont taché de les reduire dans un éternel esclavage. Accordingly those states pledged freedom and friendship, and Art. 2, d’assister l’un l’autre, —et notamment pour chasser, et tenir hors de ces Pays les Soldats Espagnols, et autres étrangers. Art. 3. After the chasing away of the Spaniards the General States shall be convened, afin de mettre ordre aux affaires du Pays,—touchant le faict de l’exercice de la Religion éas Pays de Hollande, Zélande, et Lieux associés. Art. 4. No one shall be allowed to do any thing, contre le repos, et la paix publique, notamment contre la Religion Catholique et Romaine, ou exercice d’icelle, ni d’Injurier, ou irriter aucun à cause d’icelle de faict ou de parole, ni aussi le scandaliser par actes semblables, sur peine d’etre punis comme perturbateurs du repos public afin de servir d’exemple aux autres. Art. 5.—Tous les Placarts, qui ont été faits et publiés par-devant sur le faict d’hérezie, comme aussi les Ordonnances criminelles faictes par le Duc d’Alve, la poursuite, et l’exécution en sera suspendu, jusques à ce qu’il en sera ordonné autrement par les Etats Généraux.
As Philip was still inflexible in his purpose of exterminating all heresy, the northern provinces, on January 23, 1579, formed the Union of Utrecht, and renounced allegiance to the blood-thirsty King, July 26, 1579. Prince Alexander of Parma, Stadtholder since 1578, did indeed succeed, by the Treaty of Arras, May 17, 1579, in reconciling the Walloon provinces with the King, insuring their civil freedom; for in these provinces the Catholics had remained predominant, and the Protestants had succumbed. With their help he also invaded the cities of Brabant and Flanders, and annihilated or expelled all the Reformed without pity; and he also made a fanatical Catholicism supreme, by means of the Jesuits, whom he introduced in all quarters. On the other hand, the northern provinces maintained their freedom under the great William of Orange, and, after he had been murdered by a fanatic (July 10, 1584), under his son Maurice. Spain was compelled to grant to them, in 1609, a truce of twelve years. After the war had broken out again, in 1621, in connection with the Thirty Years' War in Germany, Spain also, in 1648, in the Peace of Westphalia, gave them independence.

The United Netherlands insured their spiritual independence by immediately establishing institutions of education. They founded universities in Leyden, 1575; Franeker, 1585; Groningen, 1612; Utrecht, 1636; Harderwyk, in 1648.
§ 25.

IN SCOTLAND.


[Wodrow Society’s Publications, 26 vols. 8vo, comprising Calderwood’s Hist., 4 vols.; Keith, 4; Blair; Melville, 2; Scot’s Narration; Row’s Kirk of S.; Wodrow’s Corresp., etc. Spottiswoode’s Society’s Publications, 12 vols.: Spottiswoode’s History, by Rssel, 3 vols.; Keith’s Hist., by Lawon, 3 vols.; Miscellany, 2; Sage’s Works, 3 vols.; Patrick Forbes, 1 vol.; John Skinner, Eccl. Hist., 2 vols. 8vo, 1788.]


James V. of Scotland favored the clergy, so as to counteract the predominance of the nobility. In this conflict there were many martyrs to the Reformation, which, with Luther’s writings, had been early introduced into the country. The first of these victims was [March 1, 1527-28] Patrick Hamilton. Yet still the number of its adherents increased, especially among the nobles. After the death of James V., in 1542, the Reformed party at first
got the upper hand, made James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, Lord Protector, and formed an alliance with England. But the Catholic party, led by the widowed Queen, a sister of the Guises, and David Beautoun (Beton), Archbishop of St. Andrews, soon brought the weak regent over to their side, 1543, and persecution began afresh. When, however, the Queen mother took up arms against the regent, she fell out with his brother, John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, and with the clergy, and was forced to make use of the Reformed party as a counterweight. Thus, just at this juncture, the Reformers were able to take a more decided stand, to advance more firmly, and to develop their ecclesiastical affairs more definitely; and they were led to do this by the influence of John Knox, who in 1555 had returned to his fatherland from Geneva and the most intimate intercourse with John Calvin. At the marriage of the young Queen Mary with Francis, heir to the French throne, a plan was formed, first to Catholicize Scotland with the help of France, and then to enforce the claims of Mary upon the English throne. This plan was made known in Scotland by Knox. Thereupon the Reformed nobility formed a defensive league—the Congregation of Christ. At last, in 1559,

3 The Life of John Knox, containing Illustrations of the History of the Reformation in Scotland, by Th. M'Crie, Edinb., 3d ed., 2 vols. 8vo, 1814 (1839). In German, omitting the documents: Leben des Schottischen Reformators Joh. Knox mit einem Abrisse der Schottischen Reformationsgeschichte von Dr. Th. M'Crie, in einem kürzeren Auszuge übersetzt, herausgeg. von Dr. G. J. Planck. Göttingen, 1817. 8. Comp. s. 224. [David I.iiii,'. Life and Writings of John Knox, 2 vols. 8vo, Edinb., 1847.—Two Reformers had been burned in 1534; in 1539, five in Edinburgh and two in Glasgow. Geo. Buchanan, in 1539, was exiled. Several Scottish noblemen, in 1542, were carried as prisoners to England, where they were favorably impressed for the Reformation. In 1545, George Wishart was burned by order of Cardinal Beautoun; and the cardinal was murdered the same year.]

4 M'Crie-Planck, s. 229.

4 [This covenant, as given in Stevenson’s History, p. 47, reads: “We perceiving how Satan in his members, the antichristis of our tyme, cruellie doth rage, seking to dounbring and destroy the evangill of Christ, and his congregatioun, aucht, according to our boundin dewtie, to stryve in our Maisteris caus, even unto the delthe, being certane of the victorie in him; the qubilk our dewtie being well considerit, we do promis befor the Majestie of God and his congregatioun, that we, be his gracie, sall with all diligence continuallie apply our haill power, substance, and our very lyves, to main-teine, set forword, and establish the most blissit word of God, and his congregatioun: and sall labour at our possibilitie to have faythfull ministeris, puirlie and trewlie to minister Christis evangill and sacramentis to his pepill. We sall maintein thame, nur-ische thame, and defend thame, the haill congregatioun of Christ, and every member thereof, at our haill poweris and wairing of our lyves, against Satan and all wicked power that dois intent tirannie or trubil against the foresaid congregatioun. Unto the qubilk holie word and congregatioun, we do joyn us: and also dos renunce and forsak the congregatioun of Satan, with all the superstitionis, abominationis, and idolatry...
measures began to be enforced against the Reformation, and French troops were to carry them into effect. Then the rage of the people broke forth in a general destruction of churches and cloisters; and the Reformers, supported by England, forced a recognition of their rights in the Treaty of Edinburgh, 1560. The strict Calvinism preached by Knox became the religion of the state; the Parliament, July 10, 1560, forbade the Catholic worship, and sanctioned an entirely Calvinistic Confession of Faith (Confessio Scotia). In the same sense the church government was immediately set in order in the Book of Discipline.

By the death of Francis I., 1560, the union of France with Scotland came so speedily to an end that it could not imperil the new order of things. Mary Stuart returned to Scotland in Aug., 1561, and was obliged to tolerate, though she did not formally confirm, the Reformation. She herself remained a zealous Catholic, and in 1565 secretly joined the League of Bayonne. As the Catholic clergy in Scotland, though deposed from their offices, still held their property and had their political rights, and as many of the Reformed clergy began to show signs of weakness, being dazzled by the brilliancy of the court, a reaction seemed not improbable. On the other hand, Knox, now a preacher in Edinburgh, supported by the people, guarded the interests of his party with keenness and power, fought against the plans of their foes and the timidity of his own party with fearless vigor, and made himself

thairof. And mairovcr, sall declar our selis manifeste enemies thairto. Be this our faythful promes befor God, tested to his congregatioun, be our subscription at this presens. At Edinburghe the 3d day of December 1557 yairs. God caillit to witness."

Stuart, Anb., s. 74.


First Book of Discipline, see M'Crie-Planck, s. 391. The highest church court was the General Assembly; superintendents were placed over particular districts. [The Book of Policy, or First Book of Discipline, was not ratified in form by the civil authorities. Ane Schort Somme of the First Buik of Discipline was published at the same time. The Second Buik of Discipline, or Heidis and Conclusiones of the Policie of the Kirk, was agreed upon by the General Assembly in 1578; inserted in the Registers of the Assembly, 1681; and sworn to in the National Covenant, and ratified by the Assembly in 1688, and at divers other times.]
terrible to the Queen. Meanwhile, by her marriage with Lord Darnley in 1565, she had already lost the affections of her people; and when, after his murder, she married Lord Bothwell, 1567, she became the object of their aversion. In 1568 she was forced to flee to England, where, after a long imprisonment, she was executed in 1587.

During the regency, which administered the government in the name of James VI., the parliamentary decrees of 1560 were confirmed, in Dec., 1567, and the affairs of the Church arranged in accordance with them. After the Catholic bishops had died out, in order to keep for the throne the clerical representation in Parliament, the superintendents were appointed as bishops in 1572. But in 1592 strict Presbyterianism conquered; and the bishops and abbots which the King appointed after 1598 were, as such, mere members of Parliament, without ecclesiastical weight or functions. Presbyterianism was so deeply rooted in Scotland, that the episcopate, re-established by James in 1610, could not take any root; and that Charles I., by his attempt to introduce here, too, the whole Anglican Church system, only occasioned a revolt, which in the end cost him his kingdom and his life, in 1649.

THIRD CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.


CHAP. III.—ENGLISH REFORMATION. § 26. HENRY VIII.


§ 26.

UNDER HENRY VIII. († JUN. 28, 1547).

The Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth, by Edw. Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Lond., 1649, fol. [Other lives, see above.]

In England, the doctrines of Wycliffe were not yet forgotten; when the mighty voice of Luther also resounded in the land, and was welcomed by many, in part, on account of the abiding influence of the previous movement. King Henry VIII., as stiff a Thomist as he was a despot, contended against the new heresy with both sword and pen. His Adsertio VII. Sacramentorum adversus M. Lutherum, was hailed by the Pope and his adherents with the loudest applause; the King was rewarded by the Pope with the title of Defensor Fidei. This, together with Luther's rough reply, animated the King with redoubled zeal for the old

1 On the Lollards, who were put to death as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century, see John Fox (who lived in exile at Basle, but returned and died as prebendary in Salisbury, April 18, 1587), Rerum in Ecclesiae gestarum, quae postremis et periculosis his temporibus evenerunt, maximarumque per Europam persecutionum, ac Sanctorum Dei Martyrum commentarii, P. i. de rebus per Angliam et Scotiam gestis (Basil., 1559, fol.), p. 117. Addition to Burnet, i. 15. [G. Weber, Gesch. d. akatholischer Secten in Grossbrit. i. i. (Die Lollarden), 2 vols. 8vo, 1846; new ed. 1857.]

2 The wide prevalence of the feeling of a necessity of a Reformation omnium is proved by the letter of the Bishop of Winchester, Richard Fox, to Cardinal Thom. Wolsey, Jan. 2, 1517 (in Strype Ecclesiastical Memorials, T. i. Docum., p. 19; and in Gerdes, T. iv. Monum., p. 109), in which it is demanded, as—oblatrantem diurna placentur, Clerum illustratura, Regem ipsum Serenissimum et Optimum omnem Concilia quos omnibus placita, et Deo imprimis Opt. Max. plus omnibus sacrificia placitura.

3 Lond., 1521. 4., against Luther's work, De Captiv. Babyl., reprinted Antverp., 1522. 4. sine loco, 1523, 4to, German by Hieron. Emser., 1522. 4. Comp. Planck's Gesch. des Prot. Lehrbegriffs, ii. 98.—Compare Henry's Letter, May 20, 1521, to Louis, Elector of the Palatinate (Kapp's Nachlese, ii. 458), and to the Emperor, in which he calls for the extirpation of heretics.


5 Contra Henricum Regem Angliae, 1522. 4., in his Opp. Lat. ed. Jen., ii. 516. Henry complained to the Saxon princes about this work of Luther (see his letter, dated 22d Jan., 1522, in Cypriani Epist. Clarorum Virorum, ex Bibli. Goth. autographias, p. 9; in
doctrine. Yet still the Reformation found access even into the universities of Oxford and Cambridge among the younger members; and John Fryth and William Tyndal, though driven from Oxford, worked with less restraint in foreign lands in the diffusion of its principles among the English people by numerous writings; so that the replies even of Thomas More, and the efforts of the bishops, and the severest penalties, could not stay its progress. Tyndal's translation of the New Testament had the most decisive effect.

But the self-will of Henry VIII. was mightier than his submission to the Pope. His marriage with Catharine of Aragon, his brother's widow, in spite of the dispensation of Julius II., had previously seemed to himself and others open to objections. His passion for Anne Boleyn now furnished the occasion for an outbreak; and he demanded of the Pope, 1527, to declare his marriage, 1521; see Wood's Hist. et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis, i. 276. In opposition appeared, Joannis Ep. Rofensis (Joh. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester) Adsertioin Lutheranae Confutatio, 1523. 4. Guil. Rossei (i.e., Thomas Moro) Responsio ad Convitia II. LuthcricongestsinHenricum R. Angl., 1523.


The first traces are found in Oxford, 1521; see Wood's Hist. et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis, i. 247. Gerdes, iv. 187. In 1526 Cardinal College (afterward Christ College), just founded by Wolsey, was the chief seat of Lutheranism. In the subterranean prisons of this College several died, others were burned, others expelled, some recanted. Wood, p. 250. Foxe, p. 128. In Cambridge several bishops thought that a visitation on account of heresy was needed in 1523, but it was prevented by Wolsey.

Burnet, i. 18.


The list of books forbidden by the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1526, is in Conc. M. Brit., iii. 707.—Another, 1529, in Jo. Foxe's Acts and Monuments of the Church, or the Book of Martyrs (Lond., 1669, fol. 2 vols.), ii. 294; and in Gerdes, iv., Monum., p. 199. A third, given us 1529, in Conc. M. Brit., iii. 719, in Gerdes, i. c., p. 194, must be later, for the Augsburg Confession is named in it.


10 Their Visitations; Gerdes, iv. 214.

11 Pentateuch and New Testament. Coehlaeus prevented the printing of it in Cologne, as was first intended; see his Comm. de Actis et Scriptis Lutheri, ad ann. 1526, p. 182. It was then issued in Antwerp, 1526, and was afterward reprinted several times, and brought to England by German traders; see Gerdes, Hist. Ref., iii. 107, iv. 205. Fox, Rerum in Eccl. gestarum, p. 138, relates that Cuthbert Tonstall, Bishop of London, to suppress it, bought up the first Antwerp edition, and thus gave to Tyndal the means of preparing a second improved edition. [Tyndal was burned at Vilforde, Holland, 1556.]

12 Burnet, i. 21 ss. Ranke's Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter d. Reform., iii. 16.

13 The older English historians take the ground that the proposals for divorce were made before the King became connected with Anne Boleyn (Burnet, i. 24); the Catholics (Lingard, vi. 131) say that his passion for her was the sole cause of the request. The reasons alleged for the divorce, see in the letter of Cardinal Wolsey, Dec. 5, 1527, to Gregorius Cassali, the English agent in Rome (Burnet, i., App., p. 9): A varia multisique Doctoribus asseritur, quod Papa non potest dispensare in primo gradu affinitatis,
riage null and void. The latter would gladly have yielded to the King, had this not forced him to declare the dispensation of his predecessor of no effect, and compelled him to offend the Emperor; and so he thought that he would let the King cool off by tedious processes of investigation. By the advice of Thomas Cranmer, the King thereupon laid the matter before all the Christian universities, in order thus to compel the Pope to pronounce judgment. Thereupon decrees were also issued to limit the papal power in England; and the English clergy willingly sacrificed the Pope to the King, in order to avoid the popular hatred, the disfavor of the

14 See the reports of Knigth, the King's secretary, sent from Rome, Jan. 1, 1528 (in Burnet, i., App., p. 18), according to which the dispensation was already conceded and drafted. But Gregorius Cassali, Jan. 13, communicated in the strictest confidence the secret advice of the Pope—quod Rex debet committere istic causam Cardinali,—et ubi causa fuerit commissa, si Rex conscientiam suam persensiat coram Deo exoneratam, et quod recta possit facere quod quaerit,—aliax uxorem ducat. In that case the affair must and would soon be adjusted. But still, against this proposal there was the doubt about the legitimacy of children born in such a marriage.

15 The two cardinals, Wolsey and Campeggio, handed to the Pope the investigation and result, Febr., 1528 (see the bull in Burnet, i., p. 20). But after he had become reconciled to the Emperor (Div. I., § 4, Notes 32 and 43) he called the case before him at Rome, July 19, 1529 (Burnet, i., c., p. 49). Ranke, iii. 131.

16 See there the reports of Knigth, the King's secretary, sent from Rome, Jan. 1, 1528 (in

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tyrannical monarch, and the Reformation. As the Pope still remained immovable, Henry, sustained by the opinions of the universities, determined to regard his previous marriage as void, and married Anne Boleyn, Nov. 14, 1532. To the papal ban he replied by declaring that the Pope had lost all authority in England (1534); and the oath of supremacy was administered, recognizing him as the head of the English Church.

18 Complaints in the Lower House about the morals and avarice of the clergy; see Raumer, ii. 22.—After the fall of Wolsey, October, 1529, the King had the whole clergy arraigned, because, in opposition to the old law of Praemunire (long since fallen into disuse), they acknowledged a foreign jurisdiction, sought for papal bulls, and had processes before the legate. To free themselves they had to make a large grant. It is said, in the document which makes this grant, of the Synodus provincialis Cantuariensis, 24. Jan., 1531 (Conc. M. Brit., iii. 742), that: Tanta sunt illustriissimae ejus Majestatis in nos merita, quod nullis laudibus equari—queant. Etenim sicut superioribus diebus universalem Ecclesiam—studioseissime calamo et sumtuosissimo bello contra hostes defendit;—sic impræseens quamplurimos hostes, maxime Lutheranos, in pertinemi Ecclesiæ et Cleri Anglicani, cjuis singularum protectorem unicum et supremum dominum, et quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam supremum caput ipsum Majestatem recognoeimus, conspirantes, ac in Praclatorum et Cleri famam et personas sparsis famosis libellis, mendacis et maledictis jampridem hoc animo debachentes, ut illorum asemificationem laederent, et vulgo contemnendos propagaret; sapientissima ejus Majestas—taliter contudit et represcit, quod illorum audacia coepit refregescere.—The Annates were forbidden by Parliament, February, 1532; confirmed by the King July 9, 1533: Burnet, i., App., p. 61. On Elizabeth Barton, the Maid of Kent, who had prophesied against the new marriage of the King, and was hung, April 20, 1534, with the priests who favored her, see Burnet, i. 67.

19 After the Pope had decided against Henry about the marriage, March 23, 1534 (Concill. Mag. Brit., iii. 769), the latter sent to all the spiritual corporations of his kingdom the question: An Romanus Pontifex habeat aliquam majorem jurisdictionem collatam sibi a Deo in s. Scriptura in hoc regno Angliae, quam aliis quibus externus Episcopus? The answers, sent in May and June, replied in the negative to all the questions: they are given in Burnet, iii. p. 59; Conc. M. Brit., iii. 769 ss.; those of the Convocations (provincial synods) of Canterbury and York, and of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, are the most noteworthy. Thereupon followed a royal edict, June 9, 1534, abolishing the usurped authority of the Pope (Conc. M. Brit., iii. 772); and the Parliament, Nov. 8, 1534, passed the Acts of Supremacy, reading (Stat. of the Realm, iii. p. 492, chap. 1. Thomas Morus by Rudhart, s. 442), "That the Kyng our Soveraign Lorde his heires and successours Kynges of this Realme shal be takyn accepted and reputed the onely supreme heed in erthe of the Churche of England called Anglicana Ecclesie." The formulæ then employed, see in Burnet, i., App., p. 74. Conc. M. Brit., iii. 780. Rymer, xiv. 487 ss. 554. The substance is: Loyalty to King Henry, in terris Ecclesiae Anglicanae supræmo immediate sub Christo capit, quod posthae nulli externo Principi aut Praefato, nec Romano Pontifici, quem Papam vocant, fidelitatem et obedientiam promittam aut dabo; Recognition of the royal marriage; further, quod Episcopus Romanus, qui in suis Bullis Papae nomen usurpat, et summi Pontificis primitum sibi arrogat, nihil majoris neque auctoritatis aut jurisdictionis habendus sit, quam caeteri quibus Episcopi in Anglia vel aliubi gentium in sua quosque dioecesi. Item quod soli dicto domino Regi et successoribus ejus adhaerēbimus, atque ejus decreta ac proclaminaiones, insuper omnes Angliæ leges—perpetuo manutenebimus, Episcopi Romani legibus, decretis et canonibus, si qui contra legem divinam et sacram Scripturam esse inuentur, imperpetuum renunciantes. Item quod nullus nostrum omnium in ulla vel pri-
Thus Henry VIII. broke loose from the Pope\(^{21}\) without acceding to the Reformation. He wished to form an English State-Church, with the scholastic and Catholic dogmas, in which the King should rule as Pope.\(^{22}\) The adherents of the Pope\(^{23}\) and the friends of the Reformation\(^{24}\) now, in turn, ascended the scaffold. All, through fear, bowed to the will of the despotic ruler. Here, too, opinions were divided only between the two great antagonisms of the times. Thus, even in the Court, there was a reforming and a papal party. At the head of those who wished to advance to a complete reformation were Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury since 1533, and Thomas Cromwell, since 1534 Regis Vicarius generalis in rebus ecclesiasticis.\(^{25}\) The leaders of the papal party were the Duke of Norfolk, and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who tried to hinder all innovations, so that at some future time they might more easily return to the old state of affairs. The Reforming party, supported by the Queen, Anne Boleyn, executed

\(^{21}\) To defend his revolt, Henry wrote, *De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis Ecclesiis contra Pontificis Tyrannidem et horribilem Impietatem* (which seems not to have been published: Gerdes, iv. 236); Ed. Foxe, Bishop of Hereford, *De Vera Differentia Regiae Potestatis et Ecclesiae*, 1534; Steph. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, *De Vera Obedientia* (Extracts in Schelhornii Amoenitates Hist. Eccl., i. 837). The King was most pleased with Rich. Sampsonis Oratio de dignitate et potestate Regis, 1535 (reprinted in Gerdes, iv., App., p. 148. All these writings are collected in the *Reformatio Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, quibus gradibus inchoata et perfecta sit. Lond., 1603, fol.). He sent it to his relative, Reginald Pole, then living in Italy, who, in reply, published the violent work, *Pro UnitatisecclesiasticaeDefensione*, 1535, and was made Cardinal for it, 1536. It appeared, Romae, 1539, fol.; an account of it in Schelhornii Amoenitates Hist. Eccl., i. 1 ss.

\(^{22}\) Compare the Preface of the King to the *Biblia Latina*, of which he had an edition published, 1535: *Nos itaque considerantes id erga Deum officii, quo suscepisse cognoscimus, ut in Regno sinus, sicut anima in corpore, et sol in mundo, utque loco Dei judicium exercemus in Regno nostro, et omnia in potestate habentes, quoad jurisdictionem, ipsam etiam Ecclesiam vice Dei sedulo regamus ac tueamur, et disciplineis aue, aut augeatur, aut solvatur, nos ei rationem redditturi simus, qui nobis eam creditid, et in eo Dei vicem agentes, Deique habentes imaginem, quid alium vel cogitare—potuismus, quam ut eodem confugemus, ubi certo discendum esset, caet. Coins, with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew inscriptions: Henricus VIII. Angliae Franc. et Hib. Rex in terr. Eccles. Angli. et Hib. sub Christo caput supremum. See Biblioth. Anglaise, xiv. 18 ss.

\(^{23}\) There were several monks, especially Carthusians; then Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, 22d June, 1535 (Burnet, i. 192); Thomas More, 6th July, 1535 (Rudhart's *Thomas More*, s. 398).

\(^{24}\) Joh. Fryth, burned in London (see above, Note 7), June 22, 1533. In 1536 twelve German Anabaptists were burned (Foxe, p. 144); in 1538 Jo. Lambert, for denying transubstantiation (Foxe, 146). [In 1538 the Sacramentarians persecuted. Harding and Hewett were burned.]

\(^{25}\) His powers in Conc. M. Brit., iii. 784.
May 19, 1536, and Jane Seymour, who died Oct. 24, 1537, easily gained the ear of the King against the monks, who were the most zealous adherents of the Pope. The cloisters were subjected to a visitation\(^26\) in 1535; the smaller ones were then confiscated;\(^27\) and at last, after a revolt, set on foot by some monks, 1536,\(^28\) they were all abolished,\(^29\) and their pious frauds exposed to the gaze of the people.\(^30\) To confirm the position that neither the papacy nor monasticism was instituted by Christ, the Bible was diffused in the mother tongue, 1538,\(^31\) and recognized as the only source of

\(^{24}\) Burnet, i. 105. Instructions for the Visitors, Conc. M. Brit., iii. 786. Burnet, i., App., p. 75.

\(^{27}\) Immediately after the Visitation many of the cloisters were given up to the King by their occupants. First, the cloister of the Premonstrants, in Langdon, the Abbot of which had been surprised in company with a prostitute. In the document, Nov. 13, 1535 (in Rymer, xiv. 555), the Abbot and Convent themselves declare: Domus—statum —considerantes, quod nisi celeri remedio Regia provisione huiu monasterio—brevi succurratur et provideatur, funditus in spiritualibus et temporalibus adnihiletur, dedimus et concessimus—Illustrissimo Principi—Henrico VIII.—dictum Monastcrium, caet. A list of cloisters given up in the same form (l. c., p. 557). In other deeds resigning the property it is said (Burnet, i., App., p. 86): Quandoquidem—serio perpendifmus, totam vivendi rationem, quam nos et Religio nostra hactenus observavimus,—potissimum in certis quibusdam ceremoniis et constitutionibus Episcopi Romani—consistere, illasque solummodo urgeri, nec veram legis divinae cognitionem ostendi,—submittentes nos ipsos potissimum extera Potestatibus, quibus nunquam curae erat eos corrigerere errores et abusus, qui nunc inter nos regnare deprehensii sunt, caet. Or: Quandoquidem—serio ad annum revovacimus, perfectionem vitae christianae non consistere in ceremoniis, tunc

ca alba, larvis, natationibus, gestatione cuculli, aliisque hujusmodi pontificis ceremoniis, quibus nos hactenus potissimum exercuimus; sed veram viam Deo placendi,—sincere nobis a domino nostro Jesu Christo, ejus Evangelisita, et Apostolis ostensam esse; nos imposterum cande secuturi, et ad voluntatem suprini nostri sub Deo in terrae capitii et Regis nos ipsos conformaturi, neque superstitionis potestatis alicius exteras traditiones observaturi,—renunciamus, caet. As a result of the decree of Parliament, 1536, for the suppression of monasteries that had less than twelve occupants (Burnet, i., 110), 876 were abolished.

\(^{28}\) First in the county of Lincoln; Burnet, i. 129.

\(^{29}\) In the form of resigning them; however, this was in part forced; Burnet, i. 133. The Parliament confirmed, in May, 1539, all these resignations (l. c., p. 146), and confiscated, in 1540, the property of the Johannite Order (p. 154).

\(^{30}\) Burnet, i. 136.

\(^{31}\) This had been already set on foot in 1534 (see Conc. Mag. Brit., iii. 776), and in 1536 (Burnet, i. iii.), by the provincial Synod of Canterbury, on the proposal of Cranmer. The publishing was at first begun in Paris, but destroyed before its completion (Sleidanus, l. xii., ed. am Ende, ii. 124); then again printed in London (Le Long Biblioth. Sacra, ii. 225). At the same time appeared a royal order (Burnet, i., App., p. 101. Gerdes, iv., App., p. 186) that the parish priests should so put up this English Bible in the churches that it could be read by all, and should exhort to the reading of it: its tamem ut sedulo monae, ut omnes vitent alterationes et litigia, atque in pervestigando vero sensu honesta utantur sobrietas, explicationemque loorum obscurorum viris in Scriptura sacra exercitatis relinquant. Every four months there must be preaching at least once in every church, in which should be proclaimed, pure et sincere verum Christi Evangelium, and the people exhorted—ad opera caritatis, misericordiae et fidei in
While the way was thus opening for the knowledge of a purer faith, the separation from Rome was made remediless by the bull of excommunication issued by Paul III., Dec. 7, 1538, who had hitherto refrained in the hope of yet gaining the King. Yet Henry was still very far behind the principles of the German Reformation; his relation to the German Protestant rulers was merely an external one, founded in their common interest against the Pope. By the bloody statute of July 28, 1539, limits were imposed upon the Reformation. A Catechism, The Institution of a Christian Man, 1537 (new edition, 1540), explained to the people the royal system of belief: all who went beyond

Scriptura mandata; and be taught—non fitendum esse in ulla alia hominum arbitrio extra Scripturas exegogatisa operibus, peregrinationibus religiosis, oblationibus nummorum, candelarum, vel cecemorum, imaginibus ac reliquis, vel carundem desoulations, recitatione certarum praece, cæst.

As early as 1536 Cromwell had proposed a Convocation in the name of the King (Burnet, i. 129), ut ritus et ceremoniae ecclesiasticæ ad normam Scripturarum sacrarum continerentur.— absurdum namque esse, potius ad glossas structuram, quam ipsum Scripturarum, quam sola religionis legis continet, recurrere. In consequence, Articles of Reformation were agreed upon by the Convocation, and modified and decreed by the King (Burnet, i. c.; Conc. M. Brit., iii. 817): I. All were to believe the Holy Scriptures and the three oecumenical symbols. II. Against the Anabaptists. III. Repentance consists in contritio, confessio, and emendatio vitae. With contrition must be joined faith in God's grace, so that the forgiveness of sin is not to be looked for from one's own merit, but from the merits of Christ. Priestly absolution and auricular confession are recognized. IV. Transubstantiation. V. Necessity of good works, which, however, are wrought within the soul by the Holy Ghost. VI. Images are means of edification, but are not to be worshiped. VII. From saints can not be received any thing that can not be received from God alone; their virtues are to be imitated, and they may be invoked for their intercessions, yet without superstition. VIII. Ritual and ceremonies of worship the people are to regard, not as necessary, but as useful. IX. To pray for souls in purgatory, and to clo the in the mass, and to give alms, is accordant with Christian love. But it is a superstition that papal indulgences and masses, read at certain places, are of any special avail there. [Comp. C. Hardwick, Art. Relig., new ed., 1859.]

It was made out Aug. 30, 1535 (Conc. M. Brit., iii. 792), but suspended and proclaimed Dec. 7, 1538 (l. c., p. 840). See it in Burnet, i., App., p. 93. The letter of the Smalcald confederates, Feb. 16, 1531 (Melanthonis Opp., ed. Bretschneider, ii. 477), he answered in a friendly way, referring to their errors, May 8 (Seckendorf Comm. de Luteranismo, iii. 18).—On the negotiations, 1535, 1538, see above, Div. I., § 7, Note 24.

Conc. M. Brit., iii. 848. Burnet, i. 145. Ranke's Zeitalter d. Reform., v. 158. It consisted of VI. Articles: I. Transubstantiation confirmed; II. Communion sub ullaque necessis; III. Priests, after consecration, can not marry, divina lego; IV. Vows of chastity, V. Private masses, and, VI. Auricular confession, are confirmed. Those who disobeyed these articles were to be punished, in most cases, by death and confiscation of property.—Comp. the opinion of the Wittenberg divines on this edict, Oct. 23, 1539, in Bretschneider, iii. 797; and Melancthon's letter, Nov. 1, to the King, by request of the Elector, full of the most earnest representations against—Edictum contra plam doctrinam at Ecclesiarum necessarium, quam profestumur, editum, l. c., p. 804. Seckendorf, iii. 226.

On the first edition, see Neal's Hist. Puritans, i. 83; on the second, wholly revised, Burnet, i. 159. (The theological controversy on the sacraments that here sprung up,
it,\textsuperscript{37} as well as those who did not come up to it, were executed;\textsuperscript{38} even Cromwell's head fell, July 20, 1540.\textsuperscript{39} Only Cranmer, under these difficult circumstances, was able to maintain the confidence of the King.\textsuperscript{40} The theological despot at first believed that by making the Scriptures free he would gain the convictions of the people in favor of his doctrines;\textsuperscript{41} but he soon found out his error, and limited the reading of them to those in high life, 1543.\textsuperscript{42}

In Ireland the ecclesiastical decrees of Henry were also proclaimed; but they met with invincible hindrances from the rude culture of the clergy and people, and the opposition of the latter to the English rule.\textsuperscript{43}

\section{27.

UNDER EDWARD VI. († JULY 6, 1553) AND MARY († NOV. 17, 1558).

Edward VI. came to the throne at the age of nine years. A regency was formed, with the Duke of Somerset, as Protector, at the head, in which the Reforming party had the majority.\textsuperscript{1} Cran-
mer called Peter Martyr and Bernh. Ochino\(^2\) to Oxford, 1547, and Martin Bucer and Paul Fagius to Cambridge, 1549, in order, with their help, to introduce the Reformation.\(^3\) The basis was laid in the Book of Homilies, 1547,\(^4\) the new English Liturgy (the Book of Common Prayer, 1548, revised 1552),\(^5\) and the Forty-two Articles, 1552.\(^6\) Catechisms\(^7\) were prepared for instruction in schools. As Cranmer went to work with great prudence, and endeavored, as far as possible, to harmonize the conflicting views, he did not

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\(^{1}\) Immediately after Henry's death images were taken down in many places, and the proceedings favored by those in high places; Burnet, ii. 6. In 1547 the Communion under both kinds was restored, and private masses abolished (i. c., p. 27). In March, 1547, a decree of Parliament allowed the marriage of priests, although pure celibacy was said to be much more appropriate for priests (p. 59); this was misinterpreted as though it meant that the marriage of priests was only connived at, while really invalid, and was met by a law of 1552, declaring such marriages legal, and the children born in marriage; p. 128. — The question about the Lord's Supper gave rise to much excitement. Henry VIII. had laid great stress upon transubstantiation; many had been executed for denying it. The question was now started in the two universities anew by the foreign divines. Peter Martyr taught Zwingle's doctrine; Bucer maintained an intermediate opinion, between Luther and Zwingle, resembling that of Calvin. The former held a disputation about it in Oxford, May, 1549; in Cambridge the disputation followed in June, 1549; Burnet, ii. 71.

\(^{2}\) Twelve homilies by Cranmer, Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, and Ridley, Bishop of Rochester; Burnet, ii. 18; Nichols, Defensio Eccl. Anglic., P. ii. c. 14, p. 926. [Cranmer probably wrote the 3d Homily, on the Salvation of Mankind; Gardinerascribed it to him, and he did not deny it. Becon and Hopkins also wrote a part; Becon wrote the 11th in three parts; see his Works. The best edition of the Homilies is by Professor Corrle, 1850.]

\(^{3}\) Burnet, ii. 47 ss., 102, 113. Neal's Hist. Puritans, i. 66. At first the vestments of the Catholic priests were retained; when Hooper, chosen Bishop of Gloucester 1550, refused to wear them, he was kept in durance for a time. The whole Liturgy, however, was subjected to a new revision, in which Bucer co-operated, especially by his Censura super Libro Sacrorum (in Eiusd. Scriptis Anglicis Basil., 1577, fol., p. 456). The result was given in the Second Prayer-book, 1552, by which the use of consecrated oil, prayers for the dead, auricular confession, and the sign of the cross, were abolished. From this time the clergy ceased to wear the vestments of Catholic priests.

\(^{4}\) Burnet, ii. 111. The Latin text, in App., p. 123 [in the German edition], is a new translation from the English, made by the translator of Burnet's work, who overlooked the fact that these Articles have an official Latin text, which is given in the Conc. Mag. Brit., iv. 73, and also, after a Zurich edition of 1553, in Niemeyer Collectio Confessiunum in Ecclesias Reform. publiceatarnm, p. 552.

\(^{5}\) Cranmer's Catechism, 1548 (Burnet, ii. 47), was the Catechism of Justus Jonas, translated into English (see Foxe, Ererum in Ecclesias gestarum Comm., p. 418), and therefore contains the Lutheran doctrine of the Eucharist, which Cranmer then received; see Fortges. Sammlung von A. u. N. theol. Sachen, 1781, s. 97. Köcher's Catechetische Geschichtede der Ref. Kirchen, Jena, 1758, s. 61. He afterward adopted the Calvinistic view, which is expressed in the XLII. Articles and the Catechism of 1553 (Ranke, Reform., v. 165). This last, the basis of the Church Catechism, was probably written by John Pointer, Bishop of Winchester, and was accepted by the King, May, 1553 (Conc. M. Brit. iv. 79); see Köcher, s. 67 ff.
fully satisfy any one party. However, he had against him not only many opponents, but also ecclesiastical abuses difficult to be eradicated. Besides, the people were not yet ripe for thorough

8 Calvin, who had made proposals to the Protector about a Reformation in a long epistle (Epistol., ed. Genev., 1575, p. 65; in the original French in Calvin's Leben, by Henry, Bd. 2, Beilagen, s. 26), wrote to Cranmer (Epist., p. 101): Conjecti sunt in te bonae partis ocult, vel ut tum motum sequantur, vel ut cessationis tuae praeextus torpeant. Atque utinam te duce aliquanto longius jam ante triennium progressi forent, ne tantum hodie negotii crasis superstititionibus tollendis ac certaminum restaret. Fas
tor equidem, ex quo serio reformavit Evangelium in Anglia, intra breve tempus non par

tvas accessiones esse factas. Verum si reputas, et quid adhuc desit, et quam nimis fuerit in multus rebus cessatum, non est quod remissius ad metat, quasi magna stadii parte

cuncta, properes,—ut libere loqnav, magnopere vereor,—ne tot cunctando transigian
tur autem, ut perpetuæ tandem biemis frigus succedat. Jam actas quo magis ingrav

cesit, acrius te stimulare debet, ne, si rebus confusis o mundo sit migrandum, magna
ter ex conscientia tarditatis anxietas constringat. Res confusas appello; quia sic cor
rectas sunt externae superstitiones, ut residui maneat innumerii surculi, qui assidue

pululent. Imo ex corruptelis Papatus audio relictam esse congeriam, quae non obscu
ret modo, sed propemodum obnubit purum et genuinum Dei cultum, coel. His opinion

on the English Liturgy is given, in a letter—ad Anglos Francorum, dd. 18. Jan.,

1555 (l. c., p. 168): In Anglicana liturgia, qualem describitis, multas video tol
rabiles ineptias. His duxius verbis exprimo, non fuisses cum puritatem, quae optanda

fuerat.

9 At their head was the Princess Mary; who held fast to her Catholic private worship (Burnet, ii. 68 s., 115 ss.), and the bishops Gardiner of Winchester, and Bonner of London. They insisted upon it that no changes should be made during the minority of the King (comp. on Mary, Burnet, ii. 26, App., p. 71). Bonner was deposed on this account in 1549 (Burnet, ii. 81), Gardiner in 1551 (l. c., p. 110).

10 See Epistola (Buceri) ad Calvinum, dd. Cantabrig. d. Pentec., 1550 (in Calvin

Epitst., p. 96): Res Christi hic quoque geritur, ut, nisi Dominus innocentissimum et re
ligiosissimum Regem et alios aliquot pios homines singulari respiciat clementia, valde
verendum sit, ne horrenda Dei ira brevi et in hoc Regnum exarascat. Inter Episcopos

hactenus de Christi doctrine convenire non potuit, multo minus de disciplina. Paucis

eae Parochiae idoneos habent Pastores, plerisque venundatae sunt Nobilissim.: sunt

etiam ex ecclesiastico Ordine, atque ex ilia quoque qui Evangelici videri volunt, qui tres

aut quatuor atque plures Parochias tenent, nec uni ministrant, sed sufficient sibi eos,

qui minimo se condici patiuntur, plerunque qui nec Anglice legere possunt, quique
corde puri puti Papistae sunt. Et Primores quidem regni multis Parochiae praecenderit

eos, qui in coenobis fuerunt, ut pensione eis persolvenda se liberarent, qui sunt indoc

tissimae, et ad sacram ministerium ineptissimae. Hinc inuenias Parochias, in quibus ali

quot annis nulla sit habita concio. Quid autem nudis edictis et remotione instrumento

rum superstitionem profici quidest ad regni Christi restitutionem, non ignoratque.

Utraque hic Academias habet multum egregia collegia.—Sed ea pridem inoluit convinentia, et hoc maxime tempora ita est corroborata, ut multo maxima pars collegarum sint vel acerbissimae Papistae, vel dissoluti Epicurei, qui quantum possunt juventutem ad sua

studia pertractent, et odio imbuunt sanae Christi doctrinae atque disciplinae. Atqui

nostri quoque adeo sunt parci conclomum suarum, ut per totam Quadragesimasem excepto

uno aut altero dominico die,—in die ipsa memoriae mortis Christi se etiam resurrectione

nis, neque hodie ullam populo concionem dederint. Interim plerique Parochorum sic

sacra recitant et administrant, ut populus tantundem de Christi mysteriis intelligat, at

que si adhuc Latina et non vernacula lingua uterentur. Cum vero de hac tam horrenda

Ecclesiarum deформitate quereias dehorruit a sancti hominibus ad regni Procere, di

cunt, his malis mederi esse Episcoporum: cum deferunt ad Episcopos Evangelium prid

dem professos, respondent illi, se ista emendare non posse, nisi publica regni constitutio
going reforms;\(^{11}\) preachers must first be trained, that through them the Reformation might strike its roots in men's minds.\(^{12}\) Cranmer was not permitted to complete his work by the introduction of the newly revised ecclesiastical statutes;\(^{13}\) for Edward VI. died, July 6, 1553, and all the hopes of the friends of the Reformation seemed to expire with him.

Mary, who succeeded, did not long keep the promise which she made on ascending the throne—not to use coercion in matters of religion.\(^{14}\) The married clergy were first dislodged. The Church was to be restored to the state in which it was at the end of the reign of Henry VIII.\(^{15}\) Union with Rome was again effected;
Reginald Pole appeared as the papal nuncio in Sept., 1554; and the Queen was married to the fanatical Philip II., King of Spain, in July, 1554. With the year 1555 began such a terrible persecution of the Reformation, that even Pole thought it unwise. Cranmer fell a victim, in Oxford, March, 1566; thousands fled to avoid death. The death of Mary, Nov. 17, 1558, introduced a new order of things.

§ 28.

UNDER ELIZABETH († APRIL 8, 1603).

The bloody persecutions under Mary had by no means increased the love for the papacy; yet it was a great task which Elizabeth undertook when the highest authority in the Church was committed to her by the Parliament, in February, 1559. Professing to desire full freedom of conscience, she yet believed that an external ecclesiastical conformity might be attained without doing violence to it; and such a uniformity seemed to her to be necessary to the well-being of the state. And so she had the Liturgy of Edward VI. made more acceptable to the Catholics by some alterations; and by the Act of Uniformity, June, 1559, made it

1. The decrees which Pole drew up for the direction of this reformation, see in Conc. M. Brit., iv. 792. Libri duo D. Reginald Poli. Primus liber de concilio agit, alter de Reformacione Angiae sancta et huic asetati valde commoda decreta descriptit. Dilingae, 1562. 8., p. 172.

2. Chiefly under the lead of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester and chancellor, who, however, died Nov. 12, 1555, and still more of Bonner, Bishop of London. The larger part of Foxe's Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum Comm., Basil., 1559, is devoted to the account of this persecution, from p. 215.

3. Foxe, p. 708 ss. There, too, Bishops Ridley, of London, and Latimer, of Worcester, had been already (1555) burned at the stake; Foxe, p. 705; Burnet, ii. 209. Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, was burned in Gloucester, February 8, 1555; Foxe, p. 279; Burnet, ii. 199. Under Mary from 300 to 400 persons were executed on account of religion [28 were burned at the stake]; Raumer's Gesch. Europas, ii. 98.

4. Neal, i. 171.
binding on all the churches of the kingdom. Most of the Catholics did, in fact, conform, even the majority of the lower Catholic clergy; but the bishops could not well assent to an order of things which they had just been persecuting, and they were deposed. Matthew Parker, the former teacher of the Queen, became Archbishop of Canterbury, and the ecclesiastical father of the subsequent English episcopate. In respect to doctrine, full freedom

3 Of 9400 clergy, their benefices were lost by 14 bishops, 15 heads of ecclesiastical corporations, 50 canons, and about 80 priests: see Neal, i. 192. Raumer’s Gesch. Europ., ii. 428.—Cf. Nic. Sandei (Saunders, canonist in Oxford, left England, 1560, in order to work for the Pope in regaining his fatherland, died in 1583), De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani, lib. iii. (Colon., 1585. 8., by Ed. Rishton, also an English Catholic priest and missionary, † 1595, who added the third book; often reprinted. I use the edition of Gedanus, 1698. 8.) lib. iii., p. 509: Praeter plurimos ex Optimatis praecipuis—pars major inferioris nobilitatis erat plane catholica; plebejique quoque, qui agriculturam per totum regnum exercerant—novitatem inprimis detestabantur: nee regni illius provinciae aliae, quam quae sunt prope Londinum et solum, nec civitates fere, nisi maritimae,—ultra haeresim amplexabatur. Praeter istos ergo licet caeteri fere essent corde Catholici, tamen putabant aliquosque in exteriori vita et obedientium legibus, et regiae voluntati cedendum; et si quid in ea re peccaret, id tribuendum Principi vel Magistratu, et non sibi, qui judicabant se utcumque hac necessitate excusari. Venerunt quoque in hanc ipsam sententiam nonnulli ex inferiori Clero Presbyteri et Parochi, Ecclesiarumque cathedralium vel collegiarum Canonic; non pauci, qui ex missis sectam damnabant, et aliquiduit etiam a faciendis istis novis officis propter conscientiam abstinebant. Sed cum Elizabethe paulo post—visitacionem Cleri fecisset, et in Parochis, quibus parliamentarios in Parochiis suis—non obibant, diligentis inquisivisse; plurimi metu amissionis bonorum et officiorum ad nova ista sacra se accommodabant. Atque ita vel vi vel arte factum est, ut maxima Catholicorum pars usque adeo his primis initibus—hostibus paulatim cederet, ut Schismaticorum Ecclesias, conciones, communione ac conventicula aliquamque publico adire adessent. Ita tamen, ut interim Missas secreto domi per eosdem seepae Presbyteros, qui adulterina haereticorum sacra in templis publice peragebant, aliquando per alios non ita schismatico contaminatos, celebrari curarent, saepque et mensae Domini, ac calcis Daemoniae, hoc est sacrosanctae Eucharistiae et coenae Calvinsae, uno codemque die, illo lucubri tempore participes fierent. Imo quod magis mirum ac miserum erat, Sacerdos nonnumquam prius rem sacram domi faciens, deserbat pro Catholicis, quos ipse desiderare cognoverat, hostias secundum formam ab Ecclesia usitatam consecrata, quas eosdem tempore liadem dispensabat, quo pane haereticorum ritu consecratos caeteris catholicae fidel minus studiosal distribuebat.

4 He was consecrated by bishops driven away under Mary, December 17, 1559, in the chapel of Lambeth Palace. His consecrator was Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells, who had been himself consecrated under Henry VIII., and now, returned from his exile in Emden, was appointed Bishop of Chichester. Three bishops assisted him. The validity of this ordination, not sanctioned by the Pope, nor made according to the Roman rite, was at once contested in numerous Catholic controversial writings published in Belgium against the English Church. But the Jesuit, Christopher Holywood (De investigatione Vera et Invisibil Christi Ecclesia, Antwerp, 1604, p. 68), first related the sorry fable that Parker and the other bishops, not being able to get a bishop, were not consecrated, but appointed in a ridiculous manner to the office, by an apostate monk, at the Nag’s-Head Tavern in Cheapside. In spite of all the refutations from authentic documents, this calumny was often repeated by Catholic writers; and when P. F. Le Courayer defended the validity of the English ordinations (Dissertation sur la Validité des
of conscience was allowed to the laity; the clergy, in convocation, adopted as the doctrinal basis the XXXIX. Articles, reduced from the XLII. of Edward VI., January 23, 1563; this was not confirmed by Parliament until April, 1571. Thus was formed the Episcopal Church of England—an attempt to separate from the errors of the Romish Church without giving up the Catholic priesthood. In consequence of this it came into a wavering medium between Catholicism and Protestantism, now recognizing the Holy Scriptures as the only source of doctrine, and again seeing itself forced to concede a lawgiving authority to the tradition of the older Church.

Since no change could be effected in the course of ecclesiastical affairs, either by papal threats or papal promises, Pius V. at

OrdinationsAngloisetsurlaSuccessiondesEvêquesde l'Eglise Anglicane, à Bruxelles; really at Nancy, 1723. 8.), he was so persecuted by the Jesuits that he had to take refuge in England. See Relation hist. et apologétique des sentiments et de la conduite du P. le Courayer, 2 T., à Amsterdam, 1729. 8. Olaï Kiiomngii Comm. qua nobissimis Controversia de Consecrationibus Episcoporum Anglicorum recensetur et judicatur. Helmutadii, 1739. 4. [Comp. Palmer on the Church, vol. ii.; S. Seabury, Continuity of Church of England, New York, 1853; Brown's Story of the Ordination Examined, 1731.]

7 See these Articles in Bentham's England. Kirch-u. Schulenstaat, 2te Aufl., s. 170, where the deviations from the XLII. Articles are also noted; and in Niemeyer Collectio Confessionum, p. 601. Cf. Neal's Hist. of Puritans, i. 217. [Cf. Hardwick, u. s.]

8 The law of Parliament made subscription to the Articles binding only on the clergy; and so they appeared, too, in 1571, under the title, Articuli, de quibus conventit inter Archiepiscopos et Episcopos utriusque Provinciae et Clerum universum in Synodo, Londin. 1662, secundum computationem Eccl. Anglicanae, ad tollendam opinionem dissensionem, et consensum in vera Religionem firmandum. Neal, p. 327.

9 (Jochmann's) Betrachtungen über den Protestantismus. Heidelberg, 1826. 8., s. 206. At first the episcopal constitution was defended as a wise human order; Dr. Bancroft, chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury, first preached, in 1588, that bishops were superior to presbyters jure divino, but was very generally opposed. Even Archbishop Whitgift rather desired than believed the truth of this doctrine (Neal, i. 605). Under James I. it became predominant in the English Church. [On the constitution and doctrinal position of the Church of England, see Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity; Bull's Vindication; Stillingfleet's Protestant Religion; Burnet on the XXXIX. Articles; Pearson on the Creed; Vener on XXIX. Articles, 2 vols. 8vo, 1794; Archbishop Lawrence, Hampton Lectures for 1804; Todd's Inquiry into the Declarations of the Reformers, 8vo, 1818; Archbishop Secker on the Catechism, 2 vols. 8vo, 1769; Archbishop Potter on Church Government, edited by Crossthwaite, 8vo, 1839; Daubeney's Guide to the Church, 3 vols. 8vo, 1799; W. Palmer, Treatise on the Church, 2 vols. 8vo, 1838; Tracts for the Times, Oxford, passim, etc.]

10 Raynaldi, Ann. Eccl. ann. 1559, No. 2; Elisabetha—cum suam in Regno successionem—significasset Paulo Pontifici, ille, ut erat juris pontificii sutor adversum, respondit, Regnum Angliciae beneficiarium esse sedis apostolicae, nec ipsam ob impedi- menta natatul, jurisque controversiam Regni administrationem sese apostolicae incon- sulta jure corrupere potuisse, eamque est hortatus, quo rite omnis fierent, ut se pontificio arbitrio permitterent, paternique in eam animi nulla officia praetermissum iuri. Pius IV., the successor of this fanatical Paul IV., was a moderate man, and at once struck a dif-
length pronounced sentence of ban and deposition upon Elizabeth, April 27, 1570. Seditious writings came forth in great numbers from the English colleges that had been founded in several Catholic countries, and from zealous priests, to produce an effect in England in favor of Catholicism and of Mary Stuart. These rebellious measures were opposed by severe laws; Mary Stuart atoned for her participation in them with the forfeit of her life, February 16, 1587.

Unhappily, a lamentable division also grew up in the English Church itself. Among the English who had been burned at the stake under Mary's rule, many had come to love the simple Cal-
vinistic cultus;¹⁷ those who imbibed from them these opinions could not now be satisfied with the English church government and liturgy, and took special offense at the retaining of the vestments of the Catholic priests.¹⁸ The most active and zealous preachers

¹⁷ W. Chlebus, die Dissenters in England, in Niedner's Zeitschrift f. d. hist. Theol., 1848, i. 80. There was a controversy in Frankfort, 1554–56, in the Maine, among the English exiles, whether they should use in their church the Liturgy of Edward VI. or a service like that of the other Reformed churches; see Neal, p. 135. The Calvinistic party thereupon formed a Church in Geneva, elected John Knox preacher, adopted the Geneuese forms of worship, which they set forth in the book, The Service, Disciplins, and Form of Common Prayers, and administration of Sacraments used in the English Church of Geneva, 1556. Neal, p. 141.—[The English Liturgy was adopted by artifice; cf. Troubles in Frankfort, etc. Zurich Letters, published by Parker Society.]

¹⁸ See the points in controversy in Neal, i. 177. The Puritan Lor. Humphrey represents them to the Zurichers as follows (Burnet, iii., App., p. 384): Aliquot maculae, quae in Ecclesia Anglicana adhuc haercnt. 1. In precibus publicis, eti nihil impurum, est tamen species aliqua superstitionis Papisticae. Quod non modo in matutinum et vespers, sed in sacra etiam Coena videre est. 2. Praeter musicae sonos fractos et exquisitisimos Organorum usus in templis invaselt. 3. In administratione Baptismi Minister infante ali quorit: ejus nomine sponsores parente absente de fide, de mundo, carne, Diabo bordero respondent; baptizatus cruce signatur. 4. Mulierculis etiam domi baptizandë potestas facta est (baptism in extremis). 5. In Coena dominica sacrae vestes, nempa Cappa et Superpelliceum, adhiventur; communicantibus genuflexio in jungitur; pro pane communì placentula azyma substituitur. 6. Extra templum et Ministir in universum singulis vestes Papisticae prescibuntur, et Episcopis suum lineum, rochetum vocant, gestant, et utrique pileos quadros, lilippia, togas longas a Papista mutuo sumptas circumferunt. 7. De nervo autem Religionis, disciplina, quid dicemus? Nulla est, nec habet suum virgam Ecclesia nostra: nulla censura exercetur. 8. Conjugium Ministir Ecclesiæ, publicis Regni legibus, concessum et sancitum non est; sed eorum liber a nonnullis pro spurii habentur. 9. Solennis desponsatio fit more rituque Papistico per annum. 10. Mulieres adhuc cum velo purificantur (after lying in). 11. In regimine Ecclesiastico multa antichristianae Ecclesiæ vestigia servantur. Ut enim olim Romae in foro Papae omnia fuerunt venalia; sic in Metropolitani Curia eadem fere omnia prastant: pluralitates Sacerdotiorum, licentia pro non residiendo, pro non initando Sacris, pro eos carnium diebus interdictis et in quadragesima, quo etiam tempore, nisi dispensetur et numeretur, nuptias celebrare piaculum est. 12. Ministir Christi libera praecidandë potestas adempta est. Qui jam concionari volunt, hi rituum innovationem suader non debent, sed manus subscriptione ceremonias omnes approbare coguntur. 13. Postremo, articulis de spirituali manudicatione, qui disertis verbis opopugnabat et tollebat realem praesentiam in Eucharistia, et manifestissimam continetate veritatis explanationem, Edwardi VI. temporibus excusus, nunc apud nos evulgatur mutilatus et truncatus. (This refers to an omission in the 28th Article, by which, however, the doctrine is not altered.) Cf., in reply, the letters of the bishops of London and Winchester to Bullinger and Walter, in Zurich, February 6, 1567, i. c., p. 841. They deny some charges, concede others, and promise to keep in mind a gradual abrogation. They further say that up to that time only the priests' vestments had been in dispute: Semina controversiae nostrae haec est: nos tenemus, Ministros Ecclesiæ Anglicæ sine impetiute uti posse vestium discriminate publica auctoritate jam præscripto, tum in administratione sacra, tum in usu externo, praesertim cum ut res indifferentes proponuntur, tantum proper ordinem ac debitam legibus obedientiam usurpari jubentur, et omnis superstitionis cultus ac necessitas, quod ad conscientias attinet, opinio—omnino condemnetur. Illi contra clamitant, vestes haœ in numerum των διάφορων jam hundquaquam esse adscribendas, impleas esse, papisticas, ac idoliolatricas: et propter omni-
were among the Puritans, or Non-conformists, the very men who had been chiefly instrumental in disseminating the doctrines of the Reformation among the people; for among the rest of the

bus piis uno consensu Ministerio cedendum potius, quam cum ipsis panniculatis papistis, sic enim loquantur, Ecclesiae insinuare: licet doctrinam sincerissimam praedicandi nec non omnino errores seu absurdis sive in ritibus, sive in doctrina, sive in sacramentis, sive in moribus, per sanam doctrinam subaccusandi, exagitandi, condemndandi summam habemus libertatem. Bullinger had previously (Tiguri Cal. Maji., 1566) advised the Puritans, who had put to him questions about the vestments, to be pliable (l. c., p. 325): Si in ritibus nulla est superstition, nulla impietas, urgentur tamen et impotens bonis Pastoribus, qui malent illos sibi non imponi: dabo sane, et quidem ex abundanti, onus et servitutem ipsa imponi; sed non dabo ideo justissimis ex causis, Stationem vel Ministerium propterea esse deserendum, et locum cedendum lupis,—vel ineptioribus Ministeris. Worthy of note is the following question proposed to him, and his answer: An in reformatis Ecclesiis a Principe praescribendum in ceremonias sine voluntate et libero consensu Ecclesiasticorum? Resp. Si voluntas Ecclesiasticorum semper sit expectanda Principi, nunquam forte sapiensissimi et piissimi Reges, Asa, Ezechias, Josaphat, et Josias, alioque Principes boni Levitas et Minstros Ecclesiariun redigissent in ordinem. Quamvis nolim prorsus exclaudi Episcopos a consultationibus Ecclesiasticorum, nolim rursus eam sibi potentiam vindicare, quam sibi usurparunt contra Principes et Magistratus in Papati, nolim item tacere Episcopos, et consentire ad iniquas Principum institutam. The bishops had this opinion of Bullinger printed and diffused, to injure the Puritan cause. Bullinger, on the representation of the Puritans, complained of this, because he had spoken only of the priests' vestments, that being the only point of difference that he then knew about, and now his declarations were applied to all the points in controversy; see his letter to Lord Bedford, 11th September, 1566 (l. c., p. 387): Audimus enim jam non de solo vestitu apud vos contendi, sed innumer multa alia obtestation obtestationem, qua nullo Papam redolent, ioni in Antichristi schola primus fabricata sunt, et proinde salva pietate recipi aut dissimulare non possunt. Beza, too, on the appeal of the Puritans, gave an opinion in this matter, dd. Genevae, 24. Oct., 1567 (Epistolarum theologicae Th. Bezæ Vezélii liber uus. Genevae, 1573. 8., p. 108). He disapproved of all these usages, but advised that they should be borne with, since they were not per se impia et idololatrica: suademus Pastoris, ut postquam et coram Regia Majestate et apud Episcopos suas conscientias modesta quidem,—et tamen gravi—obtestatione liberantur, aperte quidem apud suos greges ea inculcent, quas ad tollendum hoc officio cultern pertinent, et in istorum etiam absusum emendationem, prudenter simul ac placide,—incumbant: sed ista tamen, quae mutare non possunt, ferant potius, quam Ecclesiis ob eam causam deserere, majoribus et periculose horis malis occasionem Satanas nihil alius quaerent praebent.—Sin vero Ministis non tantum ut ista tolerent, praeceptur, sed etiam ut ea tanquam recta vel chirurgi comprobert, vel suo silendo foveant: quid alium suadere possimus, quam ut de sua innocentia testati, et omnis remedii in timore Dei expert, manifesta evilentiae cedant? At last the earnest exhortation to all, Anglicarum Ecclesiis fratres, ut omnii animorum exacerbatio deposita (quae sane verumur ut utrinque hoc malum vehementer auxerit), salva manente doctrinæ ipsis veritate, et sana conscientia, aliis aliis patienter ferant, Regiae Majestati clementissimæ et omnibus Praesulis suis ex animo obsequuntur, Satanæ deinde occasiones omnes tumultuum et infinitarum calamitatum quaerant, animis in Domino concordiis, etiam non statim idem de quibusvis sentiant, constantier obedient. He made the most earnest representations to the Bishop of London, Edward Grindal, dd. 5 Cal. Juliias, 1566 (l. c., p. 79). There, too, he says, p. 87: Denique quo tandem jure, sive Dei verbam, sive veteres omnes canones species, vel civilis Magnatuti per se liceat constitutam jam Ecclesis novos aliquos ritus superinducere, aut veteres abrogare: vel Episcopis absque sul presbyteril judicio ac voluntate quicquam novi ordinare fas sit, ego quidem nondum didici.
clergy the inactive or incompetent holders of livings and the secret Catholics had the majority.\textsuperscript{19} As the measures against the Non-conformist clergy became more strict, and many of them were deposed, they began, in 1566, to form a separate church organization according to Calvinistic principles,\textsuperscript{20} with which, however, many of the clergy and laity were secretly connected, who still remained formally in the Episcopal Church. The rupture between the parties became much wider after the Non-conformists had been imprisoned\textsuperscript{21} in 1592, and after the doctrines respecting the Sabbath and election had been brought into discussion, 1595,\textsuperscript{22} in addition to matters of external order. Yet Puritanism still continued to have one foot in the Church; and it was the most living principle in it, constantly attracting the noblest minds, and thus showed that, in altered circumstances, it might become the ruling system in the English Church.

On the other hand, the fanatical Robert Brown embraced Calvinism in such a harsh form that, from 1580, he preached against the English Church as a false Church, and declared that a completely democratic constitution was alone scriptural.\textsuperscript{23} Although

\textsuperscript{19} Neal, i. 419, 446, 579.

\textsuperscript{20} Neal, i. 281. [Dispersion at Plumber's Hall, 1576.] In 1572 was secretly formed the first Puritan Church in Wandsworth, a village not far from London, and a presbytery was chosen; Neal, i. 868. A secret Presbyterian church constitution was soon disseminated, and the churches united in Classes (presbyteries), particularly in Essex, Northamptonshire, etc.; and great numbers of the clergy of the Episcopal Church were privately connected with them; Neal, i. 421, 598. [This Presbytery at Wandsworth was of ministers: no separate Church was formed. See Hopkins, Puritans, ii. 265, Note.]

\textsuperscript{21} Acts of Parliament, that all who obstinately refused to attend public worship, or led others to do so, should be imprisoned and submit, or, after three months, be banished (1592); Neal, i. 663. [Admonition to Parliament, 1572, defended by John Cartwright against Archbishop Whitgift, 1573–77; and Cartwright was driven abroad. Grindal, Archbishop Parker's successor, was mild toward the Puritans. Prophecysings of the clergy (1576) were put down by force, and Grindal was sequestered. Whitgift (1588–1604) enforced uniformity, and revived the High Court of Commission. Martinus Prelate Tracts (1588), ascribed to Perry, Throgmorton, Udal, and Fenner; bishops and Book of Prayer fiercely assailed.]

\textsuperscript{22} The Presbyterians applied the Mosaic Sabbath laws to the Christian Sunday (Neal, i. 707); while the Episcopalians of that period made use of Sunday especially for recreation and sports, Neal, i. 478. Calvinistic particularism was first opposed, after Arminius led the way, by Barret, in Cambridge (Neal, i. 710); but he had to recant, as the English Church still held fast to Calvin's Institutes. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Whitgift), on the other hand, had strict Calvinism laid down in the so-called Lambeth Articles (the Nine Articles of Lambeth); but these were suppressed, as they never received the royal assent (Bentham's Engel. Kirche, s. 521 ff.); among the Episcopalians many were Armenians, and only the Puritans were strict Calvinists.

\textsuperscript{23} Neal, i. 457. Staudlin's u. Taschner's Archiv für Kirchengesch., ii. iii. 564. H. F. Uhden's Gesch. d. Congregationalisten in Neu-England bis 1740 [translated under
he himself afterward returned to the Church, and though his followers fared the hardest, yet his doctrine met with great success, and soon numbered thousands of adherents (Brownists, Independents, Congregationalists), who renounced all fellowship with the Episcopal Church. A fanatical Anabaptist party, the Familists, resembling the Jorists, never attained to any importance.

§ 29.

UNDER JAMES I. († APRIL 6, 1625), AND CHARLES I. (EXECUTED JANUARY 8, 1649).


James I., long since restive under the restrictions imposed upon him in Scotland by the sombre and mistrusting Presbyterianism,


24 Their preachers were Elias Thacker and John Copping, hung in 1583; Neal, i. 474. In 1593 one of their congregations was broken up, and about 56 persons put in prison (Neal, i. 667), and their leaders, Barrowe and Greenwood, hung; ibid., p. 688 [also Udal and Penry. There were 20,000 in England in 1668].

25 Many fled to Holland, and there founded churches; there Robinson, who had estab- lished a church at Leyden (see Kist in the Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerk. Gesch., viii. 869), became their leader. [Some of them] took the name of Independents; Uden, p. 23. Many of these emigrated to New England, in America; Neal, i. 707; Standlin u. Tschirner's Archiv, ii. iii. s. 571; Udden, p. 83. [Jos. Hunter's Historical Collections, 2d ed., 1854. Robinson's church in England was at Scrooby; his church at Leyden had three hundred communicants. J. Smith had another English church at Amsterdam.]

26 Their founder, Henry Nicholas (Niclas), came to England in the last year of Ed- ward VI.; Elizabeth issued a strict law against them. James I., in the Prooemium to the BaculioΛDσρος Αναβαπτιστικόν, called them infamem Anabaptistarum sectam, quae familia amoris vocatur. Comp. Baumgarten's Gesch. der Religionsparteien, s. 1065; Walch's Religionsstreitigkeiten ausser der Luther. Kirche, iv. 940. On the Jorists, see Div. I., § 24, Note 14.

1 His view of the Scottish Reformation, in the BaculioΛDσρος Αναβαπτιστικόν ad Henricum filium, lib. ii. (Jacob M. Brit. Regis Opera edita ab Jac. Montacuto, Lond., 1619, fol., p. 147): Religionis in Scotia reformatione non sine arcano numinis auxilio peracta fuit: tam multa in populari tumultu, et rebellionis civium perturbate facta fuere ab illis, qui suis indul- gentes affectibus Deli opus nescientes promovebant:—et haece omnia absque Principis
imagined that upon the English throne he would find, both in Church and State, a really unlimited royalty,2 based upon the prin-

1jussu.—Hic e ministerio homines nonnulli praecipites, ignei, audaces in hac humana-

divum dominacionum dulcedine coeperint democraticam Reipublicae formam sibi somniare : et pri-

mo aviae, deinde matris meae subversione elati (et nimium sane bandlebatur ii successua) postero pümillari mea setate ad democratiae suae stabilimentum diu abusi, jam potestatem tribunitiam spe certa devoravert: ut in populare republica, cum ple-

bem quo vellent facile circumducere, omnium negotiorum momenta soli temperarent.

—Crebræ adversus me in tribunitiiis concionibus calamumiae spargebantur: non quod crimen aliquid designassem, sed quia Rex eram, quod omni crimen pejus habebatur. Ac quoniam hanc odii causam palam profiteri pudor erat, sollicitic in vitam meas mo-

resque inquirebant, minima quaque errata augentes in immensum, rumoribus etiam falsia ad calumniam arreptar. —Consilia, quae tanto studio tegebant, suo prodebant indi-

cio, nempe omnes Reges et Principes Ecclesiae liberae latisse inimicos, et jugum Christi non ferre sequinimiter: hac doctrinae salubritate suos illi greces pescabant. —Homenes

factiosi unam furorem sui præsidium in paritate collocabant, qua fleti homines improbi, audaces, imperiti pios, sapientes et modestos redarguerunt. Est haec paritas mater confu-

sionis, inimica unitatis, quae est ordinis parens: quod genus si, ut in Ecclesia ita quo-

que in Republica obtineret, omnia certi misericordia necesse foret. Si utramque ames, ex utraque pestem hanc egere, Puritanos inquam, quos nec beneficia devincias, nec jure-

jurando fidos facias, nec promissia constringas: sine modo ambitiosus, sine causa male-

dicos, nec quicquam spirantes nisi seditiones et calumnias: quibus unus conscientiae reg-

gula est, non divini verbi auctoritas, sed commentorum suorum vanitas. Testor illum

magnum Deum, nuncum inter Montanos aut limitaneos nostros latrones majorem in-

gratitudinem aut perfidiam reperiri posse, quam inter hos fanaticos nebulones: nec pa-

tere, si pacate vivere decretaveris, ut hi eadem terram patria fruantur. —Una est contra hanc pestem cautio, si e Ministerio viros doctos et plous—ad Episcopatus, aliosque in Ec-

clesia honores selegere, pudenda illa Annexationis lege (Coresent), nisi mea opera an-

tiquam invenerint, abrogata. —Ita subratis fundamenti non modo imaginariam illum paritatem evertes, quae cum legitima administrazione Ecclesiae, aut Reipublicae pace, aut Monarchiae bene instituta legibus nunquam conveniat; sed etiam in regni comitis antiquum illum trium ordinum honorem restitues, id quod aliter fieri omni non potest.

Ego tibi hac in re (si Deus dederit) viam praemium: tu, quod reliquum erit, iisdem vestigia persequerere. —Ad summam, tibi de ordine ecclesiasticum consultum velim, ut bonum pastorem impense diligas, superbum Puritanum impense oderis, nec ullum titu-

llum splendidiorum putes, quam ut Ecclesiae nutritiis salutem.

* James’s address to Parliament in 1609 (Opp., p. 524): Nihil est in terris, quod non sit infra Monarchiae fastigium. Nee enim soli Dei vicarii sunt Reges, Deique throno insident, sed ab ipso Deo Deorum nomine honorantur. —P. 526: Regum, qui ab initio aut bellia aut electionis jure praerant, arbitria pro legibus erant: ut primum autem hum-

manitate et prudentia civilis firmari cooperint regna, Reges etiam legibus mentem suam exponere cooperent, quae rogantur a populo, sed a Regibus solius proprii feruntur, itaque auctoribus vim habent. Atque ita Rex exsatis lex loquens. —Quisquis igitur in regno composito suoque deque habet leges suas, Regis nomen amittit, et in tyrannum degener-

rat. —P. 527: Quemadmodum—apud Theologos blasphemia est, quid Deus possit, inqui-

rere, licet autem vestigare, quid velit: —ita quid Rex supreme potestatis suae vi possit facere, nemo subditus nisi seditiosus inquirat: iti justi Regis est, si divinam iram vitare cupiat, notam facere populo voluntatem suam. Non patior disputandi materiam fieri potestatem meas, at factorem meorum causas indicare, esque omnia ad leges exigere semper utique paratus sum. —Ejusdem, Aus liberae Monarchiae (Opp., p. 184): Quum omnibus Christianorum regnis tanquam exemplar quodam proponi debeat Monarchia Judaica, quae ab ipso Deo instituta nullas leges habuit, nisi divino editas oraculo, cur, obsecro, turbulenti et factiosi homines in Christianorum Principum regnis libertatem
ciples of the Episcopal Church. Accordingly, he turned his face to Episcopacy. The Catholics expected, indeed, too much favor from the son of a martyred queen; after the Gunpowder Plot (1605) they were forced to forswear the doctrine that the Pope was supreme above crowned heads. However, after this perilous

sibi věndicent, quae Dei populo non debebatur? præsertim cum nullius unquam Regis major fuerit enormitas aut superbia, quam populo Israelitico hic praedicta est (1 Sam., viii. 9 ss.).—Nunquam legimus suadentibus Propheticus, quantumvis in impium, fuisse olia a populo rebellatum.

3 James's first address to Parliament, 19th March, 1604 (Opp., p. 489): Adveniens unam in Anglia religionem publicam et probatam lege, quam et ipsa profiteor, offendi: at altera in ejus visceribus latere mihi visa est, praeter sectam quandam occultam. Prima vera est et orthodoxa religio, qua mihi semper cordi fuit, et jure regni meruit sola obtinere. Secunda est, quae injuste nomen usurpat catholicæ, cum sit papistica. Tertia, quae magis secta est, quam religio, Puritanorum est et Novatorum, qui non tam sive distinguuntur a nobis, quam politicae specie, nempe omphlicatæ paritas studio, et potestats superioris impatientia, praesentisque Ecclesiae regiminis odio, unde fit, ut in bene constituta Republica intolerabiles sint.—Romanam Ecclesiam Ecclesiæ agnosco matrem, erroribus tamen et corruptelis inquinatam, quales erant Judæi cum Christianum crucifgerent. The laws against Catholics are to be examined, quo demum pacto—dubitatio omnis tollit possit, si forte severius, quam legislator mens erat, haec leges a judicibus fuissent exercitæ, aut ista conscriptae, ut insontibus pariter ac sinitibus noceant. Die moderati et pacis publicae amantes unter dem Kathol. Laien sollen geschont werden. Ego auctor non esse ut mentis errores, quos divinae emendationi par est commendare, luant corporibus.—De Clericis vero hoc sine circutione eloquar, ni duas res, quarn alteram docent, alteram faciunt, prorsus ejunrarunt, merito ex hoc regno exculare. Docendo, fastuosaum illum Romani Pontificis primatum citra modum extollunt: illum non modo esse christianum orbis spirituale caput, verum etiam (si Diis placet) in Reges et Imperatores potestatem habere civilem plane et imperatoriam:—faciendo autem, publicum merentur odium, dum sua aut aliena manu Reges occidunt, sibiique laudis ducent, quod in suo quoque Principes, pontificio damnatos anathemate, nihil hostile omittunt, subditos ab omni fidelitatis sacramento liberant, et regna τραλλαφι Monarchæ vel monstro potius, ipsorum capitii, in justam praedam exponunt. Pluribus hic opus non est: utinam nive ille dies mihi luceat, quoe omnes Christiani posita pertinacia ad extremis recedant, et in medio, perfectionis centro, dextras conjungant: nihil mihi prius foret vel antiquius, quam bestiassemus illius unionis membrum censerí. Certe si recentia illa et crassa commenta, quae nec ipsis possunt tueri, et corrigi oportere non negant, tandem aliquando pudore abjicerent, et nostitais studium hinc inde ponere, non duditas ego in media via illius occurrerne. Nam ut sive mea vera antiquia est, catholica et apostolica, sacras litteras et expresso Dei verbo fundata; sic in rebus ad politiam Ecclesiæ spectantium antiquitatem inprimis reverent: qua ratione satis mihi sum Deo cavebo, ne vel in sīde haereticus, vel in politia schismaticus jure videar.

4 The King's own narrative: Conjuratio sulphurea, Opp., p. 211. On the trial of Garnet, Superior of the Jesuits in England, and his fellow-conspirators, see Pulver. 


5 The Oath of Allegiance, in the Conc. M. Br., iv. 425. They were to take oath, "that our sovereign lord King James is lawful and rightful King of this realm,—and that the Pope neither of himself, nor by any authority of the Church—hath any power or authority to depose the King,—or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his majesty, or to give licence, or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his majesty's royal person, state, or governa-
doctrine had been set aside, the mother Roman Church seemed to the King to stand so near to the English daughter that a reunion might at some future time be hoped for; and so Catholics were not only tolerated, but also not repelled. The Puritans, on the other hand, were to be forced to immediate conformity, and were persecuted if they hesitated. But they were thus made more thoughtful about their rights, and defended them against the royal caprice,\(^6\) often, indeed, on dangerous principles. Thus they

\(^6\) In 1609 a baccalaureate in Oxford, Edmund Campion, defended the thesis, \textit{licere subdito Religionis causae a Principi deficer, et arma contra eum sumere}, which, however, he was obliged to recant before the Academical Senate (Wood, \textit{Hist. et Antiquitates Univ. Oxon.}, i. 315). In 1662 a Master of Arts in Oxford, Will. Knight, preached on 1 Kings, xix. 9, on the Persecution of Elijah, maintaining the same doctrine, i. e., p. 326. Cf. \textit{Doubletii Ep. ad G. J. Vossium, dd. Lond., 16. Aug., 1622}, in \textit{Vossii Opp., T. iv., Ep. 48}: \textit{Cum prius generalia quaedam proposuisset, ex quibus verei videbatur, ne quid Religio reformata, ubique fero terrarum nunc concussa, etiam in Anglia deterrimeti caperet, tandem eosque deveniat, ut asserert, in tall casu fas fore subditis, aut saltem inferioribus Magistratibus, etiam invit et alii moliente Principi, omnibus modis, atque adeo vel armis, Religionem veram ejusque publicum exercitium tui: addens illustrandae theseos suae causa, existimare se, Regem Galliarum, si, dum exercitui Reformatos in urbe aliqua obsidenti interest quotidie, ferro per manum subditi cadaret, juste et sine ullo mactationis crimine occisum iri. Called to account for this, he replied: \textit{Credidisse se, esse hanc communem omnium Reformatorum sententiam, atque ina se a Reformatis Doctoribus esse edoctum, citans \textit{Pareus} (David Pareus, professor in Heidelberg, \textit{+C. 1622}) in commentaritis in Eplst. ad Rom. (chap. 18), \textit{Bucanum} (professor in Lausanne at that time) in locis communibus, et Stephanum Junium Brutum, sive auctorem libr, cui titulus: Vindiciae contra Tyrannos (the author was Hubert Languet, from Bourgogne, successively in the civil service of Saxony, the Palatinate, and Holland: he died 1581. The work was first issued under the false name Steph. Jun. Bru-
came to have the character of a patriotic opposition; so that many Episcopalians became Puritans in the State, and thus allied with the Puritans in the Church. James at first professed to be in harmony with the Puritans as to matters of faith; but his wrath against their obduracy made him increasingly averse to all their peculiarities. And so, in 1617, he enjoined the Sunday Sports, which they so thoroughly detested. At first he had defended strict Calvinism against the Arminians, and sent commissioners to the Synod of Dort; but he refused to accept the decrees of this Synod for the English Church, and thus prepared the way for
the introduction of Arminianism, in the shape of Latitudinarian-
ism, into the Episcopal Church. He also tried to bring about a
complete union of the Scottish with the English Episcopal Church,
by restoring the episcopacy in Scotland, 1610, and by the Arti-
cles of Perth, 1618. Such arbitrary measures made James de-
tested; his want of force made him despised; and thus he left
the kingdom to his son, Charles I., 1625, in a critical state of fer-
mentation. Charles conceived that he must be true to the prin-
ciples of his father, and paid so little respect to the Parliament,
which endeavored to limit his arbitrary rule, that after 1629 he
no longer convened it. Discontent increased, and became threat-
ening. The Episcopal Church, by preaching passive obedience,
could not allay it; especially as the Church under the lead of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury since 1633, was more and more secularized and inclined to Catholicism. The ecclesiastical regulations of the King in Scotland decided his unhappy fate. He tried to effect a complete union of the Scotch with the English Church; in opposition to this was formed, in 1638, the Solemn League and Covenant, a league of the Scotch people for Presbyterianism. The King vainly sought by partial concessions to allay the storm. In England, too, sprung up disturbances, which were only heightened by the slavish doctrines of the Episcopal Church. The Scotch invaded the north of England. The English Parliament, convened in this extremity, soon showed as slight respect for the King as he had shown for them, and began a reform in State and Church. The King wavered at first between concession and resistance. In 1642 open war broke out between him and his Parliament. Scotland joined the latter in 1643, and Parliament accepted the Covenant, and introduced the Presbyterian church constitution in place of the now hated Episcopal Church. The contest with civil and ecclesiastical tyrannization with the penalty of eternal damnation. Consent of Parliament is not necessary for laying or raising taxes, etc. Raumer, iv. 308, 324. 

16 Restoration of pictures, crosses, altars, and the like; Neal, ii. 178, 212. Many parish priests became justices of the peace; Juxon, Bishop of London, became Lord Chancellor (see T. May, Hist. Long Parl.; in Guizot's Coll. des Mémoires, i. 55). At the same time the bishops, while attributing to the King an unconditional authority in the State, endeavored to find a basis in the Church, ex jure divino, for a power independent even of the King. See Guizot, Hist. i., i. 88 ss. 96. Cf. Can. 6 of the Synod of 1649, below, Note 19.

17 Book of Canons, 1635 (v. Rudloff, i. 927). The introduction into Edinburgh, in July, 1637, of the new Liturgy, corresponding with the English, gave occasion to the first disturbances; ibid., s. 333. [Comp. Hetherington and Cunningham; Stevenson's History, Book ii., chap. i.]

18 V. Rudloff, i. 348. Given in K. H. Sack's Kirche von Schottland (2 Th., Heidelberg, 1844-45), li. 1. [Stevenson, chap. ii.]

19 See the decrees of the Synod, 1640, in Conc. M. Brit., iv. 548. Particularly Canon I., on the royal power, where is ascribed to kings an unconditional right as to the property of their subjects; and Canon VI., by which was to be imposed upon all the clergy an oath to maintain the doctrine and constitution of the Church: here, among other things, it reads: "Nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, etc., as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand." This is the so-called Et caetera Oath. Comp. Jochmann's Betrachtungen über den Protestantismus, s. 248, 265.

20 The Parliament, July 1, 1643, summoned an assembly of divines at Westminster, consisting of laymen and clergy, to consult in respect to ecclesiastical changes; see Benthem's Engeländ. Kirch- u. Schulenstaat, s. 536. Die Westminstersynode, 1648-49, by V. Rudloff, in Niedner's Zeitschrift, 1850, ii. 238. In October, 1648, pictures, altars, organs, etc., were ordered to be removed from the churches. January 4, 1643, a Direct-
ny had, however, with the love of freedom, also evoked fanaticism; and soon, in opposition to the intolerant Presbyterianism, there sprung up all sorts of sects and private opinions. Many persons, made distrustful of all positive Christianity by this strife of sects, would have only a religion of reason. The Independents grew most rapidly, supported by the parliamentary army and its leader, Oliver Cromwell. Charles could not withstand the fanatical host of the Independents; he was forced, in 1646, to take refuge with the Scottish army, and was, in 1647, delivered up to the English Parliament. The Presbyterianism that here

ory, like the Scotch, was substituted for the Liturgy. Afterward the assembly was occupied with drawing up a Confession and two Catechisms. The Confession (Articles of Religion, afterward usually called Confessio Westmonasteriensis, ed. Dr. H. A. Niemeyer, in Collectionis Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis publicatarum Appendice, Lips., 1840, 8, p. 1) was accepted by the English Parliament, June 20, 1648, after striking out, for the security of the civil authorities, Chap. 20, § 4, on Procedures against Errorists and Schismatics; a part of Chap. 24, on Marriage and Divorce; Chap. 30, on Ecclesiastical Penalties; and Chap. 31, on Synods and Councils. Thereupon the Kirk of Scotland adopted the whole Confession. The Catechisms—the Larger for the instruction of older persons, and the Shorter for children (both in Niemeyer, 1, c., p. 47)—were sanctioned, Sept. 15, 1648; see Neal, iii., chap. 8. [Hetherington's History of the Westminster Assembly, 1848. Baillie's Letters, etc. The original Minutes of the Assembly were discovered, 1859, in Dr. Williams's library, Red Cross Street, London. From these it appears that Dr. Anthony Tuckney drew up the Shorter Catechism.]

William Laud, executed January 10, 1645; Raumer, v. 142. August, 1646, all the property of the Episcopal Church was sequestrated, and used to defray the costs of the war and pay the debts. Many churches were thus left without clergy; Raumer, v. 244. [Laud's Works, 4 vols. 8vo, 1848 sq. Conference with Fisher, the Jesuit, fol., 1831.]

Guizot's Hist., l. ii. 1.

Levelers, who rejected all external authority and order, even that of the Bible, in religious matters, merely obeying the Spirit, and who desired freedom and equality in all external matters. The Seekers were those who doubted all the truths of Christianity, and were seeking after the right doctrine. Cf. Anonymi epistolæ (1654) De Nova Secta Quaerentium, vulgo Seekers, in Anglia exorta (Pentecost-programme at Göttingen, 1814, by Stäudlin). The Erastians adopted the principles of Thomas Erastus, professor of medicine in Basle, † 1633, as laid down in his work: Explicationi gravissimae quaestionis, utrum excommunicatio mandato nitatur divino, an excogitata sit ab hominibus? They rejected all church authority. [Comp. J. R. Prettyman, The Church of England and Erastianism since the Reform., 1854; Vierordt, Gesch. der Kirche in Baden, 1847. His proper name was Liebler, or Lieber; his treatise was a posthumous publication.] The Anabaptists, called Baptists in England, had numerous adherents; they began to grow about 1608 [1646, Conf. of Seven Baptist Churches of London. Orchard, Hist. For. Baptists, 1855. Jos. Ivimey, Hist. Eng. Baptists;] Stäudlin's u. Tzschirner's Archiv f. Kirchengesch., ii. 582.—On the Ranters, Mugletonians, etc., see Benthem's Engl. Kirch- und Schulenstaat, s. 549.


V. Rudloff, ii. 95.

Raumer, v. 175. Guizot's Hist., i. ii. 196. V. Rudloff, ii. 108.
prevailed was soon forced to succumb to the Independent army. The Parliament was at length brought to terms by force, in December, 1648, and Charles I., in accordance with sentence pronounced [by a tribunal created for the occasion], was executed, January 30, 1649. In the new Commonwealth freedom of conscience was given to all excepting Catholics and Episcopalians.

FOURTH CHAPTER.

§ 30.

HISTORY OF THE MINOR RELIGIOUS PARTIES OF THE REFORMATION PERIOD.

By the Reformation the Scriptures were laid open, the authority of the Church was broken, and thought became free. In the midst of this powerful stimulus of men’s minds it was inevitable that many opinions and parties should be formed, each of which believed that it alone could produce a genuine reformation, unvailing the full truth, and establishing in the world the true morality. Although the Reformation, where it was a living power, had a most marked influence in improving the moral condition, yet there were also many persons connected with it by external relationship alone; and there were those, too, who misunderstood and abused the new-found freedom. And this furnished occasion for

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1 By the example of a moral clergy, and by promoting the instruction of youth: comp. the testimonies of contemporaneous chroniclers of Constance, in Schreiber’s Taschenbuch für Geschichte u. Alterthum in Süddeutschland. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1841, s. 73. The most striking example was given in Geneva; see Div. I., § 10, Note 99.

2 Erasmus, in his Spongias adv. Huttenicas Adsergiones (Opp., ed. Lugd., x.), 1529: Sunt quidam indociti, nullius judicij, vitae impurae, obtructores, perturbares, intratrabiles, sic additoci Lutheri, ut nesciant, nec servent quod Luthers docet. Tantum Evangelium habent in ore, negligenit præces et sacra, vocantur quius quibus libet, et malediciunt Romano Pontifici; sic Luthersunt. He often repeats this opinion in still severer terms after his controversy with Luther, especially in his Epistola contra quodam, qui se fals jactant Evangelicos, 1529 (Opp., T. x.). But Luther also and his friends chime in with these complaints; e. g., Hauppostille (Walchsc. Ausg., xliii. 15): "Der Teufel fähret nun mit Haufen unter die Leute, dass sie unter dem hellen
some to assert that the Reformation had deviated too widely from the old Church, while to others it seemed to have stopped halfway. And so the former tried to discover the truth in the via media between the contending parties; while the latter thought that they must go beyond the Reformers. The peculiarieties of the latter are found, in part, in a strictly literal interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; in part in a rational criticism of the Church doctrine; and partly in a wild, fantastic speculation. In the first doctrinal systems of this kind these different elements were often mingled in strange confusion. Their contemporaries, in view of


3 Thus Erasmus in respect to ecclesiastical order, while he secretly allowed to the initiated (esoteric) all freedom in doctrine. This view was at the basis of all his proposals for union; see Div. I., § 1, Notes 67 and 90; § 3, Note 18. Others, on the other hand, believed that doctrine of salvation by faith alone promoted immorality. So George Wizel, 1525 to 1531 Lutheran pastor in Niemecck, and who then went back to the Catholic Church, and, though married, was a Catholic priest in Eisleben, 1533-38; and then lived in Fulda and Mayence, dying in 1571. His idea was to restore the old Apostolic Church, as intermediate between the old and new Church. His chief work was written at the suggestion of the Emperor Ferdinand I.: Via Regia a. de Controversiis Religionis Capitibus Conciliorum Sententia, 1564. Comp. on him Strobel’s Beiträge, Bd. ii., st. 1 u. 2. Rienacker in Vater’s kirchenhist. Archiv, 1825, s. 812; 1826, s. 17. A. Neander, Comm. de G. Vicelio, Berol., 1839. 4. Neander’s das Eine u. Mannichfaltigke des christl. Lebens, Berlin, 1840, s. 167. Holzhause in Niedner’s Zeitschr., 1849, s. 282. A similar position was taken by Theobald Thamer, 1548-49, Professor of Theology in Marburg, but brought back to the Catholic Church by his repugnance to the doctrine of justification by faith alone; he lived afterward in Minden and Mayence, and was last Professor of Theology in Freiburg, in Breisgau; see Salig’s Gesch. d. Augsb. Confession, iii. 199. Bullinger’s Lebensgesch. v. Hess, ii. 60. Th. Thamer, der Repräsentant und Vorgänger moderner Geistesrichtung, von Dr. A. Neander. Berlin, 1842. 8. Here, too, belongs Ruprecht von Mosheim, who was, however, somewhat crack-brained, and had been clerk of the cathedral in Passau, † 1543; Comp. Strobel’s Miscellaneum, v. 1. So, too, most of the Catholic theologians who took part in the religious colloquy in Ratisbon (Div. I., § 7, Note 40), and in the Augsburg Interim (§ 9). Besides these, there was George Cassander, who taught in Brügge and Ghent, and then lived at the court of William of Cleves, and at last died in Cologne, 1566; see his writings: De Officio pii ac publicae tranquillitatis vere amantis viri in hoc Religionis Dissidio, 1561. De Aquilulis Religionis inter Catholicos et Protestantes controversiis ad Imp. Ferdin. 1. et Maxim. II. 1564. Comp. Conring’s collection of his Irenical writings: G. Wicelii Via Regia, etc. Helmsdull, 1650, and Cassandri et Wicelii, de sacrif nostri temporis Controversiis, libb. ii. 1659.
those departures from doctrine which were most abhorred, called them Anabaptists and Antitrinitarians.

First came up the Anabaptist prophets, striving to establish the visible kingdom of God upon the ruins of Church and State. In the catastrophe of Münster these excesses reached at once their highest point and their overthrow. Many fantastic systems sprung up along with this anabaptism; in the larger part of them the rejection of infant baptism was, however, only a subordinate element, while their attacks upon the doctrines of the Trinity and the Person of Christ made them appear like heathenish abominations. Of a pantheistic tendency were the systems of Johannes Denck, who died in Basle, 1528, who was joined by Louis Hetzer, beheaded in Constance, February 4, 1529; and of Michael Servetus, burned in Geneva, October 27, 1553; David Joris, who died


5 See Div. I., § 7, Note 18.

6 Deposed from the rectorate of St. Sebaldus, in Nuremberg, 1524; afterward in St. Gall, Basle, Elsace, and again in Basle; see Bock, Hist. Antitrinitarium, ii. 238. F. Trechsel protestantische Antitrinitarier vor Fanstus Socin, Buch i. (Heidelberg, 1839), s. 16. J. Denk u. a. Bächlein vom Gesetz, von Heberle, in d. Studien u. Krit. 1851, i. 121; ii. 412. Six of his shorter tracts have been reprinted under the title: Geläutetes Blumengärtnlein, Amsterdam, 1689. Extracts, not always important in their bearing on his doctrines, see in Arnold’s Kirchen- u. Ketzerhist. Schaffhausen, 1740, i. 1808. According to him, God is the original source of all creatures; through the Spirit (i.e., the power of God) was produced from God the Word (i.e., the totality of human souls). Christ is a mere man, in whom lived the highest love of God; be saves by doctrine and example. The Word of God is above the Holy Scriptures; an elect one can be saved without preaching and Scripture. Infant baptism is not commanded by God, but is sufficient. In the kingdom of God there is no external human authority. At the end of all things will be a restoration of all, even the evil spirits.

7 Previously a Catholic priest in Zurich and Basle, and from 1527 with Denck in Elsace. Comp. Bock, ii. 281; Trechsel, i. 18. Ho and Denck published together: Alle Propheten nach hebr. Sprache vertzutscht, Worms, 1527, fol., praised by Luther against W. Link (de Wette, iii. 172).—Denck and Hetzer are very probably the Samosatener neoterici, condemned in the Augsburg Confession, Article I. This was formerly referred to Servetus and his disciples; Mosheim conjectured that it meant Campanus (Hist. Mich. Serveti, Hambst., 1727. 4.); but the old view is defended by J. G. Walch (Diss. de Samosatianis neoterici, quo mento mento fit in A. C. Jenae, 1730. 4.); see Mosheim’s anderweit. Versuch einer Ketzergesch. s. 116. Servetus cannot be meant, for chronology is against it; nor Campanus, for his doctrine was a different one.—Jacob Kautz, preacher in Worms, was a friend of Denck; see Lehrätze in Füssl’s Beiträge, v. 148. Cf. Hagen’s Reformationzeitalter, iii. 289. [Comp. on Denck and Hetzer, Th. Kelm in the Zeitschrift für deutsche Theologie, 1856, s. 215-289; and in Herzog’s Real encyclopädie. Heberle, Stud. u. Krit., 1856; Hase, Neue Propheten.]

8 From Villanueva, in Aragon; he came, in 1580, to Basle; from 1592, under the name of Mich. de Villeneuve, he was in Paris, Orleans, and Lyons; in 1640 he was in Vienne,
in Basle, August 26, 1556, and who, as Christus David, gave him-

and there (1553) imprisoned by the Inquisition on account of his work, Christ. Restitutio, but he escaped from prison. Comp. J. L. v. Mosheim's anderweiterigen Versuch einer vollstandigen und unparteischen Ketzergeschichte, Helmstadt, 1784. Ibid. neue Nach- richten von Mich. Serveto, Helmstädt, 1750. 4. F. Trechsel, l. 61, u. 222. Henry's Le- ben Calvins, iii. l. 95. On the Trinity and Christology of Servetus, see Heberle, in the Tübinger evang. theol. Zeitschrift, 1840, Heft 2, s. 5; Baur's Lehre v. d. Dreieinigkeit, ill. 54. Schenkels' Wesen des Protestantismus, l. 871. Relation du procès criminel con- tre M. Servet, redigée d'après les documents originaux par A. Rillet, Genève, 1844. (Cf. Ebrard's Abendmal, ii. 573.)—His works: De trinitatis erroribus libb. viii., per Michael- lem Serveto, alias Reves ab Aragonia Hispanum (Hagenaun), 1531, kl. 8. Dialogorum de Trinitate, lib. ii. de justitia Regni Christi capitula iv. per Mich. Serveto, etc. (Hage- naun), 1532, kl. 8., Christianismi Restitutio. Totius ecclesiae apostolicae ad sua limina vocatio, in integrum restituta cognitione Dei, etc. (Vienne), 1553. 8. (reprinted at Nu- remberg 1791). His first two works are incorporated in this last, yet wholly recast, in accordance with the doctrinal progress of the author. The doctrine of the Restitutio is, p. 128: Deus est omnis essentiae, sensa, sensa luminis, sensa vitae, pater spirituum, pater lu- minum. Coelctes spiritus ille essentiat, ab eo fluunt essentiales divinitatis radii, et es- sentiales angeli, qui iterum ejus essentiam in res alias effundunt.—Ipse pater hanc es- sentiand viu in Christo totam tribuit, ut ille alias res omnes essentiat. Omnia per ipsum Christum, et in ipso sunt, et consistunt, ut docet Paulus.—Per angulos Deus lucem suam mittit, et hoc ipsum est ipsum Deus: et Christus ipse est ejus luce dispensator, eam de substantia sua mittens, spiritum de substantia sua mittens, cui angeli ministrant. Per angulos spiritum ipse mittit, et hoc ipsum est ipsum Deus. Semper illi reiecte essentiae Dei, spiritus ipse Dei, divinitas ipse, lux ipse Deus.—Ex ipse Dei universals et omnifomina essentia homines et res alias omnes essentiat: ejus spiritus est nobis ab initio insitum, et postea iterum in nos copiosum effusus.— Unde concludimus oppositum eorum, quae trinitarii sophistae docent. Nam ipsi meta- physicas tres res invisibles in una essentia et natura ponunt, quasi in uno puncto tria puncta. Nos contra unam solam rem esse dicimus, et habere infinitorum millium essen- tiias, et infinitiorum millium naturas. Non solum innumerabilis esse Deus ratione rerum, quibus communicatur, sed et ratione modorum ipsius deistant.—Unicus est modus divinus insalutis, et principium aliourum. Hic est modus plenitudinis substantias, modus divinus sines mensura, in solo corpore et spiritu Jesu Christi. That is, God is the essence of all things; in himself incomprehensible, he perpetually reveals himself by his ideas (modi); the sum of these ideas is the ideal world, mundus archetypus (p. 187), λόγος, Idealis ra- tio (p. 141), Christus, prima Dei cogitatio (p. 284): the visible world is something unre- al, p. 148: veritas in corpore non est: mutaret enim corporeus mutatis.—Vanitas ergo vanitatam hic mundus est, et res, quae non est: ac alterius rer existentiae, scilii- cet intelligibilis mundi simulacrum et umbra. The Word and the Spirit are only different forms of manifestation of the same divine essence, and in this sense persons (p. 48), to be referred to a divine economy (p. 576, personam dico esse faciem, vultum seu rem ip- sam apparentem). In Christ's conception God took the place of the father (p. 150), in his person divine and human are so closely united that they can not be sundered (p. 268). Besides the Trinity Servetus especially contended against infant baptism, which should be altogether rejected (p. 564, s.). A mortal sin can not be committed before the twentieth year (p. 363), and hence no sin be washed away from children by baptism. The right time of baptism is the thirtieth year, as with Christ, p. 412. Comp. p. 576: Paedobap- tiam esse dico detestandum abominationem, Spiritus sancti extinctionem, Ecclesiae Dei desolationem, totius professionis christianae confusionem, innovationis per Christum factae abolutionem, ac totius ejus regni concupiscendam. From the Anabaptists Servetus differs, in allowing a magistracy and army (p. 655), and also taking the oath in witness of the truth, but not in promises for the future; p. 480. [Comp. Calvin and Servetus, by T. K. Tweedie, Edinb.—Ed. Schade, Etude sur le Proces de Serv., Strasb., 1858. Sais- set in Revue d. deux Mondes, Feb. Mar., 1848. J. S. Porter, Calvin and Serv., Lond.,
self out to be greater than Jesus Christ,\(^9\) seems to have been influenced by the sect of the Free Spirit, which at that time had followers in the Netherlands,\(^{10}\) and excited great disturbances in Geneva.\(^{11}\) Melchior Hoffman, who died in prison in Strasburg about 1540, the head of an Anabaptist party, denied that Christ assumed his flesh from Mary.\(^{12}\) John Campanus, who died in

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\(^9\) He was bishop of the Anabaptists in Delft; driven thence in 1539, he went to East Friesland, and 1544 to Basle, where he lived, externally connected with the Reformed Church, under the name of Joh. von Bruck. See Div. I., § 24, Note 14. Historie David Joris des Erzketzers aus Holland, durch den Rector u. die Universitat einer lobl. Stadt Basel; Basel, 1559. 4. Historia Vitae, Doctrinae ac Rerum gestarum Dav. Georgii haeresiarchae, conscripta ab ipsius genero Nicol. Bleedskio, edita a Jac. Recio; Davenport., 1642. 8. His life by A. M. Cramer in Kist en Roysards Nederlandsch Archief vor kerkel. Geschiedenis, v. 1. (1845), Nachtrag, vl. 289 (1846). Some yet unpublished accounts of him in Mosheim's anderw. Versuche einer Ketzergesch., s. 425. Comp. Trechsel, i. 86. His writings, T' Wonderboeck, 1542. 4.; enlarged and improved, 1550, fol. Verklaeringe der Scheppenissen, 1553, fol. Christliche Sendtbrieven, 8 Bde. 4. (sine anno); and many short tracts (Cf. Hallische Bibliothek, v. 261, 805. Bock, ii. 286.), v. Harderwyk in d. Nederl. Archief vor kerkel. Geschiedenis, vii. 833. Full extracts in Jessenius Aufgedeckte Larve Davidis Georgii. Kiel, 1670. 4. He also contests the doctrine of three persons. "God is and remains impersonal;" but he has revealed himself in three human persons, with whom began three periods of the world—Moses, Christ, and David [Joris]. The true Christ is the eternal Word, in itself hidden, and did not become man, but dwelt in Jesus; so that what befell Christ in his body is to be understood as the corporeal type of the new life. In David (Joris), however, the true Christ appeared in spirit, to bring perfect spiritual knowledge, and to establish the eternal kingdom of God, in which all power of human magistracy comes to an end; and Christus David is to be shepherd and king, without commands or force, by the mere impulse of the Spirit working in all. By repentance and faith man is made just before God, and is then wholly free from the law; he may do all that he lusts for; he can no longer sin; "all is good which the good tree brings forth, in the eyes of God, but not so in man's eyes." Hypocritica. compliance with civil and ecclesiastical regulations is allowed; it is even a duty. "Let no one know your heart, for you must seem, what you are not, an Essau without, but within a Jacob in truth."—The estate of marriage and natural shame are works of the devil. Union is to be free, in the burning love of God, for the procreation of a pure generation.

\(^{10}\) See Div. I., § 24, Note 11.

\(^{11}\) See Div. I., § 10, Note 86.

\(^{12}\) He was a furrier from Suabia; in Sweden, 1524, with Rink and Knippertolling; twice in Dorpat and Wittenberg; preacher in Kiel, 1527-29; banished thence by turns; in Strasburg and Emden; and in 1533 was imprisoned in Strasburg. Compare B. N. Krohn's Gesch. d. Wiedertaufervornehmlich in Niederdeutschland. M. Hofmann, und die Secte der Hofmannianer. Leipzig, 1758. 8. Joh. Moller Cimbria literata, ii. 947. Bock, ii. 292. At the conference in Strasburg, 11th June, 1538 (see M. Bucer's Handlung in dem öffentlichen Gespräch zu Strasburg jüngst im Synodo gehalten, gegen M. Hofmann durch die Prediger daselbst. Strasburg, 1538. 4.), he was examined for four errors: 1. That the eternal Word of God did not receive our nature or our flesh from the Virgin Mary, so that our Lord Jesus Christ had only one and not two natures (he had tried to show this in the work, Von der Menschwerdung, wie das Wort Fleisch geworden, und unter uns gewohnt habe. Strasburg, 1532.); 2. The Redemption of Christ in the
prison at Cleves after 1574, taught that there are not three, but two, divine persons.  

In the fermentation of these fanaticisms, fantastic extravagances were gradually dissipated, and after the separation of contending elements which did not belong together, there proceeded from them, as permanent parties, the Unitarians, or men of critical understanding, the Mennonites, or biblical literalists, and the Schwenkfeldians, with a practical, mystical tendency.

§ 31.

UNITARIANS.

The critical tendency which, from the middle of the fifteenth century, had led many Italian humanists to reject all religion, though it became reconciled with Christianity in the circles attached to the Reformation, yet it also began to subject particular doctrines of the Church to strict examination. The work of Servetus, De Trinitatis Erroribus, 1531, especially fostered this tendency; and in and near Vicenza there were reported to be about forty men of learning inclined to the Reformation, and closely united for the secret interchange of such ideas, who rejected the

1 See above, ii. iv., § 154, Note g, ff.
2 See above, § 30, Note 8.
3 Stanislaus Lubieniecki, Jun. (Socinian preacher, died in Hamburg, 1675), Historia Reformationis Polonicæ. Freistadii (Amsterdam), 1685. 8., p. 38: Ex commentariis mag. Budzini (Budzinius was secretary of Lismannus, a friend of Laelius Socinus, and left a history of the Unitarians in Polish, in MS.; see Bock, i. 1, 85) et vitæ Laelii Socini curriculo (lost) colligio, circa annum 1546, in agro Veneto, Vicentiae et in aliis urbibus non paucos veritatis indagandae operam dedisse, et haec fini collegia et colloquia pia insti-

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- The critical tendency which, from the middle of the fifteenth century, had led many Italian humanists to reject all religion, though it became reconciled with Christianity in the circles attached to the Reformation, yet it also began to subject particular doctrines of the Church to strict examination. The work of Servetus, De Trinitatis Erroribus, 1531, especially fostered this tendency; and in and near Vicenza there were reported to be about forty men of learning inclined to the Reformation, and closely united for the secret interchange of such ideas, who rejected the
church doctrine of the Trinity and infant baptism. When the adherents of the Reformation were expelled from Italy by the Inquisition (after 1542), and betook themselves for the most part to Switzerland, many of them were attached to these devious opinions. In the canton of the Grisons they soon gave occasion for controversies, and the Italian refugees were very generally sus-
et aliorum sparsis, paulo post in Moravia, inde in Helvetiam revererat. In Moravia vero Paruta, Gentilis, Darius, et Alciatus agentes in indagando vero solerter se exercabant, ita et Franc. Niger, et Bernardinus Ochinus: quorum quidam in Polonia, aliis alibi e vita exuvient. Qui in Moravia degebant, subinde theses de Trinitate, et ambiguis Scripturae sacrae phrasibus in Poloniem vicinam mittebant. Atque haec seminaria veritatis, ut suo loco videbimus, fuere. Of that society in Venice there are also accounts, probably from the same sources, in Andreas Wissowatius, Junior (Socinian preacher, died in Amsterdam, 1678), in the Narratio Compendiosa, in Sandii Bibl. Antitrin., p. 209 s., and Sandius, l. c., p. 18. With this agrees the early diffusion of the Reforma-
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tion in the province of Venice (see supra, Div. I., § 19, Note 12); Melanchthonis Ep. ad Venetos quosdam Evangelii studiosos, 1539 (Corp. Reformat., iii. 748): Intellxi istic circumferri Serveti libellum.—Vos admonendos atque obtestandos etseduxi, ut hortatores atque suoctores sibus, ut fugiant, abjiciant, execruntur impium Servetierro-
rem; then follows a long refutation of this error. This society must have been without any definite constitution: it was an informal secret association, with which distant persons might also be connected, and in which very different shades of opinion were ex-

* Supra, iii. i., § 19, Note 26.

3 Comp. P. D. R. de Porta Hist. Reformationis Ecclesiarum Rhaeticarum (Curiae Rhaetorum et Lindaviae, 2 Tomi., 1772-76. 4.), l. ii. 62 ss. Franciscus Calaber, who had been a preacher in Lower Engadin, first made disturbances, by rejecting infant baptism, de-

ning the moral distinction of good and evil, and the merits of the sufferings of Christ, and by maintaining that salvation did not begin until the judgment. He was deposed 1544; De Porta, l. c., p. 67; Trechsel, ii. 77. Camillus Renatus, a Sicilian, private teacher in Chiavenna from 1547 (De Porta, l. c., p. 81), made even greater confusion. His opponent, Augustinus Maynardus, also an Italian refugee and preacher in Chiavenna, has collected his doctrines in Theses, which he says are partly taken from MSS. of Camillus, partly from his Tractatus de Sacramentis, and partly from his oral declara-
tions (see l. c., p. 127); only Theses 11, 12, and 17, he says, are from the reports of others. The most remarkable are (p. 88): I. Quod anima rati0nalis sit mortalis, ac moriatur una cum corpore sed in novissimo die resuscitetur una cum corpore, et quod tumem motum hominum fiat immortalis. (But this held only of the righteous: cf. Thes. XII.) quod homines impii non sint resurrecti corporaliter in extremo die. Thes. III. Of a dormitio animarum, is the only one of these Theses which does not relate to Ca-
millus; see Maynardus, l. c., p. 127.) III. Quod homines non resuscitentur in eadem ipsa natura et substantia, in qua priss fuerant, sed in aliis, quibus corpus animal et corpus spirituale differunt et substantia et natura. IV. Quod non sit aliquis lex naturalis in homine, qua cognoscentur res, quas vel facere vel vitare debemus. V. Quod Deca-

logus non sit utilia credentibus, causa quod non sint sub lege, et quod homines p[il non habeant opus alia lege quam Spiritus. VI. Quod per peccatum Adam mortuus corporis non intravit in mundum, et quod, si non peccasset Adam, mortus nihilominus fuisse corporal morte, tam ipse quam posteri ipanis. VII. Quod Sacramenta, veluti baptismus et coena Domini, non sunt utilia his qui recipiunt; sed sint instituta tantum pro signis, quibus diacernuntur Christiani a non Christianis, et ut homo testificetur, se in Christum
pected of being secretly Antitrinitarians and Anabaptists. In Geneva, where, since 1542, they had a congregation of their own, the Antitrinitarians became more circumspect after the execution of Servetus; they were expelled only after subscription to a confession of faith had been demanded of them, 1558. In Zürich

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6 General declarations about them: Comander, preacher in Chur, to Bullinger, 1548: Sunt ingenia illa Italica ad contentionem prona, et ad placandum difficilia: possent tandem illorum lititia et contentiones nobis omnibus damnum, et jacturam Evangelio quoque adferre (De Porta, i. ii. 94). Lentulus, too, a preacher in Veltlin, also an Italian, had to contend with such—hominibus Italis, quibus nullae religio placet, quando papistica eis incepto displicere (his letter to Joh. Wolf, in Zürich, 1566, see De Porta, i. ii. 496). Hieron. Zanchius, also for a time preacher in Chiavenna, asked Bullinger to give credentials to no Italian about whom he was not certain that he was orthodox in the articles De Deo, de peccato originali, de satisfactione Christi, de praedestinatione, et de animarum post exitum e corpora sorte. He used to say: Hispania (fatherland of Servetus) gallinas peperit, Italia foavit ovae, nos jam pipientes pullos audimus (De Porta, i. ii. 493).

7 Calvin's Leben by Henry, ii. 420. Trechsel, ii. 280.

FORTH PERIOD.—DIV. I.—A.D. 1517-1648.

the Italian Church of Locarno had been welcomed, 1555; but it was allowed to run down, 1563, in order to hinder the diffusion of error, after the banishment of its preacher, Bernard Ochino. Laelius Socinus (Sozzini), however, who was only noted for his inquisitiveness in the pursuit of knowledge, found no difficulty in hiding his convictions, and died in peace in Zürich, May 14, 1559.

affirmare, Ecclesiæ evangelicæ adhuc gravior errare una cum Papistis, quibus in articulo Trinitatis adhuc pererent. Nam illas cum Papatu tueri non Trinitatem, sed Quadraternitatem potius. Veram Trinitatem habere tres aeternos et distinctos Spiritus, non tam personall, quam essentiali numero differentes. Haec tum omnium communis et uniformis erat sententia, a quo mox alli aliis diverticulis beantibus, in opiniones pugnan tes et monstrassas sunt prolapsi. Gribaldus, during the process against Servetus, declared against persecution for belief; but afterward he himself fell into errors, and was banished from Geneva, 1555 (see Calvini Ep. ad Georg. Corr. Wirtebergensm, d. VI. Non. Maij, 1557, Epp. ed. Genev., p. 183). He subsequently lived in the Bernese province of Gex, upon the estate of Farges, which he had purchased, and was in constant communication with Geneva, which was not far distant. The Confession of Faith written by Calvin for the Italians to subscribe, May 18, 1558, see in Valentin Gentilis, Tertullini Haeretici, impietatum ac triplicis perfidiae et perjurii brevis Explicatio ex actis publicis Senatus Genevensis optima fide descripta. Cum praef. Th. Bezae. Genevae, 1567. 4°, p. 1, reprinted in Jo. Calvini Tractatus Theologicci, ed. Amstelod., 1667, p. 568. After an animated controversy even those suspected of heresy subscribed; but they soon gave occasion for new complaints. Alciati and Blandrata took refuge with Gribaldus, as also did Gentilis, after being obliged to make public confession for his backsliding in Geneva; comp. Valentin Gentilis Impietatum Explicatio, etc. Heberle, Aus dem Leben von G. Blandrata, in the Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie, 1840, Heft 4, s. 116; Trechsel, ii. 313.


9 (Comp. Div. 1, § 19, Notes 14, 27.) The occasion was given by his Dialogi XXX. in duos libros divisi. Basel, 1566, which he wrote in Italian; the Latin translation is by Castellio (extracts in the Observatt. selectis Halensis, v. 1). Although he seemed, on the face of it, to be maintaining even orthodoxy against errors, yet the sharp way in which he put the error, and the weak refutation of it, made him suspected. In Zürich the XXIst Dialogue was decisive against him: he here seemed to allow polygamy under certain circumstances. But the Dialogues XIX. and XX., De Trinitate, seemed to betray a secret inclination toward Unitarianism. Cf. Meyer's Gemeinde in Locarno, ii. 168 ff. Ochino defended himself after his exile in an Italian Dialogue (in Schelhorn's Ergötzlichkeiten, iii. 2009). The Zürichers replied in: Spongias adv. Asperrines Bern. Ochino, quas verae causa exponuntur, ob quas ille ab urbe Tigurina fuit relegatus. m. Martio, 1564 (reprinted in H. Hottinger, Hist. Eccl. N. T., ix. 475; in Schelhorn, iii. 2157). Comp. Trechsel, ii. 221.


11 He left Italy in 1547, went first to the canton of the Grisons, and then traveled, by way of Geneva, through France, England, and Belgium; came to Basle and Zürich, and went to Wittenberg, on Melanchthon's account, in 1550 (cf. Ilgen Symbolarum P. 11.); in 1551 he journeyed thence to Poland, but returned in the same year to Switzerland, lived by turns in Geneva and Zürich, but soon exclusively in the latter city, from whence, in 1569, he went for a short time back to Poland; and in 1559 to Italy.
troubled the divines everywhere with theological problems and doubts, without avowing his own opinions; thus Calvin, e.g., in 1548, upon the recognition of papal baptism, on the resurrection of the dead, etc. (Calvin's reply has, in Calvin Epist. ad Genev., 1575, p. 84, the false heading, Farellus Calvino; in the Hanau edition it reads correctly, Calvinus Zozino). Calvin, in his second letter, already rebukes his excessive subtlety (7 Id. Dec., 1549, ed. Gen., p. 93): Ideo serius quam optabas, respondeo, quia invitus, ut verum fater, quo me vocant literas tuae, prostrahor. De resurrectione carnis video tibi minime esse satisfactum. Atqui si plus a me postulas, ne scire quidem ultra quam docui appeto, etc. Still more strongly in Cal. Jan., 1552 (in the Vita F. Socini, by Sam. Przyppovius, prefixed to F. Soc., Opp., p. 2; also in Henry's Leben Calvins, Bd. I. Beil. s. 57): Non est, quod expectes, dum ad illa, quae objicias, quæstionum portenta respondam. Si tibi per aereas illas speculationes volitare libet, sine me, quaero, humilium Christi discipulorum ea meditari, quae ad fidei meae aedificationem faciunt. Ac ego quidem silentio meo id, ne scire quia ultra quam decepto, ne tu mihi posthac sis molestus. Liberae vero ingenii, quod tibi Dominus contulit, non modo in rebus nihil frustra occupari, sed exitalius ficus arrogantia, vehemen deler. Quod pridem testatus sum, serio iterum moneo, nisi hunc quærerendi pruritum mature corrigas, metendum esse, ne tibi gravia tormenta accerras. Ego, si indulgentiae specie vitiis, quod maxime noxium esse judicio, alerem, in te esse perdidus et crudelis. Itaque paulum nunc mea asperitate te offeri malo, quam dulcis curiositas illecebris male captam non retrain. Erit tempus, ut spero, cum te itavero experg forceatam fuisse gaudebis. He was more gently admonished by Bullinger (Lebenagegeschichte Bullingers, by S. Hess, ii. 50): e.g., Videotestimos esse sacrorum literarum, et negotii salutis nostra versus, sed simul et valde curiosum, qui multos subinde quaestionum modos flexerit et reflecterit—Aliquidem voluptibus sedendi Principum aulas sectantes;—tu—mavis peregrinandoct disputando, et opportune et importune interrogando, quid certa credas discere.—Ceterum requiremodum et in hac quoque se optima.—Nostrae religionis est infinita, sed in comprehensio redacta.—Omnia refer ad pietatem. Nil curat quaestiones varias et implicatas. Non probat Apostolus eos qui semper dissipant, nuncum ad cognitionem veritatis, ut in ea acquiscant, pervertint. —Noli hoc meum consilium saperre: non primus hoc objicio. Meanwhile Julius Mediolanus, a pastor in Poschiavo (in the Grisons), had awakened the suspicions of Bullinger against Socinus, quasi Ario, vel Serveto, ant Anabaptistis favensadorandam Dei trinitatem non agnoscat, etque sincerum fatesatur. Bullinger induced him to set forth a Confession of Faith, and then, by friendly criticisms (the letter in H. Hottinger's Hist. Eccl., ix. 427, is by Bullinger; see Hess, ii. 55), to make some alterations in it. This he sent, with a letter in which he took the part of Socinus, to Julius (Hottinger, l.c., p. 417). The Confession of Faith of July 15, 1555, begins: Ego Laelius Socinus a puero unum Symbolum dixi, et nunc scio et agnosco, quod Apostolorum dicitur, esse antiquissimum, omnibus temporibus in Ecclesia receptum, tametel varius scriptum. Sed nuper legi etiam alia, et honorem tribuo, quem possum et debeo, Symbolis vetustissimis, Nicaeno et Constantinopolitano. Praeterea, quod ignari homines perniciar inficilantur, ego Trinitatis, Personarum, et Joventutem, consubstantialitatem, unionem, distinctionem, et alias similes voces agnosco non recens excogitatas, sed a 1300 annis, inde usque a temporibus Justini Martyris, in toto fere christianae orbe fuisset usitatias, et quidem maxime gravissimiasque de causis. Verumtamen liberum dicam, quod sentio ego: modis omnibus probarem, si adhuc verboribus Christi, Apostolorum et Evangelistarum christianae, apostolica et evangelica fidibus explicaretur: nec idem illa vocabula nego Patribus necessaria fuisset, ad ea splendidissimae, quae jam catholicae nobis traduntur, ac sane tanta cum veneratione ab Ecclesiis recipiuntur: multo minus in dubium vert solanius religiones fundamenta, quae singulis Orthodoxis certissima debent esse, ac utinam mihi reddantur certiora: quia non contendo, Patrem esse eundem, qui Filius et S. Spiritus. Non imaginor tres Jehovas, Deos nostros coessentialia: non discindo in Christos duos unum Christi personam, vel naturorum confusionem ullam admitto, sed ingeniorum lasciviam et petulantiam valde metuo. Proinde caveo semper ab huysmodi letiferis paradoxis, neconon Catabapstitarum errores omnes fugio, Servetl dogmata, Arianaism totum execror hor-
On the other hand, the less prudent Valentinus Gentilis

reque.—Fateor ingenue, me curiosisrem fuisse, quam potuerint ferre nimis zelotypi quidam Pythagorici: sed erga me tanta nunc extitit Patris coelestis benignitas, ut plane confidam, me posthac longe dexterius versaturum esse in congressibus hominum sanctissimis. Ego nempe phantastico rum speculationibus omissis, ineptis argutis, fallaci bus rationeulcia Sophistarum jam valedictis, quod maximum, quod excellintentissimum Dei beneficium, et terrae pulveribus me omnino excitandum spero, caet. Julius repeated his suspicions to Bullinger (dd. 4. Nov., 1555, in Fuesli Epistolae ab Ecclesiae Helveticae Reformatoribus vel ad eos scriptae, p. 353). How Socinus worked covertly for his doctrines is shown by Hieron. Zanchius (also an Italian refugee, see Bd. i., § 19, Note 31, who was successively professor in Strasburg, preacher in Chiavenna, and professor in Heidelberg, 1595). Lib. de tribus Elohim (Francof., 1572), in præf. Fuit in Lælius nobilis honestaque familia natus, bene gracie et hebraice doctus, vitaeque etiam externae inculpae, quorum rerum causa mihi quoque intercesserat cum illo non vulgaris amicitia: sed homo fuit plenus diversarum haeresium, quas mihi tamen nunquam proponebat, nisi disputandi causa, et semper interrogans, quasi cuperet doceri. Hanc vero Samosatenianam inprimis annos multis foveit, et quoscunque porro potuit, in eundem per traxit errorem. Pertraxit autem non paucos. Me quoque, ut dixi, diversis tentavi rationibus, si eodem posuit errorem simul et aeterno exitio secum involvere: quomodum fecerat etiam ante Mattheus Gribaldus et ali. Faustus Socinus says of his uncle, Lælius (Frag. de Christi Natura, Opp., i. 782); Tantum aubuit, ut in religione nihil certi habuerit, quomodum aliqui constanter affirmant, ut nemo unquam exactius de omnibus christianae religiosis dogmatibus vel senserit, vel cum opportunum e iudebat, locutus fuerit. Verum cum praestet paucia quaedam, ea videlicet, quae ad salutem sunt prorsus necessaria, nihil fere in Ecclesiis, quae Romanum Antichristum excurrat, post tantas tamque diuturnas tenebras suas pristinae claritatem restitutum videret, nollet ille sententiam suam, nisi in levioloribus quibusdam controversiis, omnibus aperire, ut turbarentur Ecclesiae, et infirmi, quorum maximum semper habuit rationem, offenderentur, et a vero Dei cultu ad idolos forsatse iterum adducerentur, nee divina divinae veritates ab eo praedicata, qui neque pastoris neque doctoris officio in Ecclesia fungeretur, ob auctoris non magnum auctoritatem, magno christianae orbis detrimento, passim rejicerat, ac propemodum conculcaverat. Praestitum cum apud aliquos Ecclesiæ eam opinionem, cumque morem jam invenisse cerneret, ut excrabiles habenerunt, quicumque adversus receptas sententias vel mutre quidem ausi essent. Praestare iugit arbitraritur, dubia et quaestiones illustrius in Ecclesia viris identidem proponere, ut ea rationale paulatim via ad veritatem sternetur, addubitabant illis interdum ob argumenta ab eo allata de inverteratarum opinionum firmitate, esseque non amplius populo tamquam christianae religionis axiomata obtrudentibus, quod tamen, ut ommem offensionem vitaret, addiscendum di tantum studio a se fieri dicerat (qua tamen ratione ab initio idem vere ab eo factum siuae simile est): quare etiam discipulum semper se, nunquam autem doctorem profitebatur. Hoc tamen suum institutum amicis non usque adeo probati sentiuebat, quibus dum obsequi recaexcus, non sine Dei consilio vir summissa immatura morte sublatus est, quod max patefici coepit, cum statim fere post mortem ejus eorum, quae ipse palam docere non audebat, para aliquis et literis consignari, et passim divulgari est coepit, id quod eo vivente nunquam fortaesse contingisset.—Hac scilicet ratione Deus, quae illi unipatefecerat, omnibus manifesta esse voluit, ut ignorantiae tenebris penitus discussis incipiat tandem christianus populus ei animo fidere, debitamque obediendum praestare, exeri vero ad ejus veram et salutarem per Jesum Christum cognitionem faciliti possint.  

13 Faustus Socinus ep. ad Andr. D知道ium (Opp., i. 508): In medio vitae cursu, anno aetatis 87, eo ipso tempore, cum amicorum precibus tandem permotus constituisse atque etiam coepisset, saltem inter ipsos, nonnulla in apertum proferre, breviter, cum fructum aliquem tantorum tamque laboriosorum in theologia studiorum videre deusuisset, quom fructum aliis postea ac fere statim ab illius morte viderunt.
was decapitated in Berne, 1566;¹⁴ and Matthew Gribaldus (Gribaud) was snatched from a like fate by the plague, 1564.¹⁵

As Switzerland did not offer a sure place of refuge, many of these Antitrinitarian Italians betook themselves to Poland,¹⁶ where many of the nobility not only protected the Reformation, but were glad to welcome the refined Italian culture. For a long time Antitrinitarianism was here, too, propagated in secret; Peter Gonesius (Conyza) first proclaimed it openly in Pinczow from 1556.¹⁷ But John George Blandrata was especially active; he had been driven from Geneva, and likewise came to Poland in 1558. The leading persons connected with him were Francis Lismanini, Gregorius Pauli, a preacher in Cracow, Peter Statorius, rector in Pinczow since 1559, and George Schomann, from 1560 a preacher in the same place.¹⁸ They were aided by the lively opposition there

¹⁴ On him see the writings, cited Note 8, by Aretius and Beza. Bock, Hist. Antitr., i. 1. 869, and ii. 427. Trechsel, ii. 516. See Confessio evangelica (printed in Lyons about 1561); see in Trechsel, ii. 471.

¹⁵ Bock, ii. 456. On the doctrinal sentiments of the Genevese Antitrinitarians, Gribaldi, Blandrata, Gentilis, and Alciati, see Heberle, in the Tübinger Zeitschr. f. Theol., 1840, iv. 128 ff. According to them, the Son and the Spirit were two eternal, but limited, emanations from the Father; and they thus substantially agreed with the Ante-Nicene Fathers, to whom they appealed. [But see Bull, Defensio Fid. Nic., Baur's Dreieinigkeit, and Dorner's Person Christi.] Comp. Valentinii Gentilis Impietatium brevis Explicatio auct. J. Calvino, in the work published by Beza (see Note 8), and in Calvini Tractatus Theologici. Amstel., 1667, p. 568. Trechsel, ii. 282.


made to the doctrine of Francis Stancaro, that Christ is mediator only in his human nature.\textsuperscript{19} For they maintained, not unsuccessfully, the position that this error could be refuted only by the neglected truth that the Father is greater than the Son.\textsuperscript{20} Some soon went further, and denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost.\textsuperscript{21} Others rejected infant baptism.\textsuperscript{22} In vain did Calvin utter warnings against the new doctrine;\textsuperscript{23} the synods convened to repress it.

\textsuperscript{19} Stancaro, from Mantua, professor in Konigsberg 1551, adopted this doctrine in opposition to Osiander, and was involved in controversies, not only here, but also in Frankfort-on-the-Oder, where he went in 1552: these disputes he also brought into Poland in 1553. In 1554 he went to Transylvania, and 1558 returned to Poland, where he died in 1574. On his restless character, see the opinions of his contemporaries in the letter of Mainardo to Bullinger, 1558, in the Museum Helvet., xiv. 491. See Planck's Gesch. des Prot. Lehrbegriffs, iv. 449.

\textsuperscript{20} Lubieniecius, p. 117: Stancarus statu bat, Filium, cum unus idemque Deus cum Patre credatur, Mediatorem non secundum divinam naturam, ne sui ipsius Mediator esse, sed tantum secundum humanam esse. In reply, Lismaninus in Epist. ad Stan. Iwan. Karminscum, l. c., p. 122: Dico et repeto, quod nisi apertissime ostendatur, quomodo Filius est aequalis Patri, et quomodo Pater est major Filio, antequam homo fieret, nunquam discendat a Stancarismo nostri fratres seducti.—P. 119: Arianan est, qui non confitetur, Filium esse consubstantielam et coeternum Patri, non qui a Sabellianismo liberat homines, ne Patrem et Spiritum S. incarnatum et passum cogantur assere. Verbis Stancarus distinguit Patrem a Filio, re autem ita confundit, ut generationem Filii, et processionem Spirit. S. tollat omnino. Thus they held fast to the doctrine of the Antitrinitarians of Geneva; see Note 15.

\textsuperscript{21} At the Synod of Pinczow, November, 1559, a letter was presented from Chelmski, quibus in dubium vocabat invocationem Spiritus Sancti. But Peter Statorius is the reputed originator of this doubt; Lubieniecius, p. 148. At that time he still denied this doctrine, Regenvolscius, p. 184; but afterward he openly avowed it: Spiritum S. non esse tertiam Delatis personam, nec Deum, sed Dei virtutem et donum, quod Deus in cordibus fideli um excitat, Lubieniecius, p. 149.

\textsuperscript{22} Peter Genesius first presented to the Synod at Bresk, in Lithuania (December, 1558), a—libellum contra paedobaptismum, quo ritum hunc nec Scripturae sacrae, nec primae antiquitati, nec sanae ratione convenire docuit, and was generally opposed, Lubieniecius, p. 144. Then there was a dispute about it in Wilna, 1559, where Martin Czechovicius was the leading opponent of infant baptism. At the Synod of Brain and Wengrov, 1665, their number was already very considerable; see Lubieniecius, p. 176 (cf. M. Czechovici de Paedobaptistarum errorum origine. Lublini, 1575. 4.; earlier published in Pollah. Das Lehrgebäude der Wiedertaüfer nach den Grundsätzen des M. Czechowitz, by J. R. Kiessling. Reval and Leipzig, 1776. 8.).

\textsuperscript{23} He warned the Bohemian brethren in Poland against Blandrata, prid. Cal. Jul., 1560 (Epp. ed. Genev., p. 238), particularly the Prince Radzivill, who specially favored him, in the dedication of the second edition of his Commentary on the Acts, dd. August 1, 1560. He accused Blandrata of Servetianism; but the latter quieted his admirers by confessing three Persons, equal in essence and equally eternal. He justified himself before the Synod at Pinczow (January, 1561), Regenvolscius, p. 86; and they were very indignant at Calvin; see his letters of 1561 to Poland (Epp. ed. Genev., p. 256, ss.). The Zurichers, too, warned the Poles, in a letter, March, 1561, against both Stancarus and the Antitrinitarians; see Schlüsselfburg Catalogus Haereticorum (Francof., 1597 ss. ix. voll. 8.), ix. 224. There were afterward published, from several quarters, controversial works against the new Arianism in Poland (collected in Valentini Gentilis Impietatum Brevis Explicatio ed.—Th. Deza. Genev., 1567, 4., p. 56 ss.); two letters from
only kindled the flames. The Unitarians united in a church, which was excluded from the fellowship of the Reformed Church in 1565 in Petrikow. Their chief seat was at first at Pinczow, and then at Racow, built in 1569. In Poland they had several scattered churches, under the protection of the nobility, who favored them. Among these protectors was the famous Andreas Dudith. Blandrata went, in 1563, to Transylvania, where he was physician in ordinary to the King, John Sigismund, whom he brought over to his doctrines; and there, in 1571, he procured religious freedom for his party. Francis Davidis was here their first superintendent.

As Unitarianism sprang from many independent individual opinions, the new church did not at once come to unity in the faith. With the rejection of infant baptism other Anabaptist peculiarities pressed in and were canvassed; in the doctrine respecting Calvin, ad Fratres Polonos, 1563 (also in his Tractatus Theol. ed. Amstelod., p. 589); from Josias Simler, professor in Zürich, Jo. Wigand, Alex. Alesius, professor in Leipsick, and from the Genevese clergy (1565).

The Synod in Pinczow, April, 1562, decreed (Lubieniecius, p. 131), ut Ministri abstinent a modis locuendis philosophicis de Trinitate, de essentia, de generatione, de modo procedendi, quae omnia sint extra verbum Dei; sed ut quilibet so continet intra terminos Prophetarum, Apostolorum et symboli apostolici. A Confessio, probably handled in to this Synod by Blandrata, has been published by Henke (Opusc. Acad., p. 245), with a refutation by Flacius. The controversy, however, soon broke out again between Gregorius Pauli, preacher at Cracan, and the violent Trinitarian, Stanisl. Sarnicius, preacher in a village near Cracau.

By a royal edict, August 6, 1564, all heretical Italians were banished from the kingdom (Regenvolscins, p. 222), and then the Unitarians, by a law of the Diet of Lublin, 1566 (Lubieniecius, p. 194); however, the last was not put into execution, and from 1578 the Unitarians were also protected by the Pax Dissidentium (see Div. I., § 15, Note 23).

Before this Bishop of Tina, and in this capacity a member of the Council of Trent; then Bishop of Fänfskirchen; he married in Poland, 1565, and purchased the estate of Smigla, in the voivode of Posen, the previous possessor of which had also been a protector of the Unitarians; see M. Adelt, Nachricht v. d. ehemaligen Schmieglischen Arrianismus, Danzig, 1741.

All the Racovians maintained that no Christian could hold any civil office (Sandil...
ing Christ, the subordinationism with which they began was soon abandoned, and many went over to Ebionitism. The majority, however, united in the faith which was expressed in the Catechism published in Cracow in 1574. In 1579 Faustus Socinus Bibli., p. 45. When Jacob Palaeologus, also a Unitarian, wrote against this, Gregorius Pauli (1573) defended the doctrine against him (Bock, i. 801 s.), and (1574) against Stanislaus Budzinius (Bock, i. i. 86, and i. ii. 618). Martin Czechovius De Vita et Moribus primitivae Ecclesiae Christi, in the Appendix to his Dialogues, 1575, taught the same, and also that a Christian could not wear a sword (Sandii Bibl., p. 51). Stanislaus Budzinius taught a millennial kingdom, and was opposed in this by Gregorius Pauli and Faustus Socinus (Bock, i. i. 86, and i. ii. 618); cf. Fausti Socini contra Chiliastas ad Synodum Chmielnicensem epist., dd. 17. Sept., 1589 (Opp., i. 440); Martinus Czechovicius is also here called—acerimus contrariæ sententiae propugnator.

29 Schomanni Testamentum (Sandii Bibl., p. 194 s.) ad ann. 1566: Sub id feret tempus ex rhapsodis D. Laeli Socini quidam fratres didicerunt, Dei Filium non esse secundam Trinitatis personam Patri coessentialam et conessentialam sed hominem Jesum Christum ex Spiritu Sancto conceptam, ex Virgine Maria natum, crucifixum et resuscitatum: quibus nos communem acras literaliter perscrutari, persuasisum. Petrus Gonesius and Stanislaus Budzinius, in opposition to this, the older opinion (Note 15), were declared by the rest of the Unitarians to be Arians, just as these had before this themselves been said to be. Between the two parties there were fruitless negotiations at the Synods of Lankut and Skrzyzna, 1587 (Lubieniecius, p. 215 s.). The latter declared (p. 219 s.): Pie et sancte Trinitas retinenda est ea lege, ut fraterna caritas ex prescripto Filii Dei servetur, et alter alterius infirmitates toleret, nullo vero prorsus modo alter alterum calumniat.—Interea integrum est per scripta de eo agere, sed ita, ne alter alterum calumnietur.—Orationes et coniones sacras aliis aliis audire posse est cautione sicuti orationes peractae fuerint ea forma, quae in verbo Dei est tradita.—Si forte illas orationes vel coniones audire nolens fuerint, non est id el vitio heremantis, quaal vinculum fratrum dilectionis solvent;—alter alterius fidei impereare nolens, cum istius dominus et largitor sit ipse Deus, usquequo is miserit sapientiores Ministros Angelos suos, tempore suo zizania avulsuros, et a tritico separatos. Interim nos aliis alias non ovellamus, nec laceremus: hoc enim Christus noluit permittere Apostolis, tamen minus id nobis permittit. But even this more external union was not attained. Farnovius formed in Sandecz, on the Hungarian frontier, a distinct sect (Farnovians), which was, however, dissolved after his death (he died after 1615; Regenolacius, p. 89). Meanwhile there was another rupture among the rest of the Unitarians when Francis Davidis, superintendent in Transylvania, rejected invocations to Christ. Blandrata opposed him, and had Faustus Socinus brought to Transylvania in 1578, to induce him to abandon his views. As this was unsuccessful, a general synod in Thorda condemned him in 1579; the Prince sentenced him to perpetual imprisonment, and he died in prison, 1579 (Davidis Theses and Blandrata's Antitheses, see in Lampe Hist. Ecclesiae Reform. in Hungaria et Transylvania, p. 306; De J. Chr. Invocatione disp. quam F. Socinus per Scripta habuit cum Franc. Davidis anno 1578 et 1579, in F. Socini Opp., ii. 709). The doctrine of these Semijudaizantes found also adherents in Poland. Their leader, Simon Budneaus (hence called Budnejanes), was deposed in 1582, and afterward recanted (Sandii Bibl., p. 54; Bock, i. i. 80).

30 Called Racovienses (by F. Socinus, in the Responso pro Racovienisibus ad Jac. Palaeologum, 1581): hence this Catechism, though printed in Cracow, goes by the name of the First Racovian; Sandii Bibl., p. 44.

31 Catechismus et Confessio Fidelis Coetus per Polonian congregati in Nomine Jesu Christi, Domini nostri crucifixi et resuscitati, Cracoviae, 1574. 12. In Sandii Bibl., p. 44, it is conjectured that it was principally drawn up by Gregorius Pauli, senior in Cracow; more probably it was by George Schomann, then preacher in Cracow; Bock, i.
nus came to Poland. He had been directed in his theological education by the influence of his uncle Laelius, and from the man-

ili. 826. On this very rare book, see J. A. Müller, in Bartholomäi forges. nützl. Anmer-
kungen, xxi. 758; Mosheim, Institutt., p. 815; Baumgarten’s Nachrichten, xi. 35. The Unitarian superintendent, George Enединus († 1597), wrote an explanation of it (San-
dii Bibl., p. 98). It is divided: I. De Deo et Jesu Christo. II. De justificatione nostri. III. De disciplinia. IV. De oratione. V. De baptismo. VI. De Coena Domini. Folio b. 3. Quid est Jesus Christus, filius Dei? Est Homo, mediator noster apud Deum, pa-
tribus olim per Prophetas promissus, et ultimis tandem temporibus ex Davidis semine natus, quem Deus pater fecit Dominum et Christum, hoc est, perfectissimum Prophet-
tam, sanctissimum sacerdotem, invictissimum regem, per quem novum mundum crea-
vit, omnia restauravit, secum reconciliavit, pacificavit, et vitam aeternam electis suis donavit: ut in illum post Deum altissimum credamus, illum adoremus, invocemus, au-
damus, pro modulo nostro imitemur, et in illo requiem animabus nostri inveniamus. Folio c. 6. Ubi vero scripturit de ea, quam dicit, novae creatione? Es. lxv. 17. Ecce ego cre-
ceo coelos novos et terram novam; Es. lxvii. 22; Ezech. xxxvi. 26. Dabo vosis cor
novum, et suferam cor lapideum; Ps. li. 12. Cor mundum creae in me, Deus, et spiritu-
rectum in omnem in viscibus meus. Ubi vero scripturit ut, per Jesum omnia demum esse creata, restaurata, reconciliata et pacificata? Ps. i. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt;
2 Cor. v. Sì quis est in Christo Jesus, nova creatura est, vetera præterierunt, necce nova-
facta sunt omnia. Then folloow, without further explanations: Hebr. i. 2; Hebr. ii. 5; Col. i. 16-20; Eph. i. 3, 10, ii. 3-18, iv. 22-24. Folio e. 2. Spiritus sanctus est virtus
Dei, cuius plenitudinem dedi Deus pater filio suum unigenito, domino nostro, ut nos
adoptivi ex placidum ejus acciperemus. Folio e. 5. Quid est justificatio? Est ex-
mera gratia Dei per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, sine operibus et meritis nostris,
onium præteritorum peccatorum nostrorum in viva fide remisio, vitaeque aeternæ
inubilata explicatio, et auxilio Spiritus Dei vitae nostra simulata, sed vera cor-
rectio, ad glorianm Dei patris nostri, et aedificationem proximorum nostrorum. Folio i. 6. Baptismus est hominis Evangelio credentis et peoniitiam agentis in nomine Patris
et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, vel in nomine Jesu Christi, in aqua immeriti, et emersus,
quia publico profiteatur se gratia Dei Patris, in sanguine Christi, opera Spiritus Sancti,
ab omnibus peccatis ablutum esse, ut in corpus Christi inseritus, mortificet veterem Adam-
um, et transformetur in Adamum ille coelestes, certum, se post resurrectionem con-
secuturam esse vitam aeternam. Folio k. 3. Omnes ignitum baptizandi verbum Dei audire,
credere, confessi et poeniitiam agere debent? Planissime, referring to Acts viii. 33 ss.;
Hebr. vi. 1 a.; Gal. iii. 26, 27; Acts viii. 1. Sed baptizabant totes familias in fonte
patrum familias? Non. Nam justus sua fide (non aliena) vivit; Hab. ii., et Act. 16.
Ubi dicuntur baptizasse familias, non nisi audientes et creentes baptizarent. Folio k. 6. Quod est coena Domini? Est actio sacra, ab Ipso Christo domino instituta, in qua pro-
bati discipuli Christi, in coetu sacro ad mensam Domini devote discumbentes, Deo patri
pro ejus in Christo beneficis ex anno gratias agunt, panem frangent edunt, et ex
calle Domini bibunt, ad devotam recordationem corporis Christi domini pro nobis in
mortem traditi, et sanguinis ejus effusi in remissione peccatorum nostrorum, excita-
tes se invicem ad constantem sub cruce patientiam, et sinceram fratrem dilectionem.

Folio i. 4. Quomodo autem Christus huic actioni adest, quam eum oporteat coelo capi us-
que ad tempus restaurations omnium, Act. ii. ? Adest certissime sua fidelibus, ut pro-
missit, Matth. xxviii. Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem
saeclui: adest inquam non carnaliter, sed Spiritu suo sancto, ut est Jo. xiv. Rogabo
Patrem et aliun Paracletum dabit vosis, caet.

32 Vita Fausti Socini Senensis, descripta ab Equite Polono (Sam. Przypcovio), 1636. 4. (also prefixed to F. Socini Opp. Irenopoli, 1656 (2 Tomi fol.), before T. I.). Bock,
Hist. Antitrin., ii. 654-850; Fock, i. 159. Opinion of the Socinians about him:  
Alta ruit Babylon: destruxit tecta Lutherus,  
Muros Calvinus, sed fundamenta Socinus.
uscripts the latter left had fully imbibed his opinions. He was not at first welcomed by the Unitarians, because he would not allow himself to be rebaptized;\textsuperscript{33} but by degrees he gained over their leaders, and through them the churches.\textsuperscript{34} And thus he

\textsuperscript{33} F. Socinus ad Sophiam Siemichoviam (Opp., i. 432): Quod mihi objicis, me communionem cum fratribus et Christifidelibus spatere, nec curare, ut una cum ipse coenam Domini celebrem, quam tamen celebrazre ab ipso Domino omnes jubemur: respondeo, me, postquam in Poloniam veni, nihil antiquius habuisse, quam ut me quam maxime cum fratibus conjungerem, licet inveniessum illlos in non paucis religiosis nostras capitibus a me diversum sentire.—Quod si nihilominus aquae baptismum una cum illis non accipio, hoc propter ea fit, quia id bona conscientia facere nequeo, nisi publice antes protestet, me, non quod censeam baptismum aquae mihi meique similium ullo modo necessarium esse, sed ut cum fratibus ecritus conjunger, id facturum esse: id quod fratres nullo pacto mihi concedere volunt.—Cum mihi aquae baptismum non videatus necessarius iis, qui ex Christianis, i. e., Christum profentibus nascentur, et in ea professione parentes imitantur, atque ita nihil revera referre arbitrari, nisi propter scandalam, utrum isti necne, et an potius adulti, quam infants baptizentur: propter ea non diffeo, me circa baptismum hau dem difficilium futurum, si contingat, Ecclesiae aedificationem sic postulare, illunque citra omne scenalam dari posse. Cf. Eusodem epist. ad Sim. Ronembergiun (I. c., p. 429), where he especially directs attention to the external disadvantages accruing to the Church on account of the general hatred of Anabaptist opinions.

\textsuperscript{34} Przypiovius, 1. c.—migravit in Poloniam, ubi Ecclesiis Polonioe, quae solum patria in Domini Jesu summum Dcum agnoscunt, publice adiungi amavit. Sed cum discussionem in quibusdam dogmatismis non premeret, satis acerbe atque diu repulsam passus est. Qua tamen ignominia minime accensus, vir, non tam indole, quam animi instituto ad patientiam composita, nulla unquam alienatian imus dedit. Quin potius impressionem variorem hostium, a quibus tune illae Ecclesiae vexabantur, suo sibi inge nio sumpsi propulsandum. These controversial writings are named, and the fatalities which befell him. In tot mali solatium a negotiopetit, quod sibi repurgandum qui tum in Ecclesia vigebant erroribus divinitu adjectum est. Quamquam itur anque quoque Ecclesiasticos convertent frequenter solitus, anno tamen 1588, in Brescensi Synodo—maioraj quam antean comatu atque fructu de morte et sacrificio Christi, de justificatione nostra, de corrupta hominis natura, demique cum Davidianis et Budneatis de Jesu Christi invocatione disputavit. Hic fuit annus, quo primum Lucaviçianici coetus cura atque provincia mandata est Petro Stoinio.—Is non minus judicio acer, quam promtus eloquio, postquam Socini amici etam copia facta est, in sententiam ejus liberenter concessit. Paulo ante quoque non paucos et praeclovis privatis in suam sententiam pertraxerat, et suffragantiam sibi non exigua indices fitebat accessi. Refragabatur tamen adhuc viri maxime auctoritas, Nemojevius ac Czechovicius, et plerique et Ministeri natu majoribus.—Jamque et ali d certatis e pastorum ordine partibus addebat, praesertim et junioribus, quos minus morabatur inverteratae opinios atque auctoritatis praepudium.—In magno sententiarum dissensu laudabilis haec fuit illius Ecclesiae concordia, quod tantum opinionibus, non etiam odios homines illii pugnaverint, et cum aliis aitimum sententias detestarentur, esse tamen mutuo minime damnarent. Itaque integra utrique tolerantia saepius acriter discipendam, atque hoc fuit praeclovum illorum Synodorum negotium.—Repurgata sic plene ab erroribus Ecclesia, veluti ad unam cum rem hucusque vita producta, (Socinus) non tam immaturo sibi, quam lucuto susis facto cripitur Lucaviçia, exsente bruma, anno actatis quinto ultra sexisagesimum. Ultima morientia vox excepta, se non magis aevi, quam invidias et molestiarum satrum, laeta atque intrepidae sone propendere in supremum illum fati sui articulum, qui missionem ab eum omnium simul et laborum stipendium ostenderet.—Nemo memoria nostra de toto christianorium orbe, sed inprimis de Ecclesiis Polonicis melius meruit. Primum enim genuinae sacramarum literarum mentem tot editis lucubrationibus, innumeros in locis, aperuit. Dein—
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transformed the Polish Unitarians into Socinians. Their doctrinal views were expressed in the Racovian Catechism, 1605, published just after his decease in 1604.

De sententias de Dei atque Christi persona, quas jam in Polonia vigentes deprehenderat, solidis argumentis confirmandi, et a subtilibus cavallis atque sophismatis perite defendi unus egregie docuit. Mox quasdam impias, alias profanas sententias, quorum exitialible virus furtim in Ecclesiae gremium irrepebat, felicissime extinxit. Nemo scriba Judaizantes represset: idem Chiliasmorum, idem multa praeterea alia fanatice somnia explost. Errores autem, qui a reformatis Ecclesiis hasti magno adhuc numero in ea Ecclesia regnabant, mira felicitate extirpavat. Tali erat de justificatione, de placanda justitia Dei, de praedestinatione, de servitute arbitrii, de peccato originis, de coena quoque Domini, de baptismo, et alia sinistre intellecta dogmata. Denique subtilis pertinaces erroribus, ne quid ineptiarum quoque in Ecclesiae reliquaaret, superstitiones plurimas circa res indifferentes exterminavit. Ex hoc genere fuit nimia vilis vestitus ambitio, deinde capessendi magistratus, ut etiam citra vindictae studium sui juris persequendi religio, et si quos similis naevoe primi fervoris inconsiderabilis aenem aspererat.

32 Its authors were the Racov preachers, Peter Statorius or Stoinius, who died in 1605, while it was being drawn up, and Valent. Smalcius, the magnate Hieron. Moscoroviis, and the rector in Wengrow, afterward pastor in Smigla, Joh. Volkelius (Bock, i. ii. 847). It was first published in Polish (1605), 12mo. (Sandii Bibl., p. 100), then translated into Latin by Moscoroviis: Catechesis Ecclesiastis, quae in Regno Poloniae et magno Ducatu Lithuaniae—affirmant, neminem alium praeter Patrem Domini nostri J. Chr. esse illum unum Deum Dei Israeï, hominem autem illum Jesum Nazarenun, qui ex virgine natus est, nec alium, praeter aut ante ipsum, Dei filium unigenitum et agnoscent et confirment. Racoviae, 1609. 12. (reprinted in G. L. Oederi Catechesi Racovienis s. liber Socinorum primarius. Francof. et Lips., 1739. 8.) The new edition, Irenopoli post annum Dom. 1659. (i. e., 1665) 8., was revised by Joh. Crell and Jonas Schlichting, and enlarged more than one half. Smalcius published in 1608 a German translation from the Polish, which deviates in slight particulars from the Latin of Moscoroviis. J. A. Schmid pror. de Catechesi Racovieni. Helmst., 1704. 4. ; Fock, i. 183. [The Racovian Catechism, with Notes and Illustrations, transl. from the Latin, etc. By Thomas Rees. Lond., 1818.]
Although the Unitarians in Transylvania, where they always enjoyed a recognized religious freedom, had to make a public dec-

humanam Christi naturam, aliam nostram. P. 655: Christum Dei filium proprium et unigenitum esse, quia ex ipsius Dei substantia sit generatus, istud merum est humanam commentum.) P. 108: Aequalitas Christi cum Deo in eo est, quod ea virtute, quam in eum contulit Deus, ea omnia effecerit et efficient quae ipsius Dei sunt, tanquam Deus ipse. V. De prophetico J. Ch. munere. Cap. i.: De praeceptis Christi, quae legi addi-
dit. P. 145: Quid Dominus Jesus praecepto primo addidit? Id quod etiam Dominum Jesus pro Deo agnoscerere tenemur, i.e., pro eo, qui in nos potestatem habet divinam, et cui nos divinum exhibere honorum obstricti sumus. In quo is honor divinus Christo de-
nere in adventum ipsius oportet. Quid vero est annonciare mortem Domini? Est pub-
lice ac sacrosancte Christo gratias agere, quod is pro inessebili sua erga nos caritate cor-
pus suum torqueri, et quodammodo frangit, et sanguinem fundi passus sit, et hoc ipsius beneficium laudibus tollere et celebrare.— Nonne alia causa, ob quam Coenam instituit Dominus, superest? Nulla prorsus: eis homines multas excogitarint, cum aliqui dicant, esse sacrificium pro vivis et mortuis, aliis suo ipsius se consequi peccatorum remissionem et firmare fidem sperent. Cap. iv.: De baptismo aquae, p. 195: Quid vero sentis de aquae baptismo? Id, quod sit ritus exterior, quo homines vel e Judaismo, vel e Gentil-
dentes ad persistendum in illa singulari pietate et innocentia, sine qua servari nequeunt, movere potuisse, nisi atroce mortem, quae pietatem facile comitari solet, gustasse? aut qui curam suorum in tentationibus et periculis, iisque ab omnibus malis liberandis, tantam gerere potuisse, nisi, quantotere graves et naturae humanae per se intolerables essent, ipse expertus esset? Beside, p. 223: Moris Christi nos manifeste de ingenti in nos Dei caritate certos reddidit:— resurrectione Christi— de resurrectione nostra, et porro vita aeterna consequenda certiores facti sumus, si praeceptis Domini Jesu paremus. P. 227: Nonne est etiam aliqua alia mortis Christi causa? Nulla prorsus. Estis nunc vul-
go Christiani sentiunt, Christum morte sua nobis salutem meruisse, et pro peccatis nos-
tris plenariae satisfacisse, quae sententia fallax est, et erronea, et admodum pernicio.

(F. Socini Brevias, Instit., Opp. iv., 676: Christi obedientia usque ad mortem crucis. ejus-
que sanguinis fusio,—quamvis nec suo protio, neque ipse per se effecerint, ut veniam peccatorum nostrorum adepti simus, illis tamen peractis ex decreto et benignitate Dei factum est, ut nos a poenis peccatorum liberati simus. Christus enim—per istam obe-
dientiam et sanguinis su fusionem, plenissimam potestatem ab ipso Deo est consequitus salutem reipsa nobis dandi, et ab omni miseria atque ab interitu, quae propriae peccato-
rum sunt poenae, nos penitus liberand.) Cap. ix.: De fide, p. 246: Quae fides est, quam necessario consequitur salus? Est fiducia per Christum in Deum. Unde appa-
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laration in favor of the adoration of Christ, yet the party of Non Adorantes, which was started by Francis Davidis, continued to ret, eam in Christum fidem duo comprehendere: unum, ut non solum Deo, verum et Christo condidamus; delinde, ut Deo obtemperemus non in ils solum, quae in loge per Mosen lata praecepsit, et per Christum abrogata non sunt, verum etiam in ils omnibus, quae Christus legi addidit. Cap. x.: De libero arbitrio, p. 249: Estne id situm in nostra potentestate, ut ad eum modum Deo obtemperemus? Prorsus. Etenim certum est, primum hominem ita a Deo conditumuisse, ut libero arbitrio praedilus esset, nec vero ulla causa subest, cur Deus post ejus lapsum illum eo privaret: ac neque justitia Dei admittit, nec etiam iner poenas, quibus Adae peccatum punivit Deus, ejusmodi poenae uli mentio exist.—Peccatum originis nihilum prorsus est:—et lapsus Adae, cum unus actus fuerit, vim eam, quae depravare ipsam naturam Adami, multo minus vero postcolonum ipsius possit, habere non potuit. P. 232: Communion in hominibus natura exiguas admodum sunt vires ad ea, quae Deus ab illis requirit, per finitoriam: at voluntas ad ea perfinitoriam omnibus adest natura. Nilhominibus tamen eae vires non ita prorsus exiguas sunt, ut homo, si vim sibi facere velit, divino auxilio accedente, non possit voluntati divinae obsecundare. Auxillium vero suum nemini Deus prorsus denegat ex ilis, quibus voluntatem suam patevent: aliquin Deus nec castigare neque punire justiciae temporalis se praeventit, nec tamen utrumque facit.—Auxillium divinum istud duplex est, interior et exterior.—Aux. interior est, cum Deus in cordibus eorum, qui ipsi obediunt, quod promisit, obsignat. Cap. xi.: De justificatione, p. 270: Per fidem in Christum conseqquir justificationem. —Justification est, cum nos Deus pro justis habet, quod ex ratione factit, cum nobis et peccata remittit, et nos vita aeterna donat.—VI. De officio Christi regio, p. 274: Quae ipsius regni est ratio? Eo, quod Deus eum suscitatum a mortuis, et in coelo assumptum ad regnum suum posuit, potestatem in coelo et in terra omnibus, et omnibus peccatis pedibus, sicut subjectis, ut suus deus susciret, ut erit ac aeternum sciret. (F. Socini Brevisissima Institution, Opp., i. 688: Necesse est, omne istud judicium, quod sibi a Patre datum suisse Christus ait, esse—omnia ad ipsius Christi regnum quovis modo pertinentium hominum—gubernationem cum summa potentestate atque imperio conjunctam, et qualem ipse Pater habet, qui nunc eam—non ex sua persona seu per se ipsum, sed ex persona Christi, et per Christum exercet. P. 669: Est enim Christi Patri subordinatus, cum—omnem suam potentatem ac illo acceperit, sique pro eo exercet, atque una cum ipsa totus perpetuo ab illo pendet; ut in necesse sit, quod quidac homines ad evangemnium spectat: a Christo petitur, id eadem opera a Patre petit.)—VII. De munere Chritii, p. 285: Munus sacerdotali in eis sit, quod, quoadmodum in prisco foedere summus Pontifex, ingressus in sancta sanctorum, ea, quae ad expiandam populi populum spectaret, perfincebat, ita Christus nunc penetravit coelos, ut illic Deo appareat pro nobis, et omnia expiationem peccatorum nostrorum spectantia peragat. Quid posse est peccatorum expiationem? Est a poenis, quae peccata tum temporariae tum aeternae comitantur, et ab ipsis etiam peccatis, non serviamus, liberatis. Quo expiationem peccatorum nosterum Jesus in coelis peragit? Primum a peccatorum poenis nos liberat, dum virtute et potentate, quam a Patre plenam et absolutam consecutus est, perpetuo nos tuetur, et Iram Dei, quia in implos effundit consuevit interventuo suo quodammodo a nobis accurat: quod Scriptura exprimit, dum ait, eum pro nobis interpellare. Deinde ab ipsorum peccatorum servitute nos liberat, dum eadem potentate ab omni flagitatione genere nos retrahit et avocat: id vero in ipsa peccata personae nobis ostendendo, quid consequatur Is qui a peccando desistit; vel etiam aia ratione nos horando et monendo, nobis opem ferendo, ac interdum puniendo, a peccati jugo exsolvit.—VIII. De Ecclesia Christi. Cap. i.: De Eccl. visibiliti. Cap. ii.: De regimen et gubernatione Ecclesiae Christi. Cap. iii.: De disciplina Eccl. Chris—VOL. IV.—24
exist until 1638.37 The danger that threatened them from the Jesuits soon passed away;38 but that dissension had the effect of leading many Unitarians into the Reformed Church, under the reign of the Reformed prince, George Rakoczi.39 The doctrine of the Adorantes was substantially Socinian; but yet the Raco-vian Catechism was not introduced, and the name of Socinians was constantly declined.40

The Socinians of Poland were indebted to the nobility for the protection they enjoyed; and they maintained their influence with them by a high degree of culture, which was specially fostered by the Gymnasium, founded in Racow, 1602.41 The schools of the Jesuits in rivalry with it acquired increased influence, and at last the hatred of the Jesuit party succeeded in demolishing it, and


37 On the history of the Unitarians in Transylvania, which is still very imperfectly known, see Petri Bod de Felso-Tsernaton Hist. Unitariorum in Transylvania. Lugd. Bat., 1776. Walch's neueste Religionsgeschichte, v. 178; vii. 845. Staudlin im Archiv f. alte und neue Kirchengeschichte, iv. i. 149. Davidis, in 1579, was succeeded as superin- tendent by Demetr. Hunyadi, who declared in favor of the worship of Christ in a Con- fession (in Walch, v. 182), and published a—Scriptum; quo Paedobaptismus, etc., ab Ecclesia intermissa recipi et observari jubentur; see Scriptum fratrum Transylvanorum, in the Defensio Franc. Davidis in negotio de non invocando J. C. in precibus. Basil, 1581. 8., p. 277. The third superintendent, from 1592, George Eneydin, favored the Non Ad- orantes (Walch, v. 184), against whom, however, meanwhile, Prince George Rakotzi began to put the old laws into strict execution, 1638 (Walch, v. 188 ; Fock, i. 258).

38 Supra, Div. I., § 16, Note 23.

39 So among the Szeklers more than 60 churches (Archiv für Kirchengeschichte, iv. i. 154), particularly the Non Adorantes, Walch, v. 189, and nobles, Walch, vii. 851.

40 Their doctrinal system is unfolded in Summa Universae Theologiae Christianae sec- cundum Unitarios, Claudiopolis, 1787. 8. (from the papers left by superintendent Michael Lombard Sz. Abrahami, t 1758, edited by George Markos, professor of theology in Clausenburg; see Archiv f. Kircheng., i. 1, 86; iv. 1, 155). Extracts by Rosenmüller, in Staudlin's und Tschirner's Archiv f. Kircheng., i. 1. 88. Here baptism and the Lord's Supper appear as Sacramenta (which expression Socinus rejected), i. e., as mutuae inter Deum ac homines sacrae confederationis tesserae; non enim sunt tantum testimonia obedienciae christianæ, sed etiam gratiae divinae in nos collatae et conferendae signa, vim significandi non a natura, sed ex institutione Dei et Christi habentia. Baptism, as the rite of consecration, is binding on all, and infant baptism is to be retained, though it can not be proved from the New Testament; Fock, i. 261.

41 Lubieniecius, p. 239; Vita A. Wissowatii at the end of Sandii Bibli., p. 239; Kra- sinski Gesch. der Reform. in Polen, s. 318; Fock, i. 214.
expelling the Socinians from Racow, 1638. Then began the persecutions, which ended in their total expulsion from Poland, 1658.

The refugees found complete toleration only among their co-religionists in Transylvania; in Prussia and in the Mark they were treated with such forbearance that a few poor remnants survived.

In Holland full freedom was conceded to individuals, but no church was allowed to be gathered: many of them here joined the Mennonites and the Remonstrants.

§ 32.

THE Mennonites.


Among the Anabaptists there had always been a part striving to live strictly according to the Gospel, without putting forth fanatical pretensions to extraordinary spiritual gifts, or attempting to revolutionize existing relations. It was only, however, after

42 Vita Wissowatii, 1. c., p. 238; Krasinski, s. 321; Fock, i. 220.
43 They were accused of treason in the war with Sweden; also in the work, Productiones Arianorum patriae suae Poloniae sub tempus belli Sueci, 1657. 4. In reply Stanial. Lubieniecius wrote Memoriale in causa Fratrum Unitariorum. Stetini, 1659. (MS., see Bock, i. 1. 455 s.) So, too, Sam. Przytkovius Vindiciae pro Unitariorum in Polonia religionis libertate (reprinted at the end of Sandii Bibl., p. 267; cf. Bock, i. ii. 699). Lubieniecius, p. 293; Vita Wissowatii, p. 248; Schrochh's Kirchengesch. s. d. Ref., ix. 427; Krasinski, s. 823; Fock, ii. 226.
44 Rambach's Religionsstreitigkeiten mit den Socianern, s. 190; Schröchh, ix. 443; Fock, ii. 234, 251.
45 Rambach, s. 177; Fock, i. 242.
1 Sebastian Franck's Chronlk, 1536, fol. f. 448 a. [The substance is, that a Christian is one who lives no longer after the flesh, nor seeks aught on earth; to whom life and death are the same; who when struck strikes not again; who loves his enemies; who never seeks his own by force; who gives what every one asks, takes no oath, bears no weapons, and has naught in common with the world.] Etliche unterihnen wollen, es sei so ein heiliges, einfältiges, unstrafliches, abgestorbenes, vollkommenes Ding um einen Christen, also dass er nach dem Fleisch nimmer lebe, noch das auf Erden sey suchen
the disturbances at Münster that Menno Simons came forward, 1536, to give a form of government and order to the dispersed. He had previously been a Catholic pastor at Witmarsum, near Franeker, and by the reading of the Scriptures and the writings of the Reformers had attained the same stand-point with the Anabaptists. By unwearied activity, and in constant peril of life, he had succeeded in founding churches, especially in the Netherlands, and then in many of the cities on the coast of Northern Germany and Prussia. He ended his life, spent in constant danger, in Frensenburg, near Oldesloe, in Holstein, June 13, 1561.

The distinguishing characteristic of the Mennonites (Doopsgezindenz) consisted in this, that they tried simply and strictly to möge. Deshalb soll und möge ein Christ der Welt nicht mehr leben, nichts Weltliches mehr achen, dem gleich gelte sterben als leben, ja dem diese Leben eine Langweile sey. der aller Ding gelassen stehen; geschlagen nicht wieder schlage, der sogar verlaug-net sein selbst nicht mehr sey, dass er allen Creaturen widersagt hat, dass er nichts mehr nach dem Fleische kenne, der Sterben für einen Gewinn achtet, Reichtum für Koth, ja der Welt Freund, Wollust, Ehre, Leben für Leid, Unlust, Schande und Tod achtet,—der liebe seine Feind, benedete die, die ihn vermealeden, der aller Ding in allen Dingen Gott frei ledig und gelassen in freiem Sabbath stehe, in dem Gott allezeit seinen Platz und Werk möge haben, der willig und gern Gewalt leide, das Seine mit Gewalt genommen nicht wieder fordere, der Jedermann gebe und leihe, wer bittet und fordert, und nichts dafür hoffe, der aller Ding nicht schwere, nicht vor Gericht handle, nicht kriege, keine Waffen trage, der kein weltlich Herrschaft, Zins oder Knecht möge haben, der aller Ding als ein gestorbener Mensch einhergehe ohne allen Geschmuck, der nichts Eigenes möge haben und nichts mit der Welt gemein, als Gastung, Freudenmal, Händel, Zunft, Gesellschaft, Wirthschaft, Hochzeit, Tanze, u. s. w.

The Münster projects were disapproved by Ubbø Philips, who was a Catholic priest in Leewarden (1584), and had become one of the leaders of the Anabaptists, and had consecrated David Joris (§ 30, Note 9), Menno Simons, and his brother Dirk Philips (Schyn, ii. 185) as ministers of the sect: this he declares himself in his confession written after he had gone over to the Reformed Church. See this in Jehring, s. 216. Gerdesii Hist. Reform, iii. 112. Menno, too, often speaks very strongly against the Münster disturbances; compare his work, Tegen Jan van Leyden, Opp., p. 1165.

On his life, see Jo. Molleri Cimbria Literata, ii. 885. M. M. Cramer het Leven en de Verrigtingen van Menno Simons, Amst., 1837. Menno Symons geschillert von B. K. Roosen, menn. Prediger, Leipzig, 1848. He has himself described his exodus from the papacy in the Claren Beantwoordinge over eene Schrift Gellii Fabri, 1552, Opp., p. 470; Latin by Schyn, ii. 119; German by Gittermann, in Staudlin's u. Tzschimer's Archiv f. Kirchengesch., ii. i. 102, and in Von Reiswitz u. Wadzbeck, i. 49. Opera Menno Symons ofte groot Sommarie dat is Vergaderingh van sijne Boecken en Schriften, 1646. 4. (In this collected edition, however, much has been changed; see Ottius, p. 97).

His journeys and the different places where he stopped can not be exactly pointed out. First he staid in West Friesland, until he was declared an outlaw by an edict, 1543, (Ottius, p. 100). Then he was a longer time in Emden (Ubbø Emnus in Historia Fris., p. 921), later in Lübeck and Wismar; see Molleri Cimbria literata, p. 837. The Reformed preacher in Emden, Martin Micronius, writes, 1556, to Bullinger: Mennonis regnum latissime in hisce omnibus maritimis regionibus patet, ab extremis Flandriae oris Dantiscum usque (Ottius, p. 125).

On the origin of these names, which first came up after 1570, see Jaarboekje voor de
lay hold with a believing heart upon all the doctrines and precepts of the Scripture, and to carry them out in life. They did not accept any Confession of Faith, and ascribed no worth to scientific expositions of the doctrinal system. Accordingly, they rejected
the oath (Matt. v. 37), the use of arms (Matt. xxvi. 52), all revenge (Matt. v. 39), divorce excepting in case of adultery (Matt. v. 32), and infant baptism (Matt. xxviii. 19). In the doctrine of grace they held that Christ died for all; in the Lord's Supper they agreed with Zwingle. The Church was to them the com-

so verre van Godt geleert, dat ick van herten bekenne, dat mijn Verloosser ende Hey-


11 Menno, p. 43: Ons en is niet een letter in de gantsche.Schrift bevolken, als dat wy


over dat dienelijcke ende tastelijcke signo disputeren sullen, wat dat in hem sy. De ge-


stelijcke rechten alle dingen geestelijck: want wat dat in der substantie sy, mach met


handen getast, met oogen gesien, ende meten monde gesmaect worden. Maer dat staet


ons meest te bedencken, dat wy dat significato, dat is dat gene, dat met desen signo (dat


is teken) allen waerachtigen Christgeloovigen voorgedragen, afgebeelt ende vermaeht


wort, in onser swackheyt mogen na komen, ende so veel als in ons is, gelijckformich


zijn. Comp. p. 591 and 888.
munion of saints, to be kept in its purity by strict discipline.\textsuperscript{12}

The civil magistracy they declared to be still necessary, but for-\textsuperscript{13}
eign to Christ's kingdom, so that no one of their number could hold a magistrate's office.

As early as 1554 a controversy about the strictness of ex-\textsuperscript{13}
communication divided the milder Waterlanders (the rude Mennonites) from the stricter or finer Mennonites; these last (1565) were split up into three parties—Flemings, Frisons, Germans.\textsuperscript{14} These divi-

\textsuperscript{12} Menno, p. 555: The Church is a—Vergaderinge der Godtvruchtigen ende een gemeen-\textsuperscript{13} schap der Heyligenen. P. 541: Soo lange de Herders ende de Leeraers dat godt-\textsuperscript{14} slige vrome leven in der kracht drenen, Doop ende Nachtmael den boetvoerlighen alleene toodtiende, ende de Afsonderinghe na der Schrift recht bielden, zyn sy Christi Gemeyn-\textsuperscript{15} te ende kercke gebleven. Maer soo haest sy dat gemackelijck ruymte loven sochten, dat crucyes Christi hateden, hebben sy die Roede neder gheleyt, den Volcke vrede toegeseyt, den Ban metter tijt milder gemaect, ende also een Gemeynte Antichristi, Babel, ende Werelt geworden, gelijck van vele hondert Jaren herwaerts wel gesien is.—Gelijck een Wijnberch sonder thuyn ende graven, ende een Stadt sonder muren ende Pooren is: soo is ook een Gemeynete, die sonder Afsonderinghe ende Ban is. Want de Vyandt tot alsulck een vryen inganck hebben, ende zyn verdoemelijck Oncruydt onverhindert zaey-\textsuperscript{16}
en ende planten mach. Risii et Gerardi Confessio, Art. 24 (Schyn, l. 201): Tales fideles et regenerati homines, per totum terrarum orbem dispersi, sunt verus Dei populus, sive Ecclesia Jesu Christi in terra.—At quamvis hanc inter Ecclesiam ingens simulaturum et hypocritarum lateat et versetur multitudo, illi tamen soli, qui in Christo regenerati et sanctificati sunt, vera corporis Christi sunt membra, atque ea propter beatorum promis-\textsuperscript{17}
sorum haeredes. Art. 25: In hac sua sancta Ecclesia Christus ordinavit Ministerium evangelicu-\textsuperscript{18} num, nempe doctrinam verbi divini, usum sacrorum Sacramentorum, curamque pauperum, ut et Ministros ad perfungendum istis ministeriis: atque insuper exercitium fraternalis allocationis, punitionis et tandem amotionis eorum, qui in improientia perse-\textsuperscript{19}
verant: quae ordinationes in verbo Dei conceptae solummodo juxta sensum ejusdem verbi exequendae sunt.

\textsuperscript{13} Risii et Gerardi Confessio; Art. 37 (Schyn, l. 214): Potestas sive magistratus politicius necessaria Dei ordinatio est, instituenda ad gubernationem communis societatis humanae, et conservationem vitæ naturalis et civiliter bonae, ad defensionem honorum et castigationem malorum. Agnoscimus, verbo Dei nos obligante, officii nostri esse, po-\textsuperscript{14} testatem revereri, eique honorum et obedientiam exhibere omnibus in rebus, quae verbo Dominie non sunt contrariae. Nostri officii est, Deum omnipotentem pro eis deprecarri, illique pro bonis et sequiturus gratias agere, atque abaque murmuratione justa tributa et vectigalia reddere. Potestatem hanc politicam Dominus Jesus in regno suo spirituali, Ecclesia Novi Testamenti, non instituit, neque hanc officiis Ecclesiae suae adjunxit: neque discipulos aut sequaces suos ad regalem, ducalem, vel aliam potestatem vocavit, neque praebuit, ut illam arriperent et munerum et munierant: multo minus Ecclesiae suae membris dedit iegem tali muneris aut dominio convenientem: sed passim ab eo (cui voce e coelo audit) sanctum et sanctam ad imitationem iner-\textsuperscript{15} mis ejus vitae et vestigia crucem ferentia; et in quo nihil minus apparuit, quam mun-\textsuperscript{16} danum regnum, potestas et gladius. Hisce omnibus igitur exacte perpense (atque insu-\textsuperscript{17} per, non paucas cum munere potestatis politicae conjuncta esse, ut bellum gerere, hosti-\textsuperscript{18} bus bona et vita eripere, etc., quae vitae Christianorum, qui mundo mortui esse de-\textsuperscript{19} bent, aut males aut plane non conveniet), hinc a talibus officiis et administrationibus nos substitucumus.

\textsuperscript{14} Waterland on the Pampus, in North Holland.—The division (1565) originated in Fri-\textsuperscript{15}
sland, between the Frisons and Flemings (refugees from Flanders). The Flemings were the stricter party; and the most important point of dispute was about the sentence
sions lost their importance in the seventeenth century. But a separation that took place in Amsterdam, 1664, had a much wider influence, extending also to the other Dutch churches; it was between the Mennonites who held the opinions of the Remonstrants and the old orthodox party.

For a long time the Mennonites were thought to be like the fanatical Anabaptists, and were severely prosecuted; but the exception of excommunication, which, according to the strict view, should be inflicted for every transgression without previous warning; and it broke off communion between married persons and relatives. Menno was at first for the milder view (see letters to the Brethren at Franeker, 1555, and to the Brethren at Emden, 1556, in Jehring, s. 222); but he then went over to the stricter party (see Banboeck, Opp., p. 949). Besides this the fine Mennonites held fast to Menno’s opinion, that Christ as man was created in the womb of Mary, without receiving aught from her; cf. Opera, p. 667, 1021; see the Confession of the Frisons and Germans, 1630, in Schyn, ii. 92; on this point, ibid., p. 164 (cf. M. Hofmann, § 30, Note 12). Lastly, the fine Mennonites were distinguished by the washing of feet; see the Confession, 1630, Art. 13 (Schyn, ii. 101): Sequitur adhuc Sanctum lotium pedum cum a fidelibus consortibus et longinquus advenientibus invisimur, ut eorum pedes secundum consuetudinem veteres Testaments et Christi exemplum data occasione lavemus, eo contestantes nostram coram Deo proximoque humilitatem, supplici voto, ut Dominus nos quotidie in humilitate corroboret, et ut nos invicem aliquuin pedes lavimus, ita et ipsi compleaceat nostras animas suo sanguine ac aqua Spiritus sancti ab omni macula et impuritate peccatiemcndare et depurare. The full narration of these divisions, from an eye-witness, translated in Jehring, s. 104, gives the repulsive picture of a rude pieté, pervaded by ambition and dogmatism of the smallest kind.

At a meeting in Cologne, 1591, the Frisons united with the Germans (Ottius, p. 187): the Confession there adopted is the Concept of Cologne, May 1, 1591 (Jehring, s. 181). These, again, united with the Flemings in Amsterdam, 1630; and this union was several times renewed, e. g., in Leyden, 1664; see the agreement there set forth, in Jehring, s. 275; cf. Schyn, ii. 42. In all these unions the milder party prevailed, that is, the one originally that of the Waterlanders; Jehring, s. 21. Some churches, especially of the Frisons, remained separate.

The leader of the Remonstrants, or Socinians, was Dr. Galenus Abrahams (see Benehms’s Holland. Kirch. u. Schulenstaat, l. 882; Jehring, s. 80), hence called Galenists, and, from the house where they assembled (bij het Lam), Lamists; the opponents were called Apostoolians, from their leader, Dr. Samuel Apostool; and Zonists, from their house in de Zon (sun). By the Algemeene Doopsgezinde Societeit, founded in 1811, the two churches came again into closer fellowship; see Jaarboekje voor de Doopsgez. Gemeenten, 1838 en 1839, p. 118; cf. p. 99.

Menno (Opera, 994) recites and refutes the objections made to them: viz., 1. They are Münsterites; 2. They would not obey civil authority; 3. They are insurrectionary, and would take possession of cities and lands if they only had the power; 4. They had their goods in common; 5. They had many wives, and had women in common, seggen tot malkanderen: Suster, mijn geest begeert u vleesch; 6. If any one after baptism fell into sin, they refused all repentance and grace; 7. Sy schelden ons, wy zijn Lantloppers, heymelickes lynpers, oft sluypers in die huyzen, vervoorders' nieuwe Monnicken, Glyseners, dat wy ons beroemen sonder sonde te zijn, Hemelstormers ende werckheyligen, di door onze verdiensten ende wercken willen salich worden, een godtloose Secte ende Rotterlje, Kinderenzielmoordenaers, Wederdopers, Sacramentschenders, ende dat wy met den Duyvel beseten zijn; 8. It was said: Welsen, hebben sy die waerheyrt, so laet haer int openbaer komen.
ample of their martyrs only confirmed their steadfastness. By their diligence, frugality, honesty, and love of peace they obtained position and esteem. In the Netherlands they first received toleration after having given, in 1572, important aid in money to Prince William of Orange; in 1626 they obtained entire religious freedom. In the cities on the coast—Emden, Hamburg, Dantzic, and Elbingen—they obtained toleration on account of their mercantile importance.

In the Palatinate there were also churches of Baptists, who kept up church fellowship with the Dutch Mennonites. Less close was the connection of the latter with the churches, which, in spite of all penal statutes, continued to exist in Switzerland in considerable numbers and strength. From thence, too, they came into Moravia. They were expelled from Moravia, 1622, by Ferdi-

18 Their memory was carefully preserved by writings. The first Martyrology, often reprinted, was: Het offer des Heeren, 1542, in 12mo. Then the Waterlanders published Martelaarspiegel der weereleoo Christenen, Haarlem, 1615 and 1851. 4. The Frisians put forth in opposition the Historie van de vrome getuigen Jesu Christi, Hoorn, 1617 and 1626, because in the Martyrs' Mirror the declarations of the martyrs on the incarnation of Christ had, they said, been falsified. Last of all: Het bloedigh Tooneel der Dopsgezinde, etc., door Tielemans van Bragh, Dordrecht, 1660, fol., and Amsterdam, 1685, 2 T., fol. Comp. Jaarboekje, 1838 en 1839, p. 102.

19 Wagenaar Beschrijving van Amsterdam, Deel iii., Boek iii., fol. 237. Ottius, p. 158.

20 Menno, in 1544, is said to have himself been in Cologne, and had intercourse with the Anabaptists of that region (Jaarboekje, 1838 en 1839, p. 57).—The meeting of the Swiss and German Anabaptists in Strasburg, 1555, consulted upon the incarnation of Christ; see Martelaarspiegel, p. 198. Hoornsches Martyrerbuch, p. 210.—The Elector Frederick III., in 1571, had a conference held with the Anabaptists (Protocol d. i. alle Handlung des Gesprachszu Frankenthal mit denen so man Wiedertaufen nennt, Heidelberg, 1578. Struven's pfälzische Kirchenhistorie, s. 288), the protocol of which is reckoned by the Mennonites among their doctrinal documents, Schyn, ii. 223.—On the union of the Frisons and Germans in Cologne, 1591, see supra, Note 15.

21 On the different sorts of Swiss Baptists, see H. Bullinger's der Wiedertaufferen Ursprung, Fürgang, Secten, Wesen, fürneme und gemeine ihrer Lehr Artikel, Zürich, 1560. 4. Bl. 17. Erbkam's Gesch. d. Protest. Secten., s. 556. Among them there long remained vestiges of the original fanaticism, and they were thus distinguished from the Mennonites (Ottius, p. 302, 327); yet the latter looked upon them as brethren in the faith, and several times procured intercessions of the States-General in their behalf addressed to the cantons; thus to Zürich, 1660 (Ottius, p. 348), to Berne, 1710; in Jehr, s. 292.

22 Here, too, they were driven away after 1547 (Ottius, p. 109). Many, however, remained behind, and strengthened themselves from Switzerland (Ottius, p. 162 ss. 170 s. 222). Moravia became the Holy Land of the Wiedertauffer, and their messengers invited them to come there from all quarters (Ottius, p. 178). Here they lived in a strictly-governed community (see the description in Vier und funfzig erhebliche Ursachen, warum die Wiedertauffer nicht sein im Lande zu leiden, durch Chr. A. Fischer, Kathol. Pfarrer zu Veldaperg, Ingolstadt, 1697. Ottius, p. 201, 240; Erbkam, s. 572). The Herrenhuters (United Brethren) have manifestly derived many of their regulations from this source.
From Switzerland, after the persecution of 1659, they retreated into Alsace and the Rhenish Palatinate.

§ 33.

CASPAR SCHWENCKFELD.

Caspar Schwenckfeld, 1 of Ossing, a nobleman in the service of the Duke of Liegnitz, and a pious and zealous advocate of the Reformation, 2 began early to complain of its insufficiency, on the ground that it produced among its adherents only a dead faith, instead of a genuine Christian life. 3 When the controversy about the Lord's Supper broke out between Luther and Zwingle, he conceived that he had received (1525) by revelation the only true interpretation of the words of institution; and here he approached the Swiss view. 4 But as he became more confirmed in the

1 Comp. Ermahnung des Missbrauches etlicher fürnehmsten Artikels des Evangeliums, und der Unverstand der gemeinen Mann in der Christenheit, v. 11. Juni, 1524. 4. These abused articles he designates as being: 1. That faith alone justifies us; 2. That we have no free-will; 3. That we can not keep God's commands; 4. That our works are nothing; 5. That Christ has made satisfaction for us. Thus we hear it said: "Ey wer kann Gottes Gebot halten? Unsere Seligkeit besteht ja nicht in Werken, sondern in Glauben, haben wir doch das Evangelion d. i. eine trost- liche Botschaft, und Christus hat uns vom Gesetz befreit."—"Es sind alle Bierhäuser voll unnützer Prediger, lassen sich bedürken, so sie nur einen Zank mit Gottes Wort anrichten, Widerpart halten konnten, und sehr schreien, saufen, und alle Eitelkeit treiben, es stünde ganz wohl in der Christenheit, man redete stets von Gott, und sagt, sie stehen bei Gottes Wort."—But if they would take the words of Christ to heart: "meines Wortes sind Geist und Leben, so würden sie nicht so unschicklich damit würfeln, sondern in anderer Weise dem Worte nachzurichten."

4 He gained over to this view Valentin Krautwald, preacher in Liegnitz, who also first declared it in letters (Epistolare, Th. 2, Buch 2, in the beginning). He thus interprets the words of institution: Quod ipse panis fructus est corpori esurienti, nempe cibus, hoc est corpus meum, cibus videlicet esurientium animarum. On the conferences about it, which Schwenckfeld had as early as 1525 with Luther, in Wittenberg, see Schwenckfeld's letter to Dr. Zauch (Epist., ii. ii. 20), and F. v. Walden (I. c., p. 24); cf. Salig, iii.
idea that the spiritual renewal of man was effected by an immediate agency of God in the soul, and not by the external, ecclesiastical means of grace—by Christ, the internal Word, and not by the outward Word of God—he framed a series of mystical speculations, in which he came into decided opposition to all Christian parties. Among all creatures, so he taught, man alone is destined to become partaker of the divine nature. For this object the Word of God became man; not created as a man, but begotten in the Virgin from the divine essence, and hence begotten essentially in the same way with the Word. So Christ upon the cross

961. Erbkam, a. 370. The preachers in Liegnitz all participated in Schwenckfeld's views; see their declaration to the Duke, 1527, in Rosenberg's Schles. Reformationsgeschichte, a. 412.


7 Epistolare, ii. ii. 461, 851.

Confession von J. Chr., Th. 8. (in Schwenkfeld's christl. orthodoxische Bücher, i. 226): "Solche nemlich, dass Gott dieses Menschens, ja des ganzen Christi, des einigen Sohnes Gott und Menschens, ganzer Vater, auch im Erzeugen und Empfangnuss seines Fleisches ist, so wol als der ganze Christus Gottes und Mariä einiger Sohn ist, wölen sie nicht gung bedenken, sehen auf die Mutter zu viel zur linken Seiten, also dass sie Gott den Vater zur Rechten hinterstellig lassen, gleich als ob Christus nicht ganz (auch nach seinem Menschen) Gottes Sohn wäre, sonder halb, also zu reden, des Vaters, und die ander Halfte der Mutter war: wie sollten sie denn nicht mit ihm unter die Creaturen schlagen? so doch Gott der himmlische Vater (von welchem alle Sippschaft herkommt) auch da sein vaterlíchke Amt braucht, wie ihm gebühret, das ist Gottlich und himmlisch, dass Maria schwanger wird, dass sie ihm einen ganzen Sohn zum Heiland aller Welt empfanget und gebiert. Der Mensch Jesus Christus ist ein neuer Mensch, ein ander Adam, weder der erste Adam, und seine Nachkömmlinge creaturische Menschen seyn, und ob er wohl ein Mensch, auch in den Tagen seines Fleisches ein sterblicher wahrer Mensch gewest is, so ist er doch Gottes natürlicher Sohn, er ist nicht geschaffen, sondern aus Gott und einer heil. Jungfrau durch den heil. Geist gebohren.

Er hat wohl ein menschlich Fleisch und ist Fleisch, es hat aber viel ein ander Gestalt mit seinem Fleische, weder mit allem creaturlichen erschaffenen Fleische.—Wenn sie nun nicht gern mutwillig und fürsetzlich wollen irren, so werden sie die zweierlei Amt Gottes, das Amt der Schopfung und sein vaterlicher Amt, mit der h. Schrift unterscheiden, und aus Matth. i., Luc. i. bedenken, woher Maria sey schwanger worden, was auch
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has canceled our sin; but after his exaltation he was wholly

Unterschiedes seyn möge zwischen einem aus Erd oder Staub erschaffnen Menschen, und einem Menschen, der aus Gott und seinem Geiste ursprünglich von einer heil. Jungfrau ist gebohren, oder (wie es Paulus unterscheidet) zwischen einem Fleische der Sünden und einem andern, das wohl in der Gleichheit des Fleisches der Sünde, aber doch nicht ein Fleisch der Sünden war, wie denn Christus ein solch heilig neu Fleisch, auch vom ersten Blick seines Empfängnus aus Maria gehabt hat. Also denn mögen sie bald finden, dass Christus ein göttlicher Mensch, θεόν χρυσός, ein neuer himmlischer Mensch, ein Mittler und sonderlicher Herr und Heiland ist. Darum sollen sie bedenken, dass Gott der Allmächtige seinen göttlichen Rath beim Menschen, oder beim Fleische und Menschwerden, nicht auf einen, noch auf einerlei Menschen oder Ankunft des Menschen, sondern auf zwei unterschiedene Menschen fürgenommen und gestellt hat. Auf zween, sagt, deren einer irdisch, der andere himmlisch war, nicht also himmlisch, dass er nicht ein wahres Fleisch und Blut hab, noch aussem Fleisch Mariä nicht sey erzeuget und gebohren, sondern dass er von ihr neuer himmlischer göttlicher Weise erzeugt, und in ihr sey empfangen, dass sein Anfang aus Gott ist herkommen, wie es auch die Väter also ausgelegt und verstanden haben. Aus welchem allem—mogen sie guten Bescheid haben, dass der Mensch Jesus Christus kein Creatur oder Geschöpf, auch in den Tagen seines Fleisches nie gewest ist. Denn sollt er ein Creatur seyn, so müsste ja entweder vom Vater oder von der Mutter herkommen, nicht vom Vater, weil Gott der Vater keiner erschaffenen Creatur, als Creatur, Vater, sondern ihr Schopfer ist: auch nicht von der Mutter, denn sie hat ihnen nicht vermögen zu schaffen, noch das Wesen geben, so wenig sie aus eigener Kraft hätten mogen schwanger werden, ob sie wohl ihr jungfräuliches Fleisch darzudarber dargerecht hat, dass er Mensch ist gebohren: woher soll denn Christus ein gebohren Creatur, und nichtvielmehr Gottes naturalicher eingeborener Sohn seyn?“ Schwenckfeld believed that the union of the divine and human natures in one Person could be conceived of only in this way; and he declared that the common view, which ascribed much to the human alone, and other things again only to the divine nature, was more Nestorianism. Comp. Von der Ganzheit Christi, beide im Leiden und in seiner Herrlichkeit, mit Aufdeckung und treuer Warnung an alle Christen, sich zu hüten für den wiederholten Nestorianischen Irrthum der Theilung des eingeborenen unzerteiligen Sohnes Gottes, 1542. 4., and Cassianus Von der Menschenwerdung Christi wider den Nestorianischen Irrthum der Theilung Christi, 4.; comp. Erbkam, s. 460.—It still, indeed, remains incomprehensible how aught but perfect deity can be generated from the divine nature, and how that which Mary imparted in the conception of Christ could have been nothing of a creature kind. Dorner’s Entwickelungsgesch. d. Lehre v. d. Person Christi, s. 204.; Baur’s Lehre v. d. Dreienigkeit und Menschenwerdung Gottes in ihrer geschichtl. Entwicklung, ii. 219.

* Confession von J. Chr., Th. 3 (Orthodox. Bücher, i. 286): “Also sagen wir, dass Christus Jesus, so er unser Mittler und Hohepriester ist, der sey, welcher seinen Leib, ja sich selbst, zum immerwährenden Opfer aufgeopfert, uns mit Gott versöhnet, vom ewigen Tode gefreitet, die Sünde mit seinem Blute abgewaschen, und derselbigen Vergebung, auch die Heiligung und das ewige Leben durch seinen bittern Tod hab erworben. Solches hat dem Mittler Gottes und der Menschen, dem Herrn J. Chr. nach dem Willen seines Vaters wollen gebühren, welches auch alleine ihnen aus der Creatures Ordnung zu heben mehr denn genug wäre. Nachdem sich aber dieser Mittler und Hohepriester selbst für uns hat aufgeopfert, und durch sein eigen Blut einmal in Sancta, d. i. in den Himmel selbst war eingegangen, und eine ewige Erlösung hat erfünden, mitteilt er nun weiter, dass gedachte Erlösung und seine Wohltat, ja alles, was er in seiner Dispensation durch den Gehorsam des Kreuzes und durch sein heilig Leiden hat erworben, und im Himmel zu der Rechten Gottes eingenommen, auch nur durch ihn, ja in ihm, und aus ihm auf uns komme, und bei unsern Herzen, Seel und Gewissen zur ewigen Seligkeit werde angelegt. Deshalb er denn von Gott seinem Vater zum Haupt der Gemeine, welche sein Leib ist, gegeben, auf dass er mit allein der sey, welcher unser Botschaft Gott handelt, und alles bei ihm erwirbet, sonder den eingenommenen Reicht-
adopted into the deity; so that his very flesh was made divine, becoming what God himself is; and thus he remains eternally in two natures, but his human nature is divine. This ruler in the Kingdom of Grace directly produces regeneration in the hearts of men, imparting himself to them, and dwelling in them with flesh and blood, as well as in the spirit, and is their real food, which
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is only set forth in figure in the Lord's Supper. By such regen-

unser Gerechtigkeit war? O selig seind, die nach solcher Gerechtigkeit hungert und
dürstet! Matth. v. Daher gehört nun das kurze Evangelium, welches aus Paulo an
drei Orten ist ausgezogen, und lautet also: Christus ist gestorben um unser Sünden
willen, und ist aufgeweckt um unser Gerechtwerdung willen (Rom. 4.), auf dass, so wir
durch seine Gnade gerecht gemacht, Erben wären des ewigen Lebens nach der Hoffnung
(Tit. 3.). Das ist die Summa unser christlichen Glaubens." This righteousness we re-
ceive through faith alone, without works. But the justifying faith is (Bekanntnus und
Rechenschaft v. d. Hauptpuncten des christl. Glaubens. Orthodox. Bücher, i. 8.) "nicht
ein vernünftiger Wahn oder historische Beredung, sondern ein Gabe des h. Geistes, ja im
Grunde ein Wesen mit dem der ihn schenkt oder gibt: er ist ein lebendige empfind-
lliche Kraft des lebendigmachenden Gottes, dadurch die Herzen gereinigt und erneuert
werden, welcher Glaube auch die Gerechtigkeit Gottes, Christum Jesum, wahrhaftig,
richtig und empfindlich nach seiner Masse mit ins glaubige Herz bringt." He speaks
against the Lutheran and Catholic doctrine of justification in Epistolare, i. 812: "Die
Lutherischen haben einen historischen Christum, den sie nach dem Buchstaben erken-
nen, nach seinen Geschichten, Lehre, Mirakeln und Thaten, nicht wie er heut lebendig
ist und wirkt. Wie sie auch einen historischen Vernunftgläuben und historische Justi-

fication haben, die sie auf promiseiones, auf die Verheissnungen, unangesehen wem sie
zuständig sei,—Gründen.— Ihre justitia oder Gerechtigkeit ist allein Vergebung der
Sünden auswendig aus Glauben, wie man etwa Ablass kaufte, und dass uns Gott um
Christi meditatoris, des Mittlers willen die Sünd nicht wolle zurechnen. Das ist, ob wir
schon Sünden sein, und böse Buben bleiben, so werden wir doch propter fidem, um des
Glaubens willen in Christum vor Gott für gerecht gehalten und angenommen, wie sie
meinen, als ob Gott zu uns im Sterben oder am jüngsten Tag sagen würde: "kommt
her ihr Buben in Himmel um Christi meines Sohns willen," etc. Gott hält keinen für
gerecht, in dem gar nichts seiner wesentlichen Gerechtigkeit ist.—Nach dem Glauben
und Erkantniss, da man alleinglaubt, dass Christus das sey, was die Schrift von ihm
sagt, wird niemand gerecht noch selig vor Gott: sonst müssten alle gerecht und selig
seyn, die Christum für ihren Erlöser und Seligmacher nach dem Zeugniss der heil.
Schrift haben angenommen, und Christen genannt werden. Drum trachten so wenig
Lutherische nach rechtauffencklicher Busse und Besserung des Lebens, und wird also
die Heiligung des Geistes, die Erneuerung des Goumh, und die rechte Frommigkeit in
Christo, wie auch die neuhe Geburt, die guten Werk und Busse verdunkelt, dass ich nit
sage gar aufgehaben. Dagegen suchen das Gegenteil (the Catholice) in gemein die
Frommigkeit oder Gerechtigkeit in ihren Werken, Applicationibus, Zueignungen, Ver-
dienst und Ceremonien fürnehmlich: Christus regnans et justificans, der regierende
gerechtmachende Christus muss überall das Nachträben halten. Sie wollen (beede
Part) den neuen Menschen, der nach Gotte gesassan ist in Heiligkeit und Gerecht-
keit der Wahrheit, vom alten nicht unterscheiden, noch die neuhe Creatur, die in Christo
Jesu vor Gott allein gilt (Gal. vi.), nicht recht bedenken, welches viel Irrthum gebieret."
If the essential divine righteousness is in the regenerate man, he must be without sin; and accordingly this inference was drawn from Schweneckfeld's
doctrine. Flacius first represented this as his doctrine, and afterward the Formula Con-
cordiae did the same (Cap. 12). Schweneckfeld himself repeatedly denied this inference,
saying that the regenerate still sin in many ways, on account of the old man still re-
mainning, and that they would be perfectly renewed only in the resurrection of the dead;
see Planck, v. i. 221; Erbkam, s. 418, Anm.

11 Bekanntnus und Rechenschaft v. d. Hauptpuncten des christl. Glaubens (Ortho-
dox. Bücher, i. 16): In respect to baptism two kinds of water are to be distinguished:
"Nämlich ein geistlich, gottlich Wasser der Gnaden, ein Bad des Wassers im Worte
des Lebens (welches der h. Gelst ist), damit der himmlische Hohepriester Jesus Chr.
innerlich die Seel, Herz und Gewissen zur Vergebung der Sünden taudt, und ein leiblich
elementisch Wasser, damit der Diener ausserlich den Leib oder das Aeusserc am Men-
schen auf das Anrufen und Bekanntnus des Namens des Herrn taudt." That purifica-
eration man is made just, and becomes a partaker of the divine nature and the divine essence, as was his original destination.

Schwenckfeld was obliged to leave Silesia in 1528; he staid by turns in Strasburg, Augsburg, Spires, and Ulm, without attaching himself to any of the existing parties. He showed most regard for the Anabaptists, many of whom were spiritually related to him; and for a long time he was still in intercourse with the Swiss. But after he had more fully avowed his peculiar opinions a contest originated, from 1538, in which he was attacked from all quarters in innumerable controversial works, particularly on

tion comes through faith in the blood of Christ: "Das Wasser des Sacraments wäscht den Leib, und bedeutet das was in der Seele geschieht, welche durch den Geist wird gereinigt." So, too, in respect to the Lord's Supper, two kinds of food, the spiritual and the corporeal (s. 18): "Namlich, ein geistlich, gotlich, himmlisch Brot, Speise und Trank, welches der Leib Christi für uns gegeben, und sein heillig Blut ist, das zur Vergebung der Sünden ist vergossen; und ein leiblich sacramentlich Brot und Trank, so der Herr Jesus im Nachmal zu seinem Wiedergedächtnus zu brechen, zu essen und zu trinken für seinem Abscheide den Seinen hat befohlen. Das erst Brot giebt allein Christus der Sohn des Menschen innerlich zur Speise, Kraft und Nahrung der christlichen Seele, wie ersolches zuvor (Job. vi.) hat verheißen, welcher auch von Gott dem Vater allein darzu ist besiegelt.— Das andrer Brot heisst das Brot des Herren, welches der-Diener giebt, oder mit der christl. Gemeine brich zum Wiedergedächtnus des Herren." The internal, spiritual eating must precede, and the sacramental and external follow. So (s. 22) he contends against the Lutheran as well as the Zwinglian doctrine of the Supper, but (Epistolare, i. 104) especially against the notion that Christ is in the bread: "Der sich mit dem irdischen Brote will vereinigen, der sollte, drinnen oder it die Ehe genossen werden. Unser Christus ist heut nicht mehr unter der Gewalt der Sünden, dass ihn die Gottlosen zur Speise genissen."  

12 Leben und Wirken C. Schwenkfeld's in Schlesien, 1490-1528, by A. Wachler, in the Schlesische Provinzialblätter, 1883, i. 119.  

13 Epistolare, ii. 111. 307: "Die Wiedertaufers sind mir deshalb desto lieber, dass sie sich um göttliche Wahrheit etwas mehr, denn viele der Gelehrten bekümmern. Wer Gott sucht im Ernste, der wird ihn finden." Yet still he accused them of holding many errors, especially in overestimating their baptism, and communion with their Church; and thus he puts aside the objection, often made to him, that lie was a secret Anabaptist; he also refers, on this point, to the fact that the leaders of the Anabaptists had forbidden their followers all intercourse with him under penalty of excommunication; Epist., ii. ii. 1012; comp. Orth. Bücher, i. 371 ff.  

14 The Lutheran divines assembled at Smalcald, March, 1540, published a declaration drawn up by Melancthon, De Francko et Schwenckfeldio (Corp. Ref., iii. 983), in which they rejected Schwenckfeld's doctrine, Humanitatem Christi post glorificationem non esse creaturam as impium delirium. The theologians convened at Worms issued, Oct. 4, 1557, another declaration, also written by Melancthon, especially against the doctrine of Schwenckfeld that the divine element comes first, and after that the external word for exercising the external man (Corp. Ref., ix. 324).—Salig, iii. 968, gives an enumeration of Schwenckfeld's writings in chronological order, with extracts. The collection begun in four folios comprises hardly the half of them, viz.: I. "Der erste Theil der christl. orthodoxischen Bücher und Schriften des edlen, etc., Manns Casp. Schwenckfeldt, 1564, fol. sine loco (contains the most important doctrinal writings; the second part was not published). II. Epistolar des edlen, etc., Casp. Schwenckfeldts, christlich lehrhaftes Missiven, 1556 (doctrinal and practical). III. and IV. The second part of the Episto-
account of his Eutychianism. He replied to every assault, especially contending against the position that the flesh of Christ was a created substance, representing this as the weightiest of errors. As, however, he also attributed the highest value to that internal sanctification wrought by Christianity, he not only gained the regard of several princes, particularly the Landgrave Philip, of Hesse, and Elector Joachim, of Brandenburg, but also adherents among the Suabian nobles and in Silesia, who called themselves the Believers in the Glory of Christ. In Württemberg they succumbed to the persecutions that began in 1558. In Silesia and Upper Lusatia they continued after his death, which occurred at Ulm, December 10, 1562. But after 1718 persecution drove them from Silesia; most of them fled to the Upper Lusatia, and in 1730 the larger part emigrated to Pennsylvania. Frederick the Great at last gave religious freedom to the feeble remnant in Silesia.

_late_ was to contain the mission against the four chief Christian parties, in four books; there were published only the first book, on the Papists' Doctrine and Faith, and the second, on the Lutherans, both in 1570, vol., sine loco; the third and fourth books, against the Zwinglians and Anabaptists, were not issued.

15 Epistol., ii. ii. 683, to the Landgrave Philip: "Meine redliche Meinung, Schreiben, Grund und Glaube ist in Summa dahn gerichtet, dass wir wahre Christen, für Gott fromm, gerecht und selig möchten werden, dass wir Gott den Vater und J. Chr. seinen Sohn (wahren Gott und Mensch) als unsern Herrn im heil. Geiste recht lernten erkennen, wie wir auch des heil. Geistes, des Geistes der Gnaden und des Reichthums Gottes in unsern Herzen möchten theilhaftig werden; item wie wir unsern alten Adam aussiehen, die eingeschriebene Maledeyung ausloschen, und dagegen einen neuen Menschen in göttlicher Benedeyung, in Heiligkeit, Gerechtigkeit und Wahrheit zum ewigen Leben möchten anziehen, und einmal, wie wir für Gott ein gut, sicher, fröhlich Gewissen erlangen und ins Reich Gottes, die himmlische Bürgerschaff Jesu Christi immer weiter versetzen würden, dass wir in Friede, Liebe, Einigkeit, in Christo, aufwachsen und in aller Gottesfurcht leben und wandeln möchten."


17 The year 1561 is usually given as that of his death; see against this Erbkam, s. 411. His followers had no regular churches, but only conventicles; see Hist. Nachricht von Herrn Casp. Schwenckfeld v. Ossing (by the preacher A. Köpcke), Prentzau, 1744, s. 181.

18 Fortges. Sammlung von alten und neuen theolog. Sachen, 1720, s. 494.

19 See the edict, March 8, 1742, in the Hist. Nachricht von Herrn C. Schwenckfeld v. Ossing, s. 2.
PART SECOND OF FIRST DIVISION.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES.

FIRST CHAPTER.

FORMATION OF THE DOCTRINAL SYSTEM IN THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES.

§ 34.

FIRST SHAPING OF THE SYSTEM OF DOCTRINES IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.


As all the genuine attempts for the reformation of the Church proceeded from Augustinianism, which, in opposition to reliance upon works, that fundamental source of corruption, declared the entire helplessness of man, and thus fostered the humility which is the essence of all true piety; so, too, the doctrine of Augustine as to the corruption of human nature, and that man could be saved only by divine grace given in Christ, was the one with which the Reformers of the sixteenth century were most deeply penetrated, and which they consequently enforced in the most living manner.

Luther, more strictly than Augustine, accepted the doctrine of Paul; emphatically teaching that, since even the righteousness of the elect, being incomplete, can not avail before God, so, too, the justification of man with God is only a declaring just on account of the merits of Christ, and that this can be attained only

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by faith in these merits without any works. Moral relations man can, indeed, know and judge by reason; but he can not thus be-

1 Augsburg. Confess. Part I. Art. 4: "Weiter wird gelehrt, dass wir Vergebung der Sünde und Gerechtigkeit für Gott nit erlangen mugen durch unser Verdienst, Werk und Genuethen, sonder dass wir Vergebung der Sünde bekennen und vor Gott gerecht werden aus Gnaden um Christus willen durch den Glauben, so wir glauben, das Christus fur uns gelitten hat, und dass uns um seinetwillen die Sünde vergeben, Gerechtigkeit und ewige Leben geschenkt wird: dann diesen Glauben will Gott fur Gerechtigkeit fur ihm halten und zurechnen, wie Sant Paul sagt zu Romern am 3 u. 4." Melanchthon ad J. Brentium, 1531 (Corp. Ref., ii. 501): De fide teneo quid te exercet. Tu adhuc haeres in Augustini imaginatio, qui eo perervent, ut neget rationis justitiam coram Deo reputari pro justitia; et recte sentit. Deinde imaginatur, nos justos reputari propter hanc impletionem legis, quam efficit in nobis Spiritus sanctus. Sic tu imaginari, fide justificari homines, quia fide accipiamus Spiritum sanctum, ut postea justi esse possimus impletione legis, quam efficit Spiritus sanctus. Haec imaginatio collocat justitiam in nostra impletione, in nostra munditiae seu perfectione, etsi fidei sequi debet haec renovatio. Sed tu rejice oculos ab ista renovatione et a lege in totum ad promissionem et Christum, et sentias, quod propter Christum justi, hoc est accepti coram Deo simus et pacem conscientiae inveniamus, et non propter illum renovationem. Nam haec ipsa novitias non sufficit. Ideo sola fide sumus justi, non quia sit radix, ut tu scribis, sed quia apprehendit Christum, propter quem sumus accepti: qualsit illa novitias, eti necessario sequi debet, sed non pacifac conscientiam. Ideo non dilectio, quae est impletione legis, justificat, sed sola fide, non quia est perfectio quaedam in nobis, sed tantum quia apprehendit Christum: justi sumus non propter dilectionem, non propter legis impletionem, non propter novitatem nostram, eti sint dona Spiritus sancti, sed propter Christum, et hunc tantum fide apprehendimus. Augustinus non satisfacit Pauli sententiae, eti proprius accedit quam Scholastici. Et ego cito Augustinum tanquam prorsus ὅμοψφον propter publicam de eo persuasionem, cum tamen non satia explicat fidei justitiam. Crede mihi, mi Brenti, magna et obscura controversia est de justitia fidei, quia tamen ita recte intelliges, si in totum removeris oculos a legi et imaginae Augustini de impletione legis, et defixeris animum prorsus in gratia promissione, ut sentias, quod propter promissionem et propter Christum justi h. e. accepti sumus, et pacem inveniamus. Haec sententia est vera, et illustrat gratiam Christi, et mirifico erigit conscientias.—Quando haberet conscientia pacem et certam spem, si debere sentire, quod tunc demum justi reputemur, cum illa novitias in nobis perfecta esset? Quid hoc est aliud quam ex lege, non ex promissioni gratia justificari? Luther subjoined: Et ego soleo, mi Brenti, ut hanc rem melius capiam, sic imaginari, quasi nulla sit in corde mei qualitas, quas fides vel caritas vocetur, sed in loco ipsorum pon oipsum Christum et dico: haec est justitiae mea; ipse est qualitas et formalis, ut vocant, justitiae mea, ut sic me liberem ab intuitu legis et operum; imo et ab intuitu objectivi istius Christi, qui vel doctor vel donator intelligatur; sed volo ipsum mihi esse donum et doctrinam per se, ut omnia in ipso habeam. Brenz replied to this, July 5 (p. 510): Didici vobis doctoribus non solum recte sentire, verum etiam recte loqui.

2 In respect to such relations Luther often appeals to reason, to reason and common sense, to a good conscience and honest reason, to the law of nature; see Hagen's Deutschlands Verhältnisse im Reformationszeitalter, li. 400, 404, 406. On the other hand, he repels reason in the sharpest style when it assumes to judge about the positive doctrines of revelation; e.g., Wider die himmlischen Propheten, Th. 2, 1625 (Walch, xx. 280): "Aber wenn man also mit unserm Glauben will umgehen, dass wir unserm Dünkel zuvor in die Schrift tragen, und darnach dieselbigre nach unserm Sinn Jenken, und allein darauf sehen, was dem Pöbel und gemeinen Dünkel eben ist, so wird kein Artikel des Glaubens bleiben. Denn es ist keiner, der nicht über Vernunft sey von Gott gestellet in der Schrift." S. 309: "Hinfuner lehret er (Carlsstadt) uns, was Frau Huld, die natürliche Vernunft zu diesen Sachen sagt: gerade als wüssten wir nicht, dass
come righteous; only through such justification does he come into a closer union with God, and become filled with the love of God; thus alone can he become truly holy, and bring forth works which are really good. The Augustinian doctrine of predestination, too,

4 Comp. particularly L. De servo Arbitrio ad D. Erasmum. Boterod. 1525 (comp. Div. I., § 8, Note 15); e. g. T., Jen. iii. f. 165: Est itaque et hoc inprimis necessarium et sautarre Christiano nosse, quod Deus nihil praecit contingenter, sed quod omnibus immemorialiter et aeterna infallibilique voluntate et praevidet, et proponit, et factit. Hoc fulmine sternitur et conteritur pennis liberum arbitrium.—Ex quo sequitur irrefragabiliter: omnia quae facimus, etsi nobis videntur mutabili et contingenter fieri et fact, reversa tamen fiunt necessario et immutable, si Dei voluntatem spectas.—Optarim sane aliquid melius vocabulum dari in hac disputazione, quam hoc usitatum necessarius, quod non recte dicitur, neque de divina neque humana voluntate.—Voluntas enim sive divina sive humana nulla coactione, sed mere luventia vel cupiditate quasi verum libera factit quod factit, sive bonum sive malum. Sed tamen immutable et infallibilis est voluntas Dei, quae nostram voluntatem mutabilem gubernat. Fol. 198 verso: Primum, etiam ratio et diatribe concedit, Deum omnin in omnibus operari, ac sine ipso nihil fieri.
clined to speculate upon religious things, so, too, he was unwilling to enter into subtle distinctions about these depths of the Godhead. On the other hand, he made the doctrine of justification

nec efficaxesse.—Quando ergo Deus omnia in omnibus movet et agit, necessario movet etiam et agit in Satano et impio. Agit autem in illis taliter, quales illi sunt, et quales invenit, b. e. cum illi sint aversi et mali, et rapiantur motu illo divinæ omnipotentiae, non nisi averse et mala faciunt.—Hic igitur Deus cum in malis et per malos operatur, malum quidem non posse maie facere, licet malum per malos faciat, quia ipse bonus male facere non potest, malis tamen instrumentis utitur, quae raptum et motum potentiae suas non possunt evadere. Cf. Jul. Mèller, Lutheri De Praedestinatione et Libero Arbitrio Doctrina. Gottingae, 1832. 4. The different opinions of later Lutheran divines upon this doctrine of Luther, see in Walch’s Introduction to the 18th part of Luther’s Writings, p. 129. Some conceded his agreement with Calvin. Thus Chytracuss (see infra, § 42, Note 4), and Calixt: the strictest orthodox Lutherans, e. g., Calov and Łoscher, conceded that there was much that was offensive in these views; but they tried to palliate them, and particularly to defend Luther from all agreement with Calvin. Others, in fine, endeavored, by interpretation, to reconcile this work with the Lutheran orthodoxy; thus, too, Raddelbach’s Reformation, a. 279.


7 Luther’s Enarratio in Geneœn (written 1536-1545) ad Gen. vi. 5. (T. vi., Viteberg; 1561, fol. 97 verso): Sequor autem ego hanc perpetuum regulam, ut quantum potest, tales quaestiones vitem, quae nos prostrahunt ad solium summae majestatis. Melius autem et tuitus est consistere ad præcepta Christi hominis. Plurimum enim periculi in eo
by faith alone the centre of his whole religious life, and the touch-
est, si in illos labyrinthis divinitatis in involvas. Fol. 98: De hac voluntate substanti-
ali et divina nihil scrutandum, sed simpliciter abstinentem est, sicut a majestate di-
vina: est enim inscrutabilis, nec voluit eam Deus proponere in hac vita. Quibusdam
involucris voluit eam ostendere, baptismo, verbo, sacramento coenae. Haec sunt divina
simulacra et voluntas signi, quia pro quo nostro captu nobiscum agit. Igitur in haec
tantum intuendum est. Voluntas beneplaciti simpliciter dimittenda est, nisi sis vel Mo-
es, vel David, vel aliquis similis perfectus vir, quamquam hi quoque in voluntatem be-
neplaciti sic intuut sint, ut a voluntate signi nusquam averterent oculos. Ad Gen. xxvi.,
9, fol. 385: Audio spargi passim aceleratas voces inter nobles et magnates de praedes-
tinatione a se praescientia divina. Sic enim loquentur: si sum praedestinatus, sive
bene, sive malo ego, salvabor: si non sum praedestinatus, damnabor nulla ratio
habita operum.—Sum haec diabolicis et venenata tels, et ipsum peccatum originale, quo
seduxit diabolus primos parentes, cum diceret: erit isti in loco terrae. Non enim erat con-
teniti revelata divinitatis, qua cognita beat us erant, sed volebant penetrare profunditatem
divinitatis.—Igitur intuendum est, quod en est revelatum, quae supra nos.
Eujusmodi enim cogitationes, quae supra aut extra revelationem Dei, sublimius ali-
quid rimantur, prorsus amphiolicia sunt, quibus nihil amplius proficitur, quam ut nos ip-
sas in exitium praecipimus, quas objectum universum, vide dicetum Deum non revelatum.
Hauspostille, Septuagesima Sunday, in Walch, xiii. 473. Interpretation of the 2d Epist., 1524, on 2 Petr., i. 10, in Walch, ii. 846. Interpretation of the
17th chap. John, 1530, on verse 6, in Walch, vii. 723. Letter of consolation to a person
not named on account of doubts on election, 20th July, 1528, in de Wette, iii. 354:
"Gott der Allmachtige, im Falldass er alle Ding weiss, und mussen alle Werk und Ge-
danken in allen Creaturen nach seinem Willen geschehen, juxta decretum voluntatis
suae, so ist doch sein ernsticher Willen und Meinung, auch Befehl, von Ewigkeit beschlos-
sen, alle Menschen selig und der ewigen Freuden theilhaftig zu machen, wie Ezech.
am 18. cap. (v. 28) klärlich gemeldt wird, da er sagt: "Will Gott nicht den Tod des
Sünders, sondern dass er sich bekehre und lebe." Will er nun die Sünden, die unter dem
weiten, hohen Himmel allenbald leben und schweben, selig machen und haben: so
wolle er euch durch euer narzische Gedanken, vom Teufel eingegeben, nicht absen-
dern, und von der Gnade Gottes scheiden. —Dazu gehört ein rechter wahrer Glaube, der
solch Zagen und Verzweifeln austreibe, welches ist unser Gerechtigkeit, wie zum Böm.
am iii. (v. 22) steht: "die Gerechtigkeit Gottes durch den Glauben an J. Chr., welcher
ist in allen und über Menschen."
stone by which he tried not only all other doctrines and ecclesiastical usages, but also the worth of the different biblical writings. The misunderstanding of this truth was, in his view, the fundamental corruption of the Church; and it was the cause of his separation from it, hard as this was for him. When this truth is proclaimed out of the pure source of revelation—the Holy Scrip-
tures—and made living in the soul, then—this he knew with entire certainty—all the errors and abuses that had crept into the Church must fall away of themselves, the Church would become free from the bondage into which it had fallen through the craft of man, and improvement in morals would be the necessary result.\textsuperscript{12} Luther by no means desired to reject all ecclesiastical developments; he, in fact, laid stress upon agreement with the universal Church;\textsuperscript{13} but he would have all the doctrines and usages

\textit{tiam vocabolorum et grammaticae, sed quae nihil impedian scientiam omnium rerum in Scripturis. Quid enim potest in Scripturis augustissimae religione, postquam facitis signaculis et voluto ab ostio sepulcri lapide, illud summum mysterium proditum est, Christum filium Dei factum hominem, esse Deum trinem et unum, Christum pro nobis passum et regnatum aeternaliter?} Nonne haec etiam in bivilia sunt nota et cantata? Tolle Christum e Scripturis, quid amplius in illis invenies? Res igitur in Scripturis contentae omnes sunt proditae, licet quasdam loca adhuc verbis incogniti obscurae sunt.\textit{ Sin tum est vero et impium, scire, res Scripturae esse omnes in luce positas clarissima, et propter paucas verba obscura res obscuras dictate. Si uno loco obscura sunt verba, at aIlo sunt clara. Fol. 184: Si scriptura obscura vel ambiguus est, quid illam opus fuit nobis divinitus tradit? anNon anno satissumus obscuriet ambigui, nisi de coelo nobis augestur obscuritatem et ambo obtrabat?—Debent omnes Christianorum artculi eae esse, ut non modo ipsis certissimi sint, sed etiam adversus alios tam manifestes et clarissimi Scripturis firmati, ut omnibus os obstruant, ne possint quicquam contradicere.

\textsuperscript{11}Luther\textit{ Vom Anbetendes Sacraments an die Bohmen, 1623;} see Div. I., § 14, Note 2, at the close.

\textsuperscript{12}Thus he defends infant baptism, Ep. ad Melanchth., 13. Jan., 1532 (de Wette, ii. 127): \textit{Ego vero video id singuli miraculo Dei factum, ut solus hic articulus de parvis baptismatis in nunciam fuerit negatus non haereticis quidem: adeo nulla est confessione illius in oppositum, sed et contra totius orbis confessione constans et una ad propositum. Hanc autem confessionem negare esse Ecclesiae illius verae et legitimae, arbitrator impississimae esse. Idem enim mihi videtur atque Ecclesie negare.—Quod ergo non est contra Scripturam, pro Scriptura est, et Scriptura pro eo. Luther to Duke Albrecht of Prussia, 1532, in de Wette, iv. 354, on the Lord's Supper: "Zudem so ist dieser Artikel nicht eine Lehre oder Aufsatz ausser der Schrift von Menschen erdichtet, sondern klarlich im Evangelio durch helle, reine, ungewischte Wort Christi gestiftt und gegründet, und von Anfang der christlichen Kirchen in aller Welt bis auf diese Stunde einträchtiglich geglaubet und gehalten:—welches Zeugniss der ganzen heiligen christlichen Kirchen (wenn wir schon nichts mehr hätten) soll uns allein gnugsam seyn, bei diesem Artikel zu bleiben, und darüber keinen Rottengeist zu hören noch zu leiden. Denn es fälschlich ist und erschrecklich, etwas zu hören oder zu glauben wider das einträchtig Zeugniss, Glauben und Lehre der ganzen heiligen christlichen Kirchen, so von Anfang her, nu aber fünfzehn hundert Jahr in aller Welt einträchtiglich gehalten hat. Wenn ein ne Artikel wäre, und nicht von Anfang der hell. christl. Kirchen, oder wär nicht bei allen Kirchen noch bei der ganzen Christenheit in aller Welt so einträchtiglich gehalten: wäre es nicht so fälschlich noch schrecklich, davon zu zweifeln oder disputiren, ob es recht sey. Nu er aber von Anfang her, und so weit die ganze Christenheit ist, einträchtiglich gehalten ist: wer nun dran zweifelt, der thut eben so viel, als glaubet er kein christliche Kirche, und verdammg damit nicht allein die ganze heilige christliche Kirche, als eine verdammte Ketzerinn, sondern auch Christum selbs mit allen Aposteln und Propheten, die diesen Artikel, da wir sprechen: "Ich glaube eine heilige christliche Kirche" gegründet haben, und gewaltig bezeugt, nämlich Christus Matth. xxviii.: "Siehe, ich bin bei euch bis an der Welt Ende," und St. Paulus 1 Tim. iii.: "Die Kirche Gottes ist eine Säule und Grundveste der Wahrheit." In the Augsburg Confes-
of the Church tested by the Bible, and allow nothing which was opposed to it.14 Besides this, he desired that man's freedom in

14 Luther to the Emperor's Deputy and the Estates of the Imperial Government at Nuremberg, August, 1523 (de Wette, ii. 367), against the first article of the imperial edict of March 6, 1523, "that the Gospel was to be preached as interpreted by teachers approved and accepted by the Christian Church," appeals to Augustini, Ep. 19, ad Hieronymum de Petro reperhenso a Paulo, c. 1: "Ich gebe allein den heil. Büchern, die da canonici heissen, die Ehre, dass ich glaube, keinen derselben Schreiber geirret haben: die andern alle lese ich also, dass, wie hoch sie scheinen mit Kunst und Heiligkeit, dennoch nicht darum recht achtet, dass sie also halten; sondern wo sie mirs mit den Sprühchen der heil. Schrift oder heller Vernunft beweisen." To this Luther adds: "Hie sehen wir ja, dass St. Augustinus ein Ziel steckt, die Lehrer anzunehmen, und wirft sie alle unter das Urtheil der heil. Schrift, wie billig; dass aber die Ziel sich nicht gebührt, Jemand anzunehmen, er sey wie heilig u. gelehrt, er müge. Solchen Verstand von den Lehrern, so die christl. Kirche angenommen und approbirt hat, achten wir auch im Mandat seyn; wollen und künden auch keinen andern leiden, es gehe darüber, wie Gott will." Luther, Comm. major in Epist. ad Galatas, 1535, ad Gal., i. 11, 12. (T. Jen. iv. fol. 28): Valdeigitur speciosum et robustum hoc argumentum Pseudoapostolorum fuit, quod et hoc plures commovet, scilicet: "Apostoli, sancti Patres, et eorum successores sic docuerunt, Ecclesia sic sentit et credit: impossibile est autem, quod Christus tota ecclesiae suam errare sit. Tu certe solus non sapis plus, quam tot sancti viri, et tota Ecclesia," etc.—Quando Satana hoc urget, et conspirat cum carne et ratione, perterret conscientia et desperat, nisi constanter ad te redas, et dicas: "Sive S. Cyprius, Ambrosius, Augustinus, sive S. Petrus, Paulus, Johannes, imo angelus o coelo aliter docet, tamen hoc certo scio, quod homana non suadeo, sed divina, h. e. quod Deo omnia tribuo, hominibus nihil."—At ait: "Ecclesia est sancta, Patres sunt sancti." Bene, sed Ecclesia, quamlibet sancta, tamen cogitur orare: "Remitte nobis debita nostra." Sic Patres, quamlibet sancti, tamen per remissionem peccatorum salvati sunt. Ergo neque mihi, neque Ecclesiae, neque Patribus, neque Apostolis, neque angelo e credendum est, si quid contra verbum Dei docemus: sed verbum Domini stat in aeternum. Aliquo hoc argumentum Pseudoapostolorum maxime valuit set contra Pauli doctrinam, quia profecto magna, magna, inquam, res fuit, opponere toto Ecclesiam cum toto choro Apostolorum Galatia contra Paulum unicum, et eum recentiores, ac minus auctoritatis habentem. Firmissimum ergo hoc argumentum fuit, et potenter conclusit: nemo enim libenter dicit Ecclesiis errare, et tamen necesse est dicere, solum errare, si extra vel contra verbum Dei aliquid docet.—Hoc argumentum et hodie maxime praegravat causam nostram. Nam si neque Papae, neque Patribus, neque Luthero, etc., credendum est, nisi docesent purum Dei verbum, cui num credendum est? Quis interim certas faciat conscientias, utri purum Dei verbum docent, nos an adversarii nostri? Nam et ipsi jactant se purum Dei verbum habere et docere. Nos Papistis non credimus, quia verbum Dei non docent, neque posse docere. E contra ipsi acerrime nos odorunt et insectantur, ut pestilentiasimos haereticos ac seductores.—Quique hodie videat, ut certissimus sit de sua vocatione et doctrina, ut cum Paulo certissime ac securrissime ausit dicere: "Edamsi nos aut angelus o coelo," etc. Schenkel, i. 19.
matters of faith, and the freedom of Christians in indifferent matters, should be respected,\(^{15}\) and weak consciences spared in making ecclesiastical changes.\(^{16}\) But to the unlicensed freedom of fanatics, who relied upon an internal word independent of Scripture,


\(^{15}\) Luther to Spalatin, 7. March, 1522, in de Wette, ii. 145: "Ich verdamme als ein Greuel der Papisten Messes, daraus sie ein Opfer und gut Werk machen, dadurch der Mensch Gott verschüttet wird. Ich aber will nicht Hand anlegen, noch Jemand, so ohn Glauben ist, bereden, vielweniger zwingen, dass er sie selbs mit Gewalt abthue. Allein treibe und verdamme ich solichen Missbrauch der Messen durchs Wort. Wers glaubt, der glaubte es, und folge ungenöthigt; wers aber nicht glauben will, der lasse und fahre immer hin: denn niemand soll zum Glauben, und was den Glauben belanget, gezwun gen, sondern durchs Wort gezogen und gewonnen werden.—Ich verwerfe auch die Büde, die man ehret, aber durchs Wort; treibe die Leuto nicht, dass sie sie verbrennen sollen, sondern dass sie ihr Zuversicht und Vertrauen nicht drauf setzen, wie bisher geschehen, und noch geschieht. Sie würden wohl von Ihnen selbs fallen, wenn das Volk recht durchs Wort unterweiset wüsste, dass sie für Gott nichts sind noch gelten. Also verdamme ich auch des Paps Gesetze von der Ohrenbeicht, vom Gebot, zum heil. Sacrament zu bestimmter Zeit zu gehen, vom Gebet und Anrufen der Heiligen, ihnen zu feiren und fasten. Ich thue es aber mit und durchs Wort, dass ich die Gewissen frei mache, und von solchen Stricken erledige. Wenn das geschieht, stehets denn bei ihnen, dass sie derselben entweder brauchen um der Schwachen willen, die noch dran hangen und drinnen verwirret sind, oder nicht brauchen, wo sie und andere stark sind: dass also die Liebe herrsche und Oberhand behalte in diesen und dergleichen äusserlichen Werken und Gesetzen." Luther to the Church in Easlingen, 21. October, 1523, in de Wette, ii. 419: "Weil nun viel schwacher Gewissen seind, die in Paps Gesetzen gefangen liegen, so ists wohlgethan, dass du nit Fleisch esset, etc. Denn solch nit Fleisch essen wird damit ein Werk der Lieb, weil du damit deinem Nächsten dienest, seiner Weise zu folgen, und seines Gewissens zu verschonen." Comp. Luther's Eight Sermons against Dr. Carlstadt's Novelties, preached in Lent, at Wittenberg, 1522, in Walch, xx. 4.
he opposed the principle that the Spirit is not given to man without media, and that faith comes from the Word of God. Externally he would have diverging doctrines repressed by the civil authorities only so far that they should not disturb the public order.

17 Luther, Against the Heavenly Prophets, Th. 2, 1525, in Walch, xx. 271: "So nun Gott sein heiliges Evangelium hat auslassen gehen, handelt er mit uns auf zweierlei Weise. Einmal äusserlich, das anderemal innerlich. Aeusserlich handelt er mit uns durch mündliche Worte des Evangelii und durch die leiblichen Zeichen, als da ist Taufe und Sacrament. Innerlich handelt er mit uns durch den heil. Geist und Glauben samt andern Gaben. Aber das alles der Massen und der Ordnung, dass die äusserlichen Stücke sollen und müssen vorgehen, und die innerlichen hernach und durch die äusserlichen kommen, also dass ers beschlossen hat, keinem Menschen die innerlichen Stücke zu geben ohne durch die äusserlichen Stücke; denn er will niemand den Geist noch Glauben geben ohne das ausserliche Wort und Zeichen, so er dazu eingesetzt hat, wie er, Luc. xvi. 29, spricht: Lass sie Mosen und die Propheten hören. Daher auch St. Paulus darf nennen die Taufe ein Bad der neuen Geburt, darinne Gott den heil. Geist reichlich ausgesetzt, Tit. iii. 5, 6, 7: Und das mündliche Evangelium eine göttliche Kraft, die da selig mache alle, die dran gläuben, Rom. i. 16."

18 Luther's Interpretation of the 82d Psalm, on verse 4, in Walch, v. 1055. He here distinguishes four cases: "Erstlich sind etliche Ketzer aufrührisch, die öffentlich lehren, dass man keine Obrigkeit leiden soll. Item dass man nichts Eigenes haben, sondern von Weib und Kind laufen, Haus und Hof lassen, oder alle Dinge gemein halten und haben. Diese sind stracks und ohne allen Zweifel zu straffen von der Obrigkeit, als die da öffentlich wider die weltlichen Rechte und Obrigkeit streben, Röm. xiii. 2. Denn sie sind nicht schlecht allein Ketzer, sondern als die Aufrührer greifen sie die Obrigkeit und ihr Regim-}
Yet he rejected all punishment of heretics as such, and all use of force in their conversion.  

Luther's doctrine, that justification does not come from the law, but from faith, was not infrequently misunderstood, and threatened to lead to dangerous errors. Accordingly, Melancthon, in his Articulis, de quibus egerunt Visitatores in regione Saxoniae, 1527, insisted with emphasis that the preachers should also 

denn es entspringen daraus Rotten, Unfriede, Hass und Neid, auch in andern weltlichen Sachen. Zum Viertem, wo aber ethische gegen einander schreien üb solchen Artikeln, da beide Theile bekennen, dass es keine Schrift, sondern alte Gewohnheit oder Menschengesetze sey, neben und ausser der Schrift aufgekommen, als Platten, Weihwasser, Würzweine, und dergleichen unnützige Stücke mehr, die weder mit Wunderzeichen noch Märtyrers melanchia bestätigt sind, da soll man keinesweges solch Gesanke auf der Canzel leiden, sondern beiden Theilien gebieten, dass sie Friede haben. Denn was die Schrift nicht hat, darum sollen die Prediger nicht zanken vor dem Volke, sondern sollen die Schrift immer treiben. Denn Liebe und Friede gelset weit über alle Ceremonien, wie St. Paulus auch sagt, dass der Friede solle über alles den Vorgang haben, und ist unstreitlich, dass Friede und Einigkeit solle denen Ceremonien fehlen.—Was ich aber sage von öffentlichen Predigten, das sage ich vielmehr von Winkelpredigten und heimlichen Ceremonien: denn dieselbiges sind aller Dinge nicht zu leiden: sonst mag einer bei sich selbst lesen und glauben, was er will. Will er nicht Gott hören, so hore er den Teufel."  

Luther, To the Christian Nobles of the German Nation, 24; Div. I., § 1, Note 60. Kirchenpostil, Sermon on the Fifth Sunday after Epiphany, in Matth. xiii. 24-30 (Walch, xi. 698): "Aufs andere (lehrt uns dies Evangelium), wie wir uns halten sollen gegen dieselbiges Ketzer und falsche Lehrer. Nicht sollen wir sie ausrotten, noch vertilgen. Er spricht öffentlich allhier, man solle es lassen mit einander wachsen. Mit Gottes Wort soll man hier allein handeln: denn es gehet also zu in dieser Sache, dass wer heute irret, kann morgen zurecht kommen. Wer weiss, wann das Wort Gottes sein Herz rühren wird? Wo er aber verbrennet oder sonst erwürgt wird, so wird damit gewebret, dass er nicht kann zurechtkommen, und wird er also dem Worte Gottes entrückt, dass er muss verloren seyn, der sonst hatte mogen selig werden. Da geschieht denn, was hier der Herr sagt, dass der Waizen wird auch mit ausgeräuchert, wenn man das Unkraut ausgatet. Das ist denn gar graulich Ding vor Gott, und nimmermehr zu verantworten. Daraus merke, welche rassende Leute wir sind so lange Zeit gewesen, die wir die Türken mit dem Schwerte, die Ketzer mit dem Feuer, die Juden mit Tödtten haben wollen zum Glauben zwingen, und das Unkraut ausrotten mit unserer eigenen Gewalt, grade als wären wir die Leute, die über Herzen und Geister regieren konnten, und wir sie mochten fromm und recht machen, welches doch allein Gottes Wort thun muss." In the sentence of condemnation by the Sorbonne, 1521 (Div. I., § 21, Note 1), the proposition of Luther, haereticos comburiest contravoluntatem Spiritus, is rejected in the terms—haec propositio est falsa, contravoluntatem Spiritus divini asserta et errori Catharorum et Waldensium consona; d'Argentré Collectio Judiciorum de novis Erroribus, i. ii. 867. 


See Div. I., § 4, Note 25.
preach repentance, and that this must precede faith, and that they must explain the law, the knowledge of which is necessary to work repentance.22 On the other hand, John Agricola (Magister Eisleben)23 maintained that repentance is not to come from the law, but from the Gospel, and thus gave occasion for the Antinomian Controversy,24 the only one which prevailed in the Lutheran Church during the lifetime of Luther. Agricola at first allowed himself to be appeased in a conference with Luther and Melanchthon, in Torgau,25 December, 1527; but he renewed his assertions in some arrogant theses, 1537.26 The truth that seemed to be


23 M. Joh. Agricola's aus Eisleben Schriften möglichst vollständig verzeichnet, by M. B. Kordes, Altona, 1817. Luther's opinion about him, to Jac. Stratner, court preacher at Berlin, 6 Dec., 1510, in the Wette, v. 321: Non est Meister Grickel is vir, qualia cupit videri, aut qualia credit esse Marchio, neque unquam erit. Nam si velis scire, quinam ipsa vanitas sit, nulla certiori imagine cognoscere, quam Ilebii. Hoc deprehendens gestu, voce, cachinnis, denique omnibus animi et corporis motibus, ut scurrsum possit superare quemvis. Meum consilium fuit, ut a functione verbi in aeternam abstinenter, et jocularem aliquid professionem suscipieret: ad docendum prorsus non valet. Ac si omnia reliqua essent tolerabilia, tamen gloriae furor tantus est in eo, ut nihil possit Deo in suo operes professe, sed plures nocere. The attack on Melanchthon had its ground probably in his chagrin that a vacant theological chair at Wittenberg had been given to him, and not to Agricola; see Bretschneider in the Theol. Studien u. Krit., 1829, iv. 741.


26 Ratzeberger, Luther u. s. Zeit, edited by Neudecker (Jena, 1850), s. 96. Agricola had secretly and anonymously diffused his Eighteen Positiones: Luther had them published, December 1, 1587, and then, in 1538, refuted them in five Disputationes, to which a sixth was added in 1540 (Opus, Tom. i., Jen. fol. 516. Comp. the relation in Förstemann, l. 813). The most important of those Positiones are: 1. Poenitentia docenda est
hovering before the mind of Agricola was this, that an external law, by its external promises and threatenings, could not awaken true repentance, that is, a moral hatred of sin; that this, on the contrary, is produced only by the living knowledge of God and love to him. But he expressed these ideas so obscurely, and with such an irrational contempt of the law, that the refutation of this Antinomianism by Luther's disputations was a very timely and desirable work.

non ex decalogo, aut ualla lege Mosi, sed ex violatone Filii per Evangelium. 2. Nam Christus Lucæ lucimo sit: "sic oportuit Christum mori, et hoc modo intrare in suam gloriam, ut praedicentur in nomine suo poenitentia et remissio peccatorum." 3. Et Christus apud Johannem sit, Spiritum argueret mundum de peccato, non legem. 4. Idem docet ultima concio Christi: ite, praedicate Evangelium omni creaturæ. 5. Paulus cum ad Philippenses sit: "hoc sentite in vobis, quod et in Christo Jesu, ut in timore et tremore, ex memoria Christi, non ex lege. 6. Ex conclusionibus Pauli et Barnabæ satis manifestum est, non esse opus legæ ad ullam partem justificatiónis. 7. Sine quacunque re datur Spiritus sanctus, et homines justificantur: ea res non est necessaria, ut doceatur, neque pro principio, neque medio, neque fine justificatiónis. 8. At datus olim, et datur perpetuo Spiritus sanctus, et justificantur homines sine lege per solum Evangelium de Christo. 9. Ergo lex Mosi non est necessaria ut doceatur, neque pro principio, neque medio, neque fine justificatiónis. 10. Quare pro conservanda puritate doctrinae resistendum est, qui docent, Evangelium non praedicandum nisi prius et contritos per legem. 11. Lex tantur arguit peccata, et quidem sine Spiritu sancto, ergo arguit ad damnationem. 12. Opus est autem doctrina, quae magna efficacia non tantum damnat, sed et salvat simul: ea autem est Evangelium, quae conjunctim docet poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum. 13. Nam Evangelium Christi docet iram de coelo et simul justitiam, Rom. i. Est enim praedictio poenitentiae, conjuncta promissiœ, quam ratio non tenet naturaliter, sed per revelationem divinam. Then follow the passages from Luther's writings in which the doctrine is stated "pure," and other passages from the Visitation-Articles and Luther's Comm. in Ep. ad Gal., in which it is "impure" propounded. At the close, also, "alii articuli Antinomii, which are probably only oral declarations: 1. Lex non est digna, ut vocet nr verbum Dei. 2. Art thou a whore, a knave, an adulterer, or any other sort of sinner, if thou believest thou art in the way of salvation. (This and the third proposition of like import, Agricola declares (in his Klageschrift, in Forstemann, i. 317) to be a—purum figmentum et chimæra. Luther appended to the Weimar copy in MS. : istas duas potest negare fortasse, tamen nescio. Nec sunt Isæio imputati, sed alii us suis discipulis, ut titulus indicat. Omnes aliae sunt M. Grickels, ut ex aliis probatur.) 4. Decalogus belongs to the town-hall, and not to the pulpit. 5. All who go about with Moses must go to the devil, on the gallows with Moses. 6. We are not to prepare men for the Gospel by the preaching of the law; God must do it, whose work it is. 7. In Evangelio non debere agi de violatione legis, sed de violatione Filii. 8. Audire verbum et ita vivere est consequentia legis. 9. Audire verbum et sentire in corde est propria Evangelii consequentia. 10. Peter knew nothing about Christian freedom. 11. His declaration: Certain facientes vocationem vestram per bona opera, is good for nothing. 12. As soon as thou thinkest it must go thus and so in Christendom, every body is to be refined, honorable, discreet, holy, and chaste, thou hast already prostituted the Gospel; Cap. vi., Luke.
The doctrines held in common by the Lutheran Reformers were set forth in the Catechisms of Luther, 1529; in the Augsburg Confession, 1530, in opposition to the old church, on the part of the rulers and cities; in the Smalcald Articles, 1537, on the part of the theologians. The Augsburg Confession was generally considered as the doctrinal centre of the parties, and, especially after the Diet of the princes at Naumburg, 1561, it became customary to impose it by an oath.

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**Notes:**

30 Div. I., § 5, Notes 4 and 5.

Di. I., § 7, Notes 18 and 19.

32 In the new statutes of the theological faculty drawn up by Melancthon, 1538, it is declared (Liber Decanorum facultatis theol. Acad. Viteberg, ed. C. E. Forstemann, Lips., 1838, p. 152): 1. Ut in Ecclesis totius ditionis nostrae—ita in Academia—volumus puram Evangelii doctrinam, consentaneam confessioni, quam Augustae anno 1530, Imp. Carolo exhibui,—pie et fideliter proponi, conservari et propagari. And in the oath for the doctorate, appended, p. 158: Ego promitto Deo,—me Deo juvante fideltur servitum esse Ecclesiae in docendo Evangelio sine ullis corruptulis, et constantier defendatur esse Symbola, Apostolicum, Nicaenum et Athanasianum, et perseverat turum esse in consensu doctrinarum comprehensae in confessione Augustana, quae per hanc Ecclesiam exhibita est Imperatori anno 1530. The Hamburg Convention, April 15, 1538, prepared by the ecclesiastical authorities of Lübeck, Bremen, Rostock, Stralsund, Lüneburg, and Hamburg, provided that the preachers should follow the Augsburg Confession, and be
§ 35.

THE FIRST SHAPING OF THE DOCTRINAL SYSTEM IN THE SWISS CHURCH.


Zwingle, like Erasmus, was devoted to truth and morality; but he contended against untruth, superstition, and immorality, without the hesitation which impeded Erasmus, and also with the zeal of a patriot, since here he saw the bonds by which Rome and the hierarchy fettered his fatherland. The Holy Scriptures were to him an unconditional authority. He would have the highest rev-

examine upon it before they were received, and also that they should diligently use the Catechism of Luther; see Schroder's Evangel. Mecklenburg, i. 302. The Church Order of Suzian Hall, 1543, prescribes that the biblical doctrine be taught as expounded in the Augsburg Confession and Apology. In the other oldest Church Orders there is usually reference to the Scriptures, and also a compendium of doctrine, or reference to other books or guides, e. g., Luther's Postils, his interpretation of the Epistle to the Galatians. However, after the Augsburg Confession had been subscribed anew at the Diet of Princes in Naumburg, Feb. 8, 1561, and was recognized as the standard for all the churches of the land (see J. H. Gelbke's der Naumburg. Furstentag, Leipzig, 1793, s. 139 ff.), it was more frequently made binding in the regular Church Orders. Comp. J. C. G. Johannsen's Untersuchung der Rechtmassigkeit der Verpönlichung des Symbolischen Buchers, Altona, 1833, s. 817 ff. The same, Die Anfänge des Symbolzwanges unter den Deutschen Protestanten, geschichtlich dargestellt. Leipzig, 1847.

1 See Div. I., § 2, Notes 9, 12. Melanchthon ad Camerar., § 3, Note 26.

2 When Zwingle entered upon his career in Zürich (1519) he announced to the chapter that he would preach the Gospel of Matthew (H. Bullinger's Reformationgesch., i. 12): "Das wulltorerkleren mit Geschrift, und nit mit Menschen Gutdunken, alles zu Ehren Gott, seinem einigen Sun unsern Herren Jesu Christo, und zu recht Hem Heil der Seelen, und frommer biderber Lüthen Underrichtung." As to the contents of the Sermons: "In welchen er Gott den Vatter pryst, und alle Menschen allein uf Gottes Sun, J. Chr., als den einigen Heiland vertrwen lehrt. Heftig hab er an wider den Missglauben, Superstition und Glychsenery reden. Die Buss oder Besserung des Lebens, und christenliche Lieb und Tröw treib er heftig. Die Last, als der Müssigang, Unmass in Essen, Trinken, Kleidern, Fressery und Füllery, Undertrnck der Armen, Pensionen und Kriegen straft er ruch, trang ernstlich uff dass ein Oberkeit Gericht und Recht hielten, Wittwen und Waisen schirnten, und dass man die eidgenossische Fryhelt sich zu behalten flyse, der Fürsten und Herren bahnen uusschläge."

ference given only to God and his revelation, and reshape all ecclesiastical doctrines, usages, and customs after the divine Word, without regard to the church development, except in matters of indifference. He aimed not merely to purify, but also to remodel the Church, according to the standard of the Scriptures; and, since the honor due to God was here involved, he did not scruple to have his ecclesiastical and moral reforms introduced by the civil authorities. He blamed Luther for advancing too slowly, and yielding too much to the weak. Zwingle was also attached to Augustinianism, and to the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith; but by faith he understood the total appropriation of sal-

que l’Evangile ne contient point, de sorte que tout cela soit loin de nous, et qu’il n’ait ne lien ne puissance en nous : mais que J. Chr. seul et son Evangile y regne et y sit lieu.

Comp. the ordinances, Div. I., § 2, Notes 85, 88, 89, etc. The Bernese gemein Reformation, Feb. 7, 1528 (Bullinger’s Reformationgesch., i. 440), begins with the declaration of the mayor and council: “Als dann nns von wegen der Oberkeit gebührt, uch, die unsern, uns von Gott bevolchnen nit allein in weltlichen Sachen zu aller Bil- likheit zewysen, sonders och zu rechtgeschaffnem christenlichem Glouben (als wyt Gott Gnad gibt) Inleitung zegeben, und ein erer Vorbild uch vorzetrachten, ist icb ane Zwyrifal wol wüssen, wie vil wir uns in solichem gearbeitet, wie mangerlei Ordnungen und Mandaten wir disshalb, uns und och zu guter Underrichtung, angesächen und un- gerichet,” etc.

His treatise, De Vera ct Falsa Religione, 1525 (Opp., iii. 226), is against Erasmus and his adherents, and not against Luther: Hinc quorundam scripta adeo impura sunt quod ad veritatem adtinet, quamvis quod ad fucum nitidissimapint, ut nescias, an sati- us fuisset stilum nunquam levavisse, quam veritatem adeo inverecundis blanditiis in- volvisse. Qui tamen usque adeo sibi placent, ut nisi iporum vestigias incedas, ac con- tra christiani pectoris ingenium ais vel procaciter blandus, vel ambitiose elegans, cum veritatis etiam jactura, a tuis abistine, ut canis a balneo. Tumultuosa sunt illis, quae vera sunt; morbum enim graviores esse ajunt, quam qui fortibus remedii possit resti- tuiri. Belli homines ! an unquam videmur gravem morbum levibus curari ? lenti morbi levibus curantur. Posticum ergo morbus, si nunc primum lente crudescere inciperet, conveniret plane his remediis. Verum omnia ubi membra sunt a morbo absorpta, an non jam efficax istud remedium, quod unum ac solum pristinae sanitati restitutum, propinandum est ? lenta fortasse lantum redderent mortem, sed nativa vitam ac valetu- dinem restituunt. The second explanation of the 18th Article, 1523 (Werke, i. 255), upon Luther, see Div. I., § 2, Note 39. Then he continues: “Ich weiss ouch, dass er (Luther) vil nachgbt in etlichen Dingen den Bloden, dass er vil anderst handeln möcht, in dem ich nit seiner Meinung bin; nit dass er ze vil, sunder ze wenig gredt hat; als in dem Büchlins der zehen Ussätzigen (als mir gesezt ist, dann ich es nit gelesen hab) lasst er etwas der Eycht nach, dass man sich dem Priester solre erzeigen, welches doch uns der selbigen That Christi (Luc. xvii. 14) nit mag gezogen werden.—Derglychen mit dem Wort Sacrament gibt er den Latineren nun ze vil nach : denn was bekümmeret uns Tütschen, wie die würschten todten Pfyer die heiligen Zeichen, die uns Gott gegeben hat, nennd.—Derglychen von Fübbitt der Seligen und andern Dingen, darin er für und für etwas nachgbt, als ich verstand, den Blöden.”


Second explanation of the 15th Article, 1528 (Werke, i. 208), on Mark xvi. 16: vol. iv.—26
vation in Christ, thus including sanctification. He handled the Augustinian doctrine of election with great freedom, considering it as a philosophical speculation, and not as a church doctrine. Sin, in particular, he viewed as determined by God through the union of the soul with a body, denying that original sin is a

"Welcher glouben wirt und getouft, der wirt heil oder selig. Welcher gloubt und sich er vertrut in das Gut, das uns Gott us Gnaden gegeben hat, dass es unser Heil syg, das da ist der Sun Gottes, der wirt selig." Comm. de Vera et Falsa Relig. 1525 (Opp., iii. 198): His ergo praemissis, videlicet quod Christus expiatio pro omnium peccatis ac via salutis est, atque et tandem est soli qui ipso fidit, consequi putant ii, qui Evangelio vel parum fidei habent, vel aliqui impuris hauerunt, ut omnes, qui ipso nitantur,ificentia ulteriora sint: fieri enim aliter non posse, quam cum humana mens audiat sic libidineris potius, ut est ingenium, ad libidinem redatur. Thereupon the answer: Fides Christianae res est, quae in animo credentium sentit, sicut valetudine corpore. Hanc quisque facile sentit, iniqua sit an aequa. Sic qui Christianus est, sentit, ut mens propter peccatum um male habeat; et contra sentit, quam bone habeat, cum remedi in Chrasto certa est. — Qui crus fregit, et medicum nactus catfliccm, qui dcluxatum membro recte restituit, non sic cogitat: "Beatus es quod talcum inveni ist medicum, crebro cruc (ranges, nam medicus iste omnia potest:" sed per omnem vitam — circumspicit ac cavet ne crus iterum frangat. — Sic qui ad hunc modum exulant, cum Christum audient pro omnium commissis solvisse: "Pecabimus, nam gratis omnia condonaturn per Christum," nunquam senterunt peccati dolorem. Nam si sensissent unquam, omni studio caverent, ne qua fieret, ut recidirent.

8 Ebrard's Dogma v. h. Abendmal, ii. 88. Schenkel, ii. 290. Melanchton reports to the Elector John about the Marburg Conference, 1529 (Corpus. Ref., i., p. 1099): "Zum Vierten reden sie (Zwinglo and his friends) und schreiben unschicklich davon; wie der Mensch vor Gott gerecht gemacht werde, und treiben die Lehre vom Glauben nicht genussam, sondern reden also davon, als waren die Werke, so dem Glauben folgen, dieselbige Gerechtigkeit. Auch thun sie besoßen Bericht, wie man zum Glauben komme. Nun haben sie Unterricht in diesem Artikel von uns zuzurführen, so viel in der Eil geschehen mögen, empfangen. Je mehr sie davon bürten, je bess es ihnen gefiel, und sind in allen diesen Stücken gewichen, solches sich zu vor öffentlichen anders geschreiben." Id. ad Gorlicium, 1530 (Corpus. Ref., ii. 25): Nulla est mentioni fidei justificantia in omnibus Zwingliorum libris. Cum nominant idem, non intelligunt illum, quae credit remisionem peccatorum, quae credit, nos recipi in gratiam, exaudiri et defendi a Deo, sed intelligentiam historicam.

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ground of guilt and punishment. Nor would he concede that election was conditioned by baptism, and consequently he did not hesitate to reckon even pious heathen among the elect. With

dst, ad latum, ad carnem, atque horum ingenium sequitur. Ita ut si hominem comparare cuilibet velis, nulli rei videatur esse simillim quam si luti massam rivulo clarissimo et purissimo imponas. P. 106: Quo fit, ut volentibus nobis legem amplecti ex mentis desiderio, alia lex quae in membris—scripta est, repugnet, ut quae velimus quidem pro animi probitate, per carnem tamen improbitatem non operemur. Cum autem utriusque vigor non suus sit sed praesentis Dei, qui omnius esse, existere et virtus est, resultat, ut omnino illius voluntate et conscientia caro spiritui ogganniat, perinde ac spiritus illius dicto audientesse capitur. C. 6, p. 112: Sed quod Deus operatur per hominem, homini utens vertit, non etiam Deo. Hic enim sub lege est, ille liber legis spiritus et mens. — Unumigitur atque idem facinus, puta adulterium aut homicidium, quantum Dei est auctorius, motoris ac impulsoris, opus est, crimem non est; quantum autem hominis est, crimem ac seculum est. Schenkel, ii. 146.

11 Zw. de Peccato Originali!Declaratio, ad Urbanum Rhegium, 1526 (Opp., iii. 629): Diximus, originalem contagionem morbum esse (before: naturalem defectum, germanice, ein naturliches Bresten), non peccatum, quod peccatum cum culpa conjunctum est; culpa vero ex commissio vel admissio ejus nascitur quod facinus designavit. This was also objected to him in Marburg, 1529, see Melancthon's report to the Elector (Corp. Ref., i. 1099): Dass Zwinglius geschrieben, dass keine Erbsünde sey, und lehret, Sünde sey allein ausserliche bese Werke und Thaten, und meinen, des Herzens angeborne Unreinigkeit und Lüste, item dass wir von Natur Gott nicht fürchten, nicht glauben, sey nicht Sünde. Dies ist eine grosse Anzeigung, dass Zwinglius nicht viel von rechter christlicher Heiligkeit wisse, diefer er Sünde allein in ausserliche Thaten setzet. Yet Zwingle also wrote in his Fidei Ratio ad Carolum Imp., 1530 (Opp., iv. 6): De originali peccato sic sentio: peccatum vero dicitur cum contra legem itum est: ubi enim non est lex, ibi non est praeveriatio, et ubi non est praeveriatio, ibi non est peccatum proprium caput. — Patrem igitur nostrum peccavisso fateor: at qui ex isto progeniti sunt, non hoc modo peccarunt: quis enim nostrum in paradiso pone verum vetitum depopulatum est dentibus? Velimus igitur nolimus, admittere cogimur, peccatum originale, ut est in filiis Adam, non proprium peccatum esse: — non enim est facinus contra legem. Morbus igitur est propri et condicio. Schenkel, ii. 81.

12 Zw. de Peccato Originali!Declaratio, ad Urb. Rhegium, 1526 (Opp., iii. 632): Salus aeternae vitae, et contra aeternae mortis aerumnae, cum prorsus sint liberae vel electionis vel abjectionis divinis judicij: videntur quoquot de hac quasstione unquam disseruerunt paulo incautius definitisse, nunc quidem infantes omnes, qui vel circumcisis vel tincti baptismi lavacro non essent, nunc vero adultos iidem omnes damnando. — Cum ergo vita aeterna eorum sit, qui ad eam electi sunt a Deo, cur nos temere judicamus de quibusvis, cum electo Dei nos lateat? — Cum iterum Paulus Rom. ii. eum, cujus intactum est praeputium, superare dicat atque praestare, si modo, quod lex monet, faciat, el qui inciso praeputio gloriat: ostendere enim legis opus scriptum esse in corde suo, cum id faciat quod lex monet. Quis autem in cor humanum quicumque scribit Deo dignum, nisi is, qui ipsum condit, quemadmodum testatur, Hierem. xxxi.? — Si ergo impulsore Deo Dei opus facit, cum nos cum damnavimus, quod tinctus aut reclusus non sit? — Ista in hunc usum argumentatim sumus, ut ostenderemus toto errare coelo, etiamsi sint non modo magna, sed vetera quoque nomina, qui damnationi aeterna solet adjudicare nunc Christianorum infantes, cum non sint baptismo tincti, nunc vero eos omnes quos gentiles vocamus. Quid enim scimus, quid sibi quisque in corde suo Dei manus scriptum teneat? Zw. Christianae Fidei Expositio ad Regem Christianum (Franciscum i.) scripta, 1531 (Opp., iv. 65): Credimus ergo, animos fidellium protinus, ut ex corporibus evasereant, subvolare in coelum, numina conjungi, aeternumque gaudere. Hic tibi sperandum est, o piissime Rex, si modo instar Davidis, Ezechiae et Josiae rerum sumnam a Deo tibi creditam moderatus fueris, te visurum esse primum numen ipsum in sua substantia, in
this, too, was connected his doctrine of the sacraments, that they only served in attestation, or as signs, of faith, but were not the media for imparting divine grace. And thus the doctrine of the

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Lord's Supper came to be the point of controversy between Zwingle and his followers on the one side, and Luther on the other.14 Luther had, indeed, abandoned transubstantiation; but he held fast to the view that the sacraments were media of grace, and consequently to the real presence of Christ and the true reception of his body and blood in the Lord's Supper.15 According to Zwingle, the Lord's Supper was given without word or Sacrament, but with word and Sacrament. All other doctrines were also received by Munzer, and filled through his own thoughts; as, when the Holy Spirit is desired without the word. Yet still Zwingle again declares, in the Fidei Ratio ad Carol. Imp. 1530 (Opp., iv. 9): "Credo, imo scientia, omnia Sacramenta tam abesse ut gratiam conferant, ut ne adferant quidem aut dispensent,—Dux autem vel vehiculum Spiritui non est necessarium: ipse enim est virtus aut latio qua cuncta feruntur, non qui ferri debeat; neque id unquam legimus in Scripturis sacris, quod sensibilia, quia Sacramenta sunt, certo secum ferrent Spiritum; sed si sensibilia unquam lata sunt cum Spiritu, jam Spiritus fuit qui tulit, non sensibilia. Ebrard's Dogma vom h. Abendmale, ii. 90. Schenkel, i. 412.


gle, on the other hand, the bread and the wine were only signs of the body and the blood; and though he afterward conceded a spiritual participation in the body and blood, yet he also said that this consisted only in the believing remembrance of the Crucified One, such as believers alone had, and that even with them it was not restricted to the participation in the Lord’s Supper.

 ohne Glauben u. Liebe geschehen von allen Menschen.—Aber die innerliche, geistliche u. rechte Empfahrung des Sacraments ist viel ein ander Ding.—Ohne den Glauben ist die äussere Empfahung dieser Sacramente nichts.—Der Glaube aber ist dahin gerichtet,—dass wir vesticlig glauben müssen, dass Christus Jesus Gottes Sohn sei, u. die einige Genugthung für unsere Sünde.—Der in einem solchen Glauben stebet, der—nimmt dieses Sacrament würdig zu einer Sicherung und Wahrzeichen, dass er göttlicher Zusage und Versprechung gäwis sei.”

17 Zw. zu Matth. Alberum de Coena Dom. Epist. 1524 (Opp., iii. 589): Joh. vi. does not refer to the Sacrament (p. 589). The sense of the passage is (p. 589): Panis, quem ego dabo, caro mens est pro mundi vita tradita. Caro igitur mea, quatenus est morte ad Sancta, cibus, h. e. spes est animae. P. 586: Vult ergo Christus, nos, nisi edamus ejus carmen, i. e. nisi credamus, eum pro nobis mortem obiisse et sanguinem effusisse, vita esse carituros. This is a spiritualis manducatio; Christ here speaks of the spirituale corpus Christi. (On John vi. he discourses at length in his Klare Untersrichtung vom Nachtmahle Christi, Werke, ii. i. 488.) On this account Zwingle from the first rejected expressions which implied a literal partaking of the spiritual body of Christ in the Lord’s Supper. Comm. de Vera et Falsa Religione, 1525 (Opp., iii. 270): Dicunt: nos adoramus, atque etiam edimus spirituale corpus Christi. Quid per Deum opt. max. est spirituale corpus Christi? An uspium in Scripturis repertum est aliquid spirituali Christi corpus, quam aut Ecclesia, quemadmodum, Eph. iv. 4 et Col. i. 18, habetur, aut fides nostra, qua et credit, eum in crucem poenas pro nobis dependisse, et per eum salutis certa est? Cur quae si eum dixerimus vocibus, quas nul- lus caput intellectus, sias mentes oneramus? Spirituale corpus sic ab homine capitur, ut si dicas corporea mens, aut carnea ratio. An non spirituale edimus Christi corpus, cum ipsum edimus pro nobis caesum, coque simul? On the other hand, Bucer was in favor of the spiritual reception. Thus, as early as his opinion upon the controversy between Carstadt and Luther, 26. Dec., 1524 (Füssli’s Beiträge zur Reformationsgesch., v. 115): “Sehe allein, was du da geniessest, dass du es dem Herrn zur Gedächtiniss geniessest, auf dass du durch den Glauben das Fleisch und Blut Christi geistlich geniessest; d. i. dass du gänzlich glaubest, dass du durch solches Opfer von allem Uebel erloset, und ein Kind Gottes worden seyest.” In his letter to Luther, defending the remarks in favor of the Swiss which he had added to the Latin translation of the fourth part of the Lutheran Postils (Fraefatio in quarto tomum postillae Lutheranae continens summam doctrinarum Christi, 1527. 8.), he says, fol. E. 1: Ostendimus, non posse verba haec corporalem Christi praesentiam statuere, quia nec ipse Dominus in coena panem in corpus suum mutaverit. Quomodo enim dicemus, factum esse quod non fuit? Panis panis manvi,
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With Luther, in fact, that which was alone essential was the real presence and true reception of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord’s Supper. In the investigation and determination of these points against Zwingli he was, however, led to emphasize:

non fuit igitur factum corpus, ut jam multoties dictum. Tum illud: in hoc est corpus. Scriptura non habet. Denique manducari Christum corporaliter nihil prodest, non igitur voluit carnalem sui manducationem instituere. Ergo verba illa: hoc est corpus meum, ita intelligenda sunt, panis ut corpus Christi vere quidem sit, sed spiritualiter, sed discipulis uti, scut corpore pane, its mente edatur corpus Christi. The Swiss adopted this view so far as to say, even on the Zwinglian interpretation, that the spiritual partaking could be united with the sacramental. Thus Oecolampadius, in the disputation at Berne, 1528 (Zwingli’s Werke by Schuler u. Schulthess, ii. i. 126): “Item wir verlaugen keineswegs, dass wir den Leib Christi essen und sein Blut trinken; aber wir thun das geistlich durch den Glauben, dass wir durch das Leiden Christi Gott, dem himmlischen Vater, versöhnt sind, nicht aber, dass unter dem Brod wesentlich oder leiblich sey der Leib Christi.” So, too, Zwingli accepted the 16th Marburg Article (Div. I., § 4, Note 88). Cf. Zwinglii ad Carolum Imp. Fidei Ratio, 1580 (Opp., iv. 11): Credo in sacra Eucharistiae—coena verum Christi corpus adesse fidei contemplatione; h. e. eos, qui gratias agunt Domino pro beneficio nobis in Filio suo collato, agnosce, illum veram carnem adsumisse, vere in illa passum esse, vere nostra peccata sanguine suo abluisse, et sic om- nem rem per Christum gestam illis fidel contemplatione velut presentem fieri. Sod quod Christi corpus per essentiam et realiter, h. e. corpus ipsum naturale, in Coena aut adsit aut ore dentibusque nostris mandatur, quemadmodum Papistae et quidam qui ollas Aegyptiacas respectant perhibent, id vero non tantum negamus, sed errorem esse qui verbo Dei adversetur, constanter adseveramus. Id. Ad illust. Germaniae Principes Augustae congregates de Convitiiis Eccii (Opp., iv. 33): Et nos nunquam negavimus, corpus Christi sacramentaliter ac in mysterio esso in Coena, cum proper fidei contemplationem, tum proper symboli, ut diximus, tum actionem. Eiusd. Christ. Fidei Exposi- tio ad Regem Christ. scripta, 1531 (Opp., iv. 63): Spiritualiter edere corpus Christi nihil est allud quam spiritu ac mente niti misericordia et bonitate Dei per Christum; h. e. in- concussa sive certum esse, Deum nobis peccatorum veniam et aeternae beatitudinis gaudium donaturum esse proper Filium suum.—Sacramentaliter autem edere corpus Christi, cum proprie volumus loqui, est adjungcato Sacramente menti ac spiritu corpus Christi edere.—Spiritualiter edis corpus Christi, non tamen sacramentaliter, quoties mentem tam ic anxiam; quomodo salus fies? etc.—cum, inquam, sic anxiam mentem sic sol- laberis: Deus bonus est, etc.—Verum cum ad Coenam Domini cum hoc spirituali man- ducatione venia et Domino gratias agis pro tanto beneficio,—ac simul cum fratribus pa- nem et vinum, quae jam symbolicum Christi corpus sunt, participas, jam propric sacra- mentaliter edis, cum scilicet huti idem agis quod foris operaris, cum mens reficitur hoc sive quam symbolum testaria. At sacramentaliter improrprie dicuntur edere, qui visible sacramentum sive symbolum publice quidem comedunt, sed domi sime non habent.

the corporeal presence and reception with the mouth as necessary conditions of the real presence; and he even went so far, in replying to the objections of his opponents derived from the very nature of a body, as to maintain, in opposition to them, the ubiquity of Christ’s humanity. The Strasburg theologians, Bucer and Capito, saw correctly, from the first, that the supposition of a spiritual

19 To Zwingli’s objection, that the body of Christ was sitting at the right hand of God, and hence could not be in the Lord’s Supper, he replied in the work, Dass diese Worte J. Chr. d. i. m. L. noch veste stehen, 1527 (Walch, xx. 1010): “Christi Leib ist zur Rechten Gottes, das ist bekannt. Die Rechte Gottes ist aber an allen Enden, wie ihr müsset bekennen aus unserer vorigen Ueberweisung. So ist sie gewisslich auch im Brod und Wein über Tische. Wo nun die rechte Hand Gottes ist, da muss Christi Leib u. Blut seyn; denn die rechte Hand Gottes ist nicht zu theilnen in viel Stücks, sondern ein einziges einfältiges Wesen.—Das will auch Christus, so oft er im Evangelio bekennet, dass ihm alles sey übergeben vom Vater, und alles unter seine Füsse gethan, Psalm viii. 7, d. i. er ist zur Rechten Gottes; welches ist nicht anders, denn dass er auch als ein Mensch über alle Dinge ist, alle Dinge unter sich hat u. drüben regiert. Darum muss er auch nahe dabei, drinnen und drum seyn, alles in Händen haben, etc. Denn nach der Gottheit ist ihm nichts übergeben, noch unter die Füsse gethan, so es zuvor alles gemacht und erhalt. Sitzen aber zur Rechten ist so viel als regieren und Macht haben über Alles. Soll er Macht haben und regieren, muss er freilich auch da seyn gegenwärtig und wesentlich durch die rechte Hand Gottes, die allenthältig ist. Was will nun hier werden? Es will das draus werden: Wenn Christus im Abendmal diese Worte (das ist mein Leib) gleich nie hätte gesagt noch gesetzt, so erzwingens doch diese Worte (Christus sitzt zur Rechten Gottes), dass sein Leib u. Blut da moge seyn, wie an allen andern Orten, u. darf hier nicht einiger Transubstantiation, oder Verwandlung des Brods in seinen Leib; kann dennoch wol da seyn: gleichwie die rechte Hand Gottes nicht drum muss in alle Dinge verwandelt werden, ob sie wol da und drinnen ist. Wie aber das zugehe, ist uns nicht zu wissen: wir sollens gläuben, weil es die Schrift u. Artikel des Glaubens so gewaltiglich bestätigen. [The substance of the reply is, that the "right hand of God" is everywhere, and so may be in the bread and wine of the Lord’s table. To sit at the right hand of God means, to govern, to have power over all, etc.] Zwingle, in his rejoinder, went into an investigation of the doctrine of the two natures (Werke, ii. ii. 66), and showed that the view of Luther led to a confounding of the two natures, and illustrated the usage of language as to the two natures by the figure of speech, alliosis, as often exemplified in the words of Christ; s. 66; “Hierum wiss, dass die Figur, die allosis heist (mag uns ‘Gegenwechsel’ zimlich vertuscht werden), von Christo selbs unzalbarlich gebrucht wird; und ist die Figur, so vil hieher dient, ein Abtsuchen oder Gegenwechsen zweier Naturen, die in einer Person sind; da man aber die einen nennet, und die andren verstat; oder das nennet, das sie beed sind, und doch nur die einen verstat.” Luther now became very zealous against this alliosis, but yet declared, in his Larger Confession, 1528, that in his former work he had only made an attempt to explain the presence of Christ; Walch, xx. 1177: “Denn dass ich bewiesete, wie Christus Leib allenthalben sey, well Gottes rechte Hand allenthalben sey, das das ich darum (wie ich gar öffentlich dasselbst bedinget), dass ich doch eine einzige Weise anzeigte, damit Gott vermochte, dass Christus zugleich im Himmel und sein Leib im Abendmal sey, und vorbehielt seiner göttlichen Weisheit und Macht wohl mehr Weise, dadurch er dasselbige vermochte, weil wir seiner Gewalt Ende noch Mass nicht wissen.” Though he afterward defended that view against Zwingle’s objections, yet it is apparent that he did not hold it unconditionally. He never repeated it in his later works. Comp. Chemnitz, infra, § 38, Note 24. F. W. Retberg’s Oecum u. Luther, oder Vergleich ihrer Lehre vom heil. Abendmale, in the Thol. Studien u. Kritiken, 1839, i. 69. Baur’s Dreieinigkeit, iii. 398. Schenkel, i. 529. [Cf. C. H. Weisse, Christologie Luther’s, 1852.]
reception, restricted to the Lord's Supper, was enough to unite the contending parties.20 But Bucer's efforts to make out, on this account, that the whole controversy was a mere strife of words, were of no avail, since there was between Zwingli and Luther a real contradiction as to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, which had its roots in their more general views as to the nature of the sacraments. And hence in Marburg, 1529, a union was not effected, notwithstanding the concessions which Zwingle was inclined to make.21

The cities of the Oberland, under the lead of Bucer, maintained their independence of the two contending parties by handing in their own Confession22 at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530. The next attempt of Bucer to effect a union, much as the circumstances of the times pressed to it, was favorably received only by Oecolampadius, but decisively rejected by both Luther and Zwingle.23 But

20 See Bucer, above, Note 17. They sent George Chasellius, Professor of the Hebrew language, to Luther, October, 1525, to induce him to come to terms; the answer of Luther is in de Wette, iii. 42. On the efforts of both sides to make peace, see Planck, ii. 310; Schenkel, i. 585.

21 See Div. I., § 4, Notes 37 and 38; Das Religionsgespräch zu Marburg im J. 1529, von L. J. K. Schmitt, Marburg, 1840.

22 Div. I., § 5, Note 29.

23 On these attempts, see S. Hess, Lebensgesch. Dr. Joh. Oekolampads, Zürich, 1793, s. 311; J. J. Herzog's Leben Joh. Oekolampads (2 Bde., 1843), ii. 229. They began in September, 1530, at a synod in Zürich, and continued to February, 1531. Bucer's full report to the Duke of Lüneburg, April, 1531, is in Hess, s. 368. Bucer, always insisting that it was only a strife about words, proposed, from Augsburg to the synod in Zürich, September, 1530, the formula (Hess, s. 313): "Dass Christus im Nachtmahl gegenwärtig sey, nicht im Brod, nicht vereinigt mit dem Brod, sondern im Sacrament,—der blossen Seele und reinem Gemuth; und als geistlich auf die Weise zugegen sey, als die Geschriift weiset, Christus wohnet in Euch, wird seyn mitten unter ihnen, und wir werden Wohnung bei ihm haben" [i.e., Christ is present in the Supper, not in the bread, but in the sacrament—to the soul; as when the Scripture says, Christ dwells in you]. The Swiss agreed to this formula; Bucer, however, felt that he could not come to Luther with it, and proposed to the diet in Basle, Nov. 16, 1530, the formula: "We believe and confess that the true body and the true blood of Christ are really present in the Lord's Supper, and are offered with the words and sacrament of the Lord." Oecolampadius was ready to accept this, and recommended it to Zwingle, Nov. 19 (Zwingl. Opera, viii. ii. 546). Zwingle, however, adhered to the form before agreed upon in Zürich, Nov. 20 (1. c., p. 549). But Bucer still sent the last formula to Luther, who replied, Jan. 22, 1531 (de Wette, iv. 216): Gratias agimus Deo, quod saltem eatenus concordes sumus, ut scribis, quod utrique confitemur, corpus et sanguinem Christi vere in Coena adesse, etcum verbis parrigi in cibum animae. Miror autem, quod Zwinglum et Oecolampadium quoque hujus opinionis aut sententiae participe facias.—Si igitur corpus Christi confitemur vere exhiberi animae in cibum, et nulla est ratio, cur non impiae quoque animae hoc modo exhiberi dicamus, etiam si illa non recipiatur, quemadmodum lux solis videnti pariter et caeco offertar: miror, cur vos gravet ultra confiteri, etiam cum pane offerti foris ori tamen plurum quam implorum.—Sed si ista sententia nondum apud vos maturuit, censeo differedmem causam, et divinam gratiam ulterior expectandam.—Quare solidam et plenam
cer renewed his undertaking, with more prospect of success, after the disastrous termination of the Cappel war (1531) made it desirable for the Reformed Swiss to effect a union with the German Evangelical princes; but, in order to appease the excited passions of both sides, he allowed himself to say many things, which brought upon him the reproach of ambiguity. He found most favor in Basle, where the desire for union was continued under Oswald Myconius, the successor of Oecolampadius, and expressed, not only in the Basle Confession, which appeared in January,
1534, but also in taking part in the union which was effected, 1534, in the adjacent Württemberg. Zürich, too, showed itself favorable, under the lead of Henry Bullinger. In Berne, among the clergy, a strict Zwinglianism had the preponderance; but the aristocratic government desired the union. Thus Bucer succeeded in bringing the Swiss, at a synod held in Basle, January 30, 1536 sq., into the pacific mood which is expressed in the Confession of Faith (Confessio Helvetica I.) there drawn up. On this account they were at first the more hostile to the Wittenberg Concordia (May, 1536), which contained the doctrine that the body and blood of Christ were partaken of even by the unworthy. Yet Bucer was still able to pacify them by explanations; with these interpretations the Swiss declared to Luther that they were ready to adopt the Concordia (November, 1536), and he replied

Trank. Darum wir ouch Christum nit in diesen Zeichen Brot und Wns, die wir gemein-
lich Sacramenta des Lybs und Bluts Christi nennend, sonder in den Himlen by der Ge-
rechten Gott des Vatter sanbetcnd, dah rer kunftig ist zu richten die Lebendigen und
die Todten."

27 It was made between the preachers who here introduced the Reformation, Simon Grynaeus, of Basle, and Ambrosius Blaurer, from Constance, holding the Swiss views, and the Lutheran Erhard Schnepf; Kirchhofer's Myconius, s. 206.

28 At their head was Caspar Megander; see Kirchhofer's Myconius, s. 226; Hundes-
hagen, s. 64.

29 Das Leben Wilh. Farel's, by Melch. Kirchhofer (Zürich, 2 Bde., 1831, 1833), li. 27.

30 Bullinger's Leben, by Hess, i. 217. Kirchhofer's Myconius, s. 237.

31 Less correctly called Conf. Basileensis II.; see in Niemeyer Confess. Reform., p. 105; cf. praef., p. xxi.; in the original German in Bockel's Bekenntisschriften der Evang. Reform. Kirche (Leipzig, 1847), s. 115. 21. De vi et efficacia Sacramentorum: Signa, quae et Sacramenta vocantur, duo sunt, Baptismus et Eucharistia. Haec rerum arcaneum symbola non nudis signis, sed signis simul et rebus constant.—In Eucharis

32 pane et vinum signa sunt, res autem communicatio corporis Domini, parta salus, et
peccatorum remissio. Quae quidem ut ore corporis signa, sic fide spiritus perciipientur.

33 Nam in rebus ipsis totus fructus Sacramentorum est.—23. (Asserimus) coenam vero
mysticam, in qua Dominus corpus et sanguinem suum, i.e., seipsum sua vere ad hoc
offarat, ut magis magisque in illis vivat, et illi in ipso. Non quod panis et ino corpus
et sanguis Domini vel naturaliter uniantur, vel hic localiter includantur, vel ulla huc
carnali praesentia statuantur. Sed quod pane et vinum ex institutione Domini symbola
sint, quibus ab ipso Domino per Ecclesiae ministerium vera corporis et sanguinis ejs
communicatio, non in periturum ventris cibum, sed in aeternae vitae alimoniam exhi-
beatur.


35 Div. I., § 7, Note 29. Myconius, by Kirchhofer, s. 267. Bullinger, by Hess, i. 241. Worthy of note is the letter of the learned Joach. Vadianus, burgomaster of St. Gallen, to Bullinger, 2. Nov., 1556 (in Bullinger's Lebensgesch. by Hess, l. 263), which points out unsparingly that among the Swiss theologians, also, exaggerated mistrust and ex-
ctableness were delaying the union so much to be desired.

36 Their letter in Hospiniani Hist. Sacramentaria, li. 263.
in such terms (December 1, 1537)\textsuperscript{36} that the agreement seemed to be completed. Strict Zwinglianism was suppressed in Berne, and in both Berne and Basle even a Lutheran tendency became predominant.\textsuperscript{36}

Luther thought he might take for granted, as the Swiss had acknowledged the real presence, that they had abandoned the Zwinglian doctrine. But as they still expressed reverence for Zwingle, he thought that he must prove he had not come to terms with the Zwinglian error. Stimulated by the new edition of Zwingle's works, he came out very strongly against him, in his "Short Confession of the Holy Sacrament, against Enthusiasts," 1544.\textsuperscript{37} This work aroused in Switzerland a general indignation,\textsuperscript{38} and completely shattered the Concordia, which had been but loosely held.

In 1561 Calvin returned to Geneva,\textsuperscript{39} and commenced that extraordinary career which made him the second reformer of his Church. In Strasburg he had become connected with the Church
there established, had subscribed the Augsburg Confession,⁴⁰ and entirely agreed with Bucer as to the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper.⁴¹


For Luther he had a high regard, and was also greatly esteemed in turn by him. He put Zwingle much lower, expressing obscurely, quam nobis hoc Sacramentum Dominus in corpore et sanguine suo exhibet. Utique profecto in culpa fuerant, dum ase mutuo audire non sustinuerunt, ut posita omni affectione veritatem, undecunque pateferet, sequerentur. Verum non ideo, quod nostri erga ipsos officii est, praetermittere debemus. Ne scilicet obliviscamur gratiarum et beneficiorum quae Deus in eos contulit, et nobis per ipsorum manum distribuit, etc.

42 Calv. Resp. contra Pighium de Libero Arbitrio, 1543 (Opp., viii. 119): Si quis temporis illius statum prudenter consideret, quo eturus est Lutherus, cum alias fere omnibus difficultates habuisse cum Apostolis communes videbit: una vero in re iniquiorum ac duxiorum fuisse ejus conditionem quam illorum, quod nullum erat tunc in mundo regnum, nullus principatus, cui illi bellum indicerent, hic autem emergere nullo modo poterat, nisi ejus imperii ruina et interitus, quod non modo omnium potentissimam erat, sed relicta omnia quasi sibi obnoxia tenebat. P. 129: De Luther—nunc quoque sicut hactenus non dissimulantur testamur, cum nos habere pri insigni Christi Apostolo, cujus maxime opera et ministerio restituta hoc tempore fuerit Evangelii puritas. Calv. ad Bullingerum, 25. Nov., 1544 (Epist. et Respons. ed. Genev., p. 383), in reference to Luther's Confession, Note 37: Audio Lutherum tandem cum atroci invectiva non tam in vos, quam in nos omnes prorupisse. Nunc vix audeo a vobis petere, ut taceatis. — Sed haec cupio vobis in mentem venire, primum quantus sit vir Lutherus, et quantis dubius excellit, quanta animi fortitudo et constantia, quanta dexteritate, quanta doctrinae efficacia hactenus ad profugandum Antichristi regnum et simul propagandam salutis doctrinam incubuerit. Saepe dicere solitus sum, etiam mi diabolum vocare, me tener hoc illi honoris habiturum, ut in signem Del servum agnoscam, qui tamen, ut pollet eximius virtutibus, ita magnis vitis labor et. Hanc interiorem, quia ubique ebullit, utinam magis freeware studiisset; vehementiam autem, quae illi est ingenita, utinam in hostes veritatis semper contulisset, non etiam vibrassset in servos Domini; utinam recognoscendis suis vitis plus operae dedisset! Plurimum illi obluerunt adulatores, cum ipse quoque natura ad sibi indulgendam nimirum propensus esset. Nostrum tamen est sic reprehendere quod in eo est malorum, ut praescribs illis donis aliquid concedamus. Hoc igitur primum reperues, obsecro, cum tuis collegis, cum primario Christi servo, cui multum debemus omnes, vobis esse negotium. High esteem is also avowed in the letter of Calvin to Luther, Jan. 20, 1545 (Henry, ii., Append., s. 106), which was sent to Melanchthon, but not delivered by him.

42 Calv. ad Farellum, 20. Nov., 1539 (ex MS. in Henry, i. 267). The passages in parenthesises were erased by Calvin, but plainly expressed his real sentiments): Crato unus ex chalcographis nostris Witemberga nuper reedit, qui literas attulit a Luthero ad Bucerum (see in the same in de Wette, v. 210), in quibus iba scriptum erat: salta mihi Sturmiun et Calinium reverenter, quorum libelli singulari cum voluptate legi. (Jam reputa, quid illic de Eucharistia dicam. Cogita Lutheri ingenuitatem. Facile erit statuere, quid causae habeant, qui tam pertinaciter ab eo dissident.) Philippus autem ita scribatur: Lutherus et Pomeranus Calinium et Sturium iussuerunt salutari. Calinium magnam gratiam inuit. Hoc vero per nuncium jusit Philippus narrari, quodam, ut Martinum exasperarent, illi indicasse, quam odiarum a me una cum suis notaretur. Locom ergo inspexisse, et sensisse sine dubio illic se sita. Tandem ita fuisse locutum: spero quidem, ipsum olim de nobis melius sensum, sed aegum est a bono ingenio nos ali- quid ferre. (Tanta moderatione si non frangimur sumus plane saxe. Ego vero fractus sum. Itaque satisfactioni scripsi, quae praefationi in epistolam ad Romanos inseratur.) As Luther at this time must have known the Institutions of Calvin, it follows, from the declarations of this letter, that he was then satisfied with his doctrine upon the Lord's Supper; and, besides, it also fully agreed with that to which the Swiss had declared assent to Luther in 1536. Thus the avowals of Luther about Calvin are trustworthy, given by Christop. Pezel, in his Ausfuhr. Erzahlung vom Sacramentsstreit,
ing an unfavorable judgment respecting him. His strict character was mirrored forth in his theology, the head and front of which was the Augustinian system, unveiled, and carried to all its consequences; and also in his principles about the Church, Bremen, 1600. So he writes to Cruciger on Calv. Responsio ad Sadoletum, 1540 (s. 125): "Diese Schrift hat Händ und Füsse, und ich freue mich, dass Gott solche Leute erwecket, die, ob Gott will, dem Papstthum vollend den Stoss geben, und was ich wider den Antichrist angefangen, mit Gottes Hülf e hinausführen werden." On Calv. de Sacra Coena, which was sent to him by the Wittenberg bookseller, Moritz Golch, 1545, and particularly on the passage adduced above, Note 41, he thus expresses himself to the same (s. 137): "Moritz, es ist gewiss ein geckerter und frommer Mann, dem hätte ich anfanglich wohl dürfen die ganze Sache von diesem Streit heimstellen. Ich bekennen meinen Theil: wenn das Gegentheil dergleichen gethan hätte, wären wir bald anfangs vertragen worden, denn so Oecolampadius und Zwinglius sich zum ersten also erklärt hätten, waren wir nimmer in so weitläufige Disputation gerathen." Henry, ii. 499.

The last anecdote is borrowed by Hospinianus (ii. 312) from Pezel; Ebrard (ii. 476) is wrong in his opinion that it is there told about Calvin.


Et fortissim sub finem vitae retractavit ac corretixit in melius quae temere initio excidierat. Sed in scriptis prioribus memini, quam profana sit de Sacramentis doctrina.

Jo. Calvini Institutio Christianae Religionis was published in three principal editions, with alterations (Henry, iii.; Bell, s. 177); 1. In French, Basle, 1535; in Latin, Basle, 1536 (Henry, i. 102). 2. Argentorati, 1539. 3. Genevæ, 1559 (Henry, i. 286). On the Fall and Redemption through Christ, Instit., lib. ii. c. 1-7. On Election, lib. iii. c. 21-24. Cf. iii. 21, 1: In ipsa quae terret caligino non modo utilis hujus doctrinae, sed suavisissimum quoque fructus se profert. Nuncum liquido ut decet persuasi erimus, salutem nostranum ex fonte gratiae misericordiae Dei fluere, donec innotuerim nobis aeterna ejaec electio, quae hac comparatione gratiam Dei illustrat, quod non omnes promiscue adoptat in spem salutis, sed dat aliis quod aliis negat. Hujus principii ignorantia quantum ex gloria Dei minuimant, quantum verae humiliatae detrahat, palam est.—Qui hoc extinctum volunt, maligne quantum in se est obscuret quod magnifice ac plenis buccis celebrandum erat, et ipsam humiliatat radicem evellunt.—Qui fores occultant, non quis ad gustum hujus doctrinae accedere audeat, non minorem hominibus quam Deo faciunt injuriam. Calvin went beyond Augustine in being a supralapsarian; iii. 23, 4: Rursum excipiunt: nonne ad eam, quae nunc pro damnationis causa obtenditur, corruptionem
for which he demanded independence of the State and strict discipline. All these peculiarities found, at that time, more support in Lutheranism than in the Zwinglian reform; and so Calvin, in the German Switzerland, soon came under the suspicion of being Lutheran in sentiment, and of striving to introduce a new papacy. He was particularly hated in Berne, which ascribed chiefly to Calvin the loss of its political influence in Geneva, and was at the same time very reluctant to see Calvinistic principles penetrating into the Canton de Vaud, then under the Bernese rule, as it seemed to imperil the government of the Church by the secular power. The Lutheranizing clergy of Berne were indeed favorable to Calvin; but this led to their defeat in 1548, and giving the upper hand again to the strict Zwinglian party. By the Consensus Tigurinus of 1549 Calvin removed the doubts about

Dei ordinatione praedestinati ante fuerant? Cum ergo in sua corruptione percuti, nihil aliud quam poenas launt ejus calamitatis, in quam ipsius praedestinatone lapsus est Adam, ac posteros suos praecipites secum traxit. Annon itaque injustus, qui creaturos suas tam crudeler illudit? Fato e sane, in hanc qua nunc illigatis, sunt conditionis miseriae Dei voluntate decidisse universos filios Adam: atque id est quod principio dicebam, redundum tandem semper esse ad solum divinam voluntatem arbitrium, cujus causa sit in ipso abcedita. Sed non protinus sequitur, huic obtracationi Deum subjacere. Occurremur enim cum Paulo in hunc modum: *O homo tu quis es, qui dixerat Deus tuum?* Rom. ix. 20 ss. However, in other places he distinguishes in this doctrine what is practically necessary and what is speculative; see Responsio contra Pighium de Libero Arbitrio, 1543 (Opp., viii. 123): Cum edenda Augustae esset Confessionis formula (Phil. Melancthon), non nisi in ea doctrina immorari voluit, quae sola Ecclesia propia est necessaria cognitum ad salutem: nihil scelict verum per se naturalia viret ad perplicandam fidem, ad obedientiam legis, et totam spirituali justitiam. So, too, in 1546, he published Melancthon’s Loci in French translation, and declared in the Preface that Melancthon had said about predestination all that was necessary for the salvation of man, and only omitted what could not be known without danger (Henry, ii. 496).

46 Calv. Institutio, lib. iv.

47 Henry, ii. 461.

48 Hundeshagen’s Confikte des Zwinglianismus, Lutherthums, und Calvinismus in der Bernischen Landeskirche v. 1532-58; Berne, 1842, s. 55 ff., 330 ff.

49 Hundeshagen, s. 161.

50 Hundeshagen, s. 196 ff., 209. The Vaudois preachers (Viret and Valier) were received in a very unfriendly manner by the clergy in Berne, who stood at the head of affairs; see Calvinus ad Bullingerum, 6. Cal. Jul., 1548 (Henry, ii., App., s. 182: Obsequro te, mi Bullingere, si ita agendum est, utrum generosius saltem fuit, Bernae an Romae subjici? Agnosce etiam, quam apta fuerit Jodoci interrogaquis, quis me vocasset, ut Laosannae concionarer. Tandem ut primis ultima responderent, iussi sunt fratres abire et facessere cum suo Calvinismo et Buceranismo. Et haec omnibus furioso prope impetu et insanis clamoribus. Quid durius aut truculentius a Papistis expectat?

51 Agreed upon by Calvin and Farel in Zurich, with the clergy of that city; see Bullinger’s Leben, by Hess, ii. 15; Calvin’s Leben, by Henry, ii. 493; Hundeshagen, s. 248; Niemeyer Confess. Eccl. Ref., praeft., p. xli.; the Consensus itself, in Niemeyer, p. 151; German in Böckel’s Bekenntnisszchriften d. Evang. Ref. Kirche, s. 178. VI. Haec spiritualis est communicatio, quam habemus cum Filio Dei, dum Spiritu suo in nobis habi-
his doctrine of the Lord's Supper, by especially emphasizing those Zwinglian principles which he adopted, and those Lutheran views

tans faciat credentes omnes omnium, quae in se resident, bonus compotes. Cujus testificandae causa tam Evangelii praedicatio instituta, quam Sacraurorum usus nobis commendatus, nempe Baptismi, et sacrae Coeneae. VII. Sunt quidem et hi Sacramentorum fines, ut notae sint ac tesserae christianae professionis et societatis sive fraternalitis, ut sint ad gratiarum actionem incitementa et exercitia fidei ac piae vitae, denique syngraphae ad id obligantes. Sed hic unus inter alios praeipuus, ut per ea nobis gratiam suam testetur Deus, repraesentet atque obsignet.—VIII. Cum autem vera sint, quae nos Dominus debid gratiae suae testimonia et sigilla, vere procul dubio praestat ipse intus suo Spiritu, quod oculis et alius sensibus figurant: h. e. ut potamur Christo, tanquam honorum omnium fonte, tum ut beneficium mortis ejus recognosceret Deus, Spiritu renovemur in vitae sanctitatam, justitiam denique et salutem consequamur, simulque pro his beneficis olim in cruce exhibita, et quae quotidie fide percepimus, gratias agamus. IX. Quare etsi distinguimus, ut par est, inter signa et res signata, tamen non disjungimus a signis veritatem, quin omnes, qui fide ampliectur illic oblatas promissiones, Christium spiritualiter cum spiritualibus ejus donis recipere, adeoque et qui dudum participes sancti erant sancti, communione illam iam continuare et reparare fatemur. X. Materia aquae, panis aut vini, Christum nequaquam nobis offerit, nec spiritualium ejus donorum compotes nos facit; sed promissio magis spectanda est, quia nobis grantiam suam testatur Deus, repraesentatque obsignet.—XI. Praeterea si quid boni nobis per Sacramenta confertur, id non fit propria eorum virtute, etiam si promissionem, qua insigniuntur, comprehendendas. Deus enim solus est, qui Spiritum suo agit. Et quod Sacramentorum ministerium utitur, in eo neque vim illius suam infundit, neque Spiritus sui efficaciae quicquam derogat, sed pro ruditate nostrae captivae taqnanum administraculari sic adhibet, ut tota agendi facultas maneat apud ipsum solum. XI. Constituimus ergo, unum esse Christum, qui vere intus baptizat, qui nos in Coena facit sancto, qui denique impleit quod figuratur Sacramenta; et sic quidem ut his administraculis, ut totus effectus pene ejus Spiritum resideat. XII. Praeterea si quid boni nobis per Sacramenta conferatur, id non fit propria eorum virtute, etiam si promissionem, qua insigniuntur, comprehendendas. Deus enim solus est, qui Spiritum suo agit. Et quod Sacramentorum ministerium utitur, in eo neque vim illius suam infundit, neque Spiritus sui efficaciae quicquam derogat, sed pro ruditate nostrae captivae quanquam administraculis sic adhibet, ut tota agendi facultas maneat apud ipsum solum. XIV. Certum est, unum esse Christum, qui vere intus baptizat, qui nos in Coena sancto, qui denique impleit quod figuratur Sacramenta; et sic quidem ut his administraculis, ut totus effectus pene ejus Spiritum resideat. XVII. Hoc doctrina exvertit illud Sophistarum commentum, quod docet, Sacramenta novae legis conferre gratiam omnibus non ponentibus oblicum peccati mortalitatis. Praeterea si quid boni nobis per Sacramenta nihil nisi fide percipitur, tenendum quoque est, minime alligatum ipsi esse Dei gratiam, ut, quisquis signum habeat, et rei tamen potior. Nam repromisae peraquae ut electis signis administratur, veritas autem signorum ad hos sosos perveniet. XVIII. Certum quidem est, offerri communiter omnibus Christum cum suis donis, nee hominum increduitate labefactati Dei veritatem, quin semper virum suam retineat Sacramenta; sed non omnes Christi et donorum ejus sunt capaces.—XIX. Quammodum autem nihilus plus Sacramentorum usus interfidelibus conferat, quam si abstinerent, imo tantum illius exitialis est: ita extra eorum usum interfidelibus constat, quae illic figuratur veritas.—Sic in Coena se nobis communicat Christus, qui tamen et prist se nobis impertiet et perpetuo manet in nobis. Nam cum jubeantur singuli seipos probare, inde consequitur, iudem ab ipsis requiri, antequam ad Sacramentum accedant. Atqui fides non est sine Christo, sed quatenus Sacramentis confirmatur et augescit fides, confirmantur in nobis Dei dona, adeoque quodammodo augescit Christus in nobis, et nos in ipso. XXI. Prae sim vero tollenda est quaelibet localis praesentiae imaginatio. Nam cum signa hic in mundo sint, oculiscernantur, palpantur manibus; Christus, quatenus homo est, non alibi quam in coelo, nec alter quam mente et fidei intelligentia quaerendus est. Quare persevera et impia superstite est, ipsum sub elementis hujus mandi includere. XXII. Princi qui in solemnibus Coeneae verbis: hoc est corpus meum, hic est sanguis meus, precise literalem, ut Ioquuntur, sensum urgent, eos tanquam praeposteros interpretes repudiaveramus. Nam extra controversiam ponimus, figurata accepiderant esse, ut esse panis et vinum dicuntur id quod significant.—XXIV. Hoc modo non tantum refutatur Papistarum commentum de transsubstantiatione, sed crassa omnia figumenta atque futilas argumenta, quae vel coelesti ejus gloriae detrahunt vel veritati humanae naturae minus sunt.
which he rejected; but Berne did not accept this formula, and was steadfast in its hostility. When Hieronymous Bolsec was put in prison in Geneva, October 16, 1551, for his opposition to unconditional election, and this doctrine was formally set forth by the Genevese clergy in the Consensus Genevensis, January 1, 1552, the German cantons replied by referring to the unsearchableness of the secret things of God, and advised mildness. As Bolsec, however, was banished from Geneva, and continued, without interruption, to calumniate Calvin from his place of refuge in the neighboring Canton de Vaud, the dissatisfaction of Berne with Calvin came to be more distinctly expressed; preaching upon consentaneae. Neque enim minus absurdum judicamus, Christum sub pane locare vel cum pane copulare, quam panem transsubstantiare in corpus ejus. On the contents, see Planck, v. ii. 19; Ebrard’s Abendmahl, ii. 508. Comp. Calvin’s doctrine about the Lord’s Supper on the basis of his Institutio, and judged from the Lutheran point of view in Rudelbach’s Reformation, Lutherthum und Union (Leipzig, 1889), s. 187. [Comp. Jul. Müller, Lutheri et Calv. Sent. de sacra Coena, Halle, 1853.]

*Hundeshagen, s. 251. Ebrard, ii. 522 f.*

*Trechsel’s Antitrinitarier, i. 185. Henry, iii. i. 44. Hundeshagen, s. 271.*

*Henry, iii. i. 92. This Consensus was not subscribed by the Zürich theologians; but the Consensus Tigurinus, in which election is also incidentally mentioned, was confirmed by them anew in 1551; Henry, iii. ii., App., s. 114. The Consensus Genevensis, in Niemeyer, p. 218 (cf. Praef., p. xlvii.); German in Bockel, s. 182. It is a violent polemic against Albertus Pighius and Georgius Siculus: Bolsec is not named, but contemptuously referred to. It is, as Calvin himself says, a reproduction of the paragraph in the Institutio. Melanchthon ad C. Peucerum, 1. Febr., 1552 (Corp. Ref., vii. 932): Lucius (Socinus) mihi scribit, tanta esse Genevae certamina de Stoica necessitate, ut carceri inclusus sit quidam a Zenone dissentientis. O rem miseram! Doctrina salutaris obscuratur peregrinis disputationibus.*

*See the letters of Zürich, Berne, and Basle, in Jo. Alph. Turretini Nubes Testium pro moderato et pacifico de Rebus theologici Judicio (Genev., 1719. 4.), p. 102; the first two are also in Henry, iii. ii., App., s. 17. The Bernese wrote: Illud tamen etiam atque etiam videndum esse sentientum, ne quid severius statutatur in errantes, ne, dum dogmatum puritatem immoderatius vindicamus, a regula Spiritus Christi deiiciturum, h. c. caritatem fratrum, unde discipuli Christi censemur, ad sinistrum declinant, transgrediur. Bullinger wrote to Calvin (Bullinger’s Leben, by Hess, ii. 42): Apostoli ubi men hanc causam paciscit attigerunt, nec nisi coacti, samque sic moderati sunt, ne quid inde offenderentur pli.—Si simplici veritate non sinit se superari Hieronymus (Bolsec), nos nullam vim praeteresse possimus addere.*

*Bullinger, by Hess, ii. 237. Trechsel’s Antitrinitarier, i. 194. Hundeshagen, s. 280. Henry, iii. i. 69. Calvinus ad Bullingerum, 18. Sept., 1554 (in Hundeshagen, s. 281): Agri Bernensis concionatores me haereticum omnibus Papistis deteriorem pro suggesta proclamant. Ac quo quisque petulantius in me bacchatur, eo plus sibi favoris et praei- dili comparat. The execution of Servetus, Oct. 27, 1553, was made the occasion of much reproach to Calvin by all his opponents (Trechsel, i. 268); Bolsec said, Magnum iuriam Serveto factam esse, et bonam causam injusta Calvinii tyrannida fuisse oppressam (Trechsel, i. 195). Andr. Zebedee, professor in Lausanne, a stiff Zwinglian: Ignis gallicus vicit ignem hispanicum, sed ignis Dei vincerat ignem gallicum (Hess, ii. 283). Se- bast. Castellio, professor in Basle, published: De Haereticis, an sint persequeandi, et omnino quomodo sit cum eis agendum, doctorum virorum tum veterum tum recentiorum.
predestination was forbidden;\textsuperscript{57} the Vaudois were prohibited from receiving the Lord’s Supper in Geneva;\textsuperscript{58} and no satisfaction was given to the Genevese when they complained of being calumniated.\textsuperscript{59} All the German Swiss became still more incensed against the Calvinistic theologians, when Theodore Beza, in the spring of 1557, to induce the German princes to intercede for the French Reformed, handed in to the Elector Otto Henry, of the Palatinate, and Duke Christopher, of Württemberg, a Confession,\textsuperscript{60} and there-

\textsuperscript{57} The 26th January, 1555, the Bernese Council renewed the prohibition about disputing on doctrines and ecclesiastical order, and especially emphasized (Hundeshagen, s. 286) certaine hautes et subtiles doctrines, opinions, et traditions des hommes, principalement touchant la matière de la divine prédestination, qui nous semble non être nécessaire, ains qui servent à factions, sectes, erreurs, et débauchement, qu'à édification et consolation. The classis of Lausanne made representations against this edict, which was renewed March 13, on the 6. Non. Maj., 1555; in Gerdesii Scrinium Antiqu., ii. 472. 

\textsuperscript{58} In the edict of 26th January, 1555, in Hundeshagen, s. 894. The Lord’s Supper, in the Bernese churches, was held by many Calvinists not to be valid, because there was no church discipline.

\textsuperscript{59} After many complaints, made in writing, had proved ineffectual, a deputation from Geneva, and Calvin in person, appeared before the Bernese council, March, 1555; but the accused denied the charges, and brought forward counter complaints on the ground of Calvin’s objections to Zwingle and the Zürich Confession (supra, Note 88), and also charges of heterodoxy. The council did not impose punishment, but demanded peace.

**After many complaints, made in writing, had proved ineffectual, a deputation from Geneva, and Calvin in person, appeared before the Bernese council, March, 1555; but the accused denied the charges, and brought forward counter complaints on the ground of Calvin’s objections to Zwingle and the Zürich Confession (supra, Note 88), and also charges of heterodoxy. The council did not impose punishment, but demanded peace.
upon, at the Diet of Worms, October, 1557, made declarations

significari duntaxat, aut symbolice, typice vel figurate tanquam absentia memoriam pro-
poni; sed vere ac certo representari, exhiberi, et applicanda offriri, adjunctis ipsi rei
symbolis minime nudis, sed quae, quod ad Deum promittentem et offerentem attinet,
rem ipsam semper vere ac certo conjunctam habeant, sive fideli, sive infidelibus pro-
ponentur. Jam vero modum illum, quo res ipsa, i.e., verum corpus et verus sanguis
Domini cum symbolis copulatur, dicimus esse symbolicum sive sacramentalem. Sacra-
mentalem autem modum vocamus non, qui sit duntaxat figurativus, sed qui vere ac
certo sub specie rerum visibilium repraesentet, quod Deus cum symbolis exhibet et
offert, nemo quod superiore articulo diximus: ut appareat, nos ipsius corporis Christi
substantiae praesentiam in Coena retineire et defendere. Et si quid nobis cum vere pri-
et docet controversiae est, non de re ipsa, i.e., de praesentia sed de modo praesentiae
duntaxat, qui soli Deo est cognitus, a nobis autem creditur, discipletari. Quod autem
attinet ad modum, quo symbola nos communicantur, physicum esse censimus. Nam
physica visibilia illa et palpabilia sumimur. Denique quod attinet ad modum,
quo res ipsa, i.e., naturalis illa et vera Christi substantia vere ac certo nobis communici-
nam, non facimus eum modum physicum, nec locum conjunctio neon imaginatur, aut
diffusionem naturae humanae Christi, aut crassam illam et naturalem commiunctionem
substantiae Christi cum nostra substantia, non denique papisticam transsubstantiatio-
nem, sed spirituale esse modum dicimus, i.e., qui nitatur incomprehensibili Spiritus
Dei omnipotens vitute, quam nobis in hoc verbo suo patet. hoc est corpus meum,
hoc est sanguis meus. Obtestamur autem omnes frates versae pacis ac concordiae aman-
tes, ut sepositis omnibus affectibus cogitent, quod nostris et Christi
Sacramentis ita sentiant et docent, pros symbolis et haereticis tradacti. Confession
was handed in without the knowledge of the Swiss: when it was made known to them,
they were much discontented with it, because, while it professed to give the doctrine of
the Swiss churches, it was so very different from the Consensus. See Bullinger's cor-
respondence about it with Calvin and Beza, in Bullinger, by Hess, ii. 362; Hundeshagen, a. 812.
Comp. the account in Bullinger ad Jo. a Lasco, 24. Jun., 1558, in J. C. Fueslini Episo-
di, ab Eccl. Helv. Reformatibilus vel ad eos scriptae (Tigruli, 1742), p. 414; Baum's
Theod. Beza, i. 267.

41 When the Lutheran divines in Worms asked for a Confessio doctrinae Ecclesia-
rum Gallicarum, for which they were to intercede, their deputies, Beza, Farel, Job.
Budäus of Geneva, and Casper Carmel, Reformed preacher in Paris, did not dare to pre-
sent the Confession which in the spring had been handed in to the Duke of Württem-
berg, because it was so much disapproved in Switzerland; but they drew up a shorter
and more cautious declaration (see this in Corp. Ref., ix. 382, in Baum's Theod. Beza, i.
409), which is often incorrectly confounded with that Confession. It is there said: Cum
legerimus vestram confessionem, quae Augustae exhibita est anno 1530, prorsus eam in
omnibus articulis congruere cum nostris Ecclesiae judicamus, et eam ampletum, ex-
cepto tamen uno articulo, videlicet de Coena Domini, in quo controversiae haerent, de
quibus colloquia cum vestris semper expetivimus, et speramus dirimi eas posse, si eru-
ditorum et ploror explicatio audiatur. Nunquam hoc nos sensimus aut docimus, Coe-
nam Domini esse tandem signum professionis,—aut esse signum tantum absentia Christi.
—Constantissime affirmamus, Filium Dei misum esse, ut per eum colligatur Ecclesia,
et adesse eum suo ministerio, et in Coena testificari, quod faciat nos sibi membra. Et
verba Pauli sequimur, qui ait: panis est corpus Christi, i.e., illa res, quam sumimur,
filius Dei vere adest et facit nos per idem sibi membra, et testificatur, se nobis
dare et applicare remissionem peccatorum, Spiritum sanctum, et vitam aeternam. Baum's
Th. Beza, i. 302. From Zürich reproaches about this new Confession were also addressed
to Beza; Bullinger, by Hess, ii. 377; Baum, i. 326: also from Berne; Hundeshagen, a.
iterum loquentur de Coena, et exponunt locum Pauli i Cor. x. secus quam oportebat.
Dubitamus item, an Ecclesiae Gallicanarum per omnia agituriae sint Augustanam confes-
sonem, maxime in Confessione auriculari et Missa.
which seemed to concede too much to the Lutherans. Beza, of his own accord, left Lausanne in 1558; and soon afterward the Calvinistic preachers, who were urgent for stricter church discipline, were banished from the Canton de Vaud. Calvin died in the midst of these dissensions, May 27, 1564.

This tension was kept from resulting in a total separation, in part by the attacks which both parties had in common to undergo from the ultra-Lutheran Germans, on account of their doctrine respecting the Lord’s Supper. Another occurrence in Germany helped to bring them nearer together. The Elector Frederic III., of the Palatinate, went over to the Reformed Church in 1560, and thereupon had the Heidelberg Catechism drawn up by Zacharias Ursinus and Caspar Olevianus, in 1563. When the Lutheran side then raised the question, whether the Elector could still be considered as an adherent of the Augsburg Confession, and as such included in the religious treaty, the Swiss were led to unite in the Confession left by Bullinger, as the expression of their common faith (Confessio Helvetica II. ,1566), in order to show their agreement with the Augsburg Confession.

The Heidelberg Catechism and the second Helvetic Confession were the most widely diffused formularies of the Reformed Church. Their doctrine respecting the Lord’s Supper agrees with that of Calvin; but the Augustinian doctrine of election is not in the

62 Hundeshagen, s. 331 ff.  
64 B. G. Struven’s pfälzische Kirchenhistorie, Frankfurt, 1721. 4., s. 165 ff.  
66 Heidelberg Catechism, Question 76: “Was heisst den gekreuzigten Leib Christi essen, und sein vergossen Blut trinken? Es heisst nit allein mit glaubigem Herzen das ganze Leiden u. Sterben Christi annehmen, u. darzudurch Vergebung der Sünden u. ewiges Leben bekommen; sonder auch dażneben durch den heil. Geist, der zugleich in Christo u. in uns wohnet, also mit seinem gebenedeuten Leib je mehr u. mehr vereiniget werden, dass wir, obgleich er im Himmel, und wir auf Erden sind, dennoch Fleisch von seinem Fleisch, und Bein von seinen Beinen sind, u. von einem Geist (wie die Glieder unser Leibs von einer Seele) ewig leben und regiert werden.” Question 78: “Wie
Catechism at all, and the Confession gives it in a mild form, far behind that in which Calvin advocated it. On the other hand, the Wasser in dem Tauf nit in das Blut Christi verwandelt, oder die Abwaschung der Sünden selbst wird, deren es allein ein göttlich Wahrzeichen u. Versicherung ist; also wird auch das heil. Brod im Abendmal nit der Leib Christi selbst, vv. 81 es nach Art und Brauch der Sacrament der Leib Christi genannt wird.

Question 79: Christus hat das Brod seinen Leib, und den Kelch sein Blut genannt, "dass er uns nit allein damit will lehnen, dass, gleichwie Brod u. Wein das zeitliche Leben erhalten, also sey auch sein gekreuzigter Leib u. vergossen Blut die wahre Speis u. Trank unserer Seelen zum ewigen Leben; sonder vielmehr dass er uns durch diess sichtbare Zeichen und Pfand will versichern, dass wir so wahrhaftig seines wahren Leibs u. Bluts durch Wirkung des heil. Geists theilhaftig werden, als wir diese heiligen Wahrzeichen mit dem leiblichen Mund zu seiner Gedächtnuss empfangen, und dass all sein Leiden u. Gehorsam so gewiss unser eigen sey, als hätten wir selbst in unser eigen Person alles gelitten u. genuggethan." Cf. Beckhaus, in Illgen's Zeitschr., viii. 11. 82; Ebrard's Abendmal, ii. 604. Conf. Helveticus Posterior, c. xxxi.: Retinere vult Dominus ritum hoc sacro in recenti memoria maximum generi mortuorum vivere beneficium, nempe quod tradit corpore et effuso suo sanguine omnia nobis peccata nostra condonavit, ac a morte eternae et potestate diaboli nos redemit, jam pacat nos suar carne et potat suo sanguine, quae vera fide spiritualiter perciat alunt nos ad vitam eternam.— Et quidem visibiliter hoc foris Sacramentum per ministrum repraesentatur, et velut oculi contemplandum exponitur, quod intus in anima invisibiliter per ipsum Spiritum sanctum praestatur.— Manuclatio non est unius generis. Est enim manuclatio corporalis, quae cibus in os pericptur ab homine, dentibus attertur, et in ventrem deglutitur. Hoc manuclationis genere intellexerunt olim Capernaum sibi manuclandum carnem Domini, sed refutabantur ipso Joan. c. vi.—Est et spiritualis manuclatio corporis Christi, non ea quidem, qua existimamus cibus ipsum mutare in spiritum, sed quae, manente in suas essentia et proprietate corpore et sanguine Domini, ea nobis communicantur spiritualiter,— per Spiritum sanctum, qui videlicet ea, quae per carmen et sanguinem Domini, pro nobis in mortem tradita, parata sunt, ipsum inquam remissionem peccatorum, liberationem, et vitam eternam applicat et confort nobis, ita ut Christus in nobis vivat, et nos in ipso vivamus, efficaciter, ut ipsum, quo talis sit cibus et potus spiritualis noster, i.e., vita nostra, vera fide percipiamus.—Fit autem hic essus et potus spiritualis etiam extra Dominum Coenam, et quoties, aut ubiquecum homo in Christum crediderit. Quo fortasss illud Augustini pertinent: quid paras dentem et ventrem? crede et manucasti. Praeteri superiorem manucationem spirituali est et sacramentalis manuclatio corporis Domini, qua fidelis non tantum spiritualiter et interne participat vero corpore et sanguine Domini, sed foris etiam accedendo ad mensam Domini accipit visible corporis et sanguinis Domini Sacramentum. Pius quidem, dum credit fidelis, vivificant alimentum percepit, et ipso fructum adhuc, sed ideo, dum Sacramentum quoque accipit, non nihil accipit. Nam in continuatione communicacionis corporis et sanguinis Domini pergit, adeoque magis magisque incenditur, et crescit fides, ac spirituali almonia reficietur.—Et qui foris vera fide sacramentum percipit, idem ille non signum duntaxat percipit, sed re ipsa quoque, ut diximus, fructum. Praeterea idem ille institutioni et mandato Dominii obedit, laetique animo gratias pro redemptione suas totiusque generis humani agit, ac fidelem mortis dominii memoriae peragat, atque corream Ecclesiam, cujus corporis membrum sit, attestatur: obsignatur item pecplentibus Sacramentum, quod corpus Domini non tantum in genere pro hominibus sit traditum,—sed peculiariter pro quovis fidelis communicante.— Caeterum qui nulla cum fide ad hanc sacram Domini mensam accedit, Sacramentum duntaxat communicat, et rem Sacramenti, unde est vita et salus, non percipit. Et tales indignes edunt de mensa Domini,—et ad judicium absi edunt et bibunt.

67 Heldelb. Catech. Qu. 87, it reads that Christ "an Leib und Seele—den Zorn Gottes wider die Sünde des ganzen menschlichen Geschlechts getragen hat;" Question 54: "Dass der Sohn Gottes aus dem ganzen menschlichen Geschlecht ihm ein anserwähltes Gemein zum ewigen Leben durch sein Geist u. Wort in Einigkelt des wahren Glaubens
strict Calvinism had the preponderance among the Reformed, outside of Switzerland and Germany, and was decidedly expressed in the Confessio Belgica, 1559, and in the Confessio Gallicana, 1661.

Basle, under its antistes, Simon Sulzer (since 1553), was in close union with the new Church of Baden, and did not adopt the second Helvetic Confession. Sulzer even intended to take part in Andrea’s work on the Formula Concordiae; but in the last years of his life (he died 1585) this intention was frustrated. His successor, J. J. Grynaeus, restored Basle to agreement with the rest of the Swiss churches.

§ 36.

MELANCTHON’S THEOLOGICAL RELATIONS TO LUTHER.

Versuch einer Charakteristik Melanchthon’s als Theologen u. einer Entwicklung seines Lehrbegriffs, von F. Galle, Halle, 1840. Phil. Melanchthon, sein Leben u. Wirken, aus den Quellen dargestellt von K. Matthes, Altenburg, 1841. [C. F. Ledderhose, Life of Melancthon, transl. from German by G. F. Krotel, New York, 1854. Cox’s Life of Melancthon, Lond., 1815. Mel. und das Interim, Rosselin Studien und Kritiken, 1844: comp. Zeitschrift fur d. Hist. Theol., 1851. Mel. Hypotyposea, Schwarz in von Anbeginn der Welt bis ans End versammle, schütze u. erhalte, u. dass ich derselben ein lebendiges Glied bin, u. ewig bleibe werde.” On the later controversy, whether the Catechism teaches universal or particular grace, see Beckhaus, in Ilgen’s Zeitschr., vii. ii. 70. Confessio Helvet. posterior, X. De praedestinatione Dei et electione Sanctorum. Deus ab aeterno praedestinavit vel elegit libere et mera sua gratia, nullo hominum respectu, Sanctos, quos vult salvos facere in Christo.—Ergo non sine medio, licet non propter ulum merum nostrum, sed in Christo et propter Christum nos elegit Deus, ut qui jam sunt in Christo insit per fidem, illi ipsi etiam sint electi; repromi vero, qui sunt extra Christum.—Et quamvis Deus norit, qui suits sui, et alibi mentio fiat pucullatis electorum, bene sperandum est tamen de omnibus, neque temere repribis quiquam est annumerandus.—Satis perspicuum et firmum habebimus testimonium, nos in libro vitae inscriptos esse, si communicaverimus cum Christo, et is in vera fide noster sit, nos ejus sumus. Consoletur nos in tentatione praedestinationis, qua vix alia est periculosior, quod promissiones Dei sunt universales fidelibus, quod ipse alit: petit et accipietis, omnis qui petit accipit. It is remarkable that the epistle to the Romans is not cited in this section. Predestination to condemnation is not mentioned, as Bullinger, in particular, feared that it would be so misunderstood as to represent God as the author of sin; see Hess’s Bullinger, ii. 40.

46 Beza was a strict supralapsarian. Thus, at the colloquy of Mompelgard, 1586, he defended against Andrea the position: Adamum sponte quidem, sed tamen non modo praeeciente, sed etiam juste ordinante et decremente Deo in istas calamitates prolapsus esse; see Acta Colloquii Montisbellartensis, Witteberg, 1618. 4., p. 414, 424, 429. Th. Beza, Ad Acta Colloq. Montisbell. Responsio (Partes ii., Genev., 1688, 4.), p. 233.


70 Hagenbach’s Gesch. d. ersten Basler Confession (Basle, 1827), s. 90. The second Helvetic Confession was formally assented to by Basle first in 1642; s. 158.
When Philip Melancthon came to Wittenberg in 1518, he was already attached to the reforming tendencies. He there came into intimate relations with Luther, and devoted himself with great zeal to the study of theology. In his Loci Commun. Rerum Theologicarum, 1521, he presented the first scientific elaboration of the new doctrine. The theological controversies which immediately sprung up among the adherents of the Reformation somewhat cooled his zeal, and at the same time convinced him of the need of a more thorough philosophical and philological culture among the theologians. For some years he seemed to abandon theology, and to devote himself exclusively to his original course of study. However, in 1526 he took a theological chair, and began to move more independently in this sphere. He always esteemed piety and morality as the highest object of all theological pursuits, and unity and order as essential conditions of...
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...the efficiency of the Church. Hence he was repugnant to the theological speculations and controversies, which seemed to lose sight of that object and of these conditions; and he blamed the violence of Luther in these discussions. He kept himself ready to sacrifice what was non-essential for the sake of peace, and was impartial in acknowledging what was true in the opinions of his opponents. Thus his doctrinal peculiarities, gradually developed, and consummated, as to the chief points, in his edition of the Locii of 1535, had for their aim to suffer what was essential...
from all that might lead to needless strife or to misunderstandings that imperiled morality.

In the controversy of Luther with Erasmus he came to see the danger of strict necessarianism, to which he had been previously inclined. After 1527 he abandoned it by degrees, until at length, in the edition of the Loci in 1535, he came to teach a synergism on the part of man in the work of conversion, and rejected the necessarian view as an error of the Stoics.


10 Loci Theol., 1521. A. 7: Quandoquidem omnia, quae eveniunt, necessario juxta divinam praedestinationem eveniunt, nulla est voluntas nostrae libertas. B. 4 vero: Praedicit liberi arbitrii vir Pharisaei scholasticī: Christianus agnoscat, nihil minus in potestate sua esse, quam cor suum. — Summa, si ad praedestinationem referas humanam voluntatem, nec in externis nec in internis operibus ulla est libertas, sed eveniunt omnia juxta destinationem divinam. Si ad opera externa referas voluntatem, quasdam videtur esse judicium naturae libertatis. Si ad affectus referas voluntatem, nulla plane libertas est etiam naturae judicium. Comm. in Ep. ad Rom., 1524, in cap. 8: Itaque sit haec certa sententia, a Deo fieri omnia, tam bona, quam mala. — Consequitur itaque, ridiculum commentum esse liberum arbitrium. — Nos vero dicemus, non solum permittere Deum creaturis, ut operentur, sed ipsum omnia proprie agere, ut, sicut fatetur præter omnem Dei opus fuisse Pauli vocazione, ita fateantur, opera Dei propria esse, sive qua media vocantur, ut comedere, bibere, communia cum brutis, sive quae multa sunt, ut Davidis adulterium, Manili severitatem animadverterint in filium. — Constat, Deum omnia facere non permissive sed potenter, — ita ut sit ejus proprium opus Judaei profidio, sicut Pauli vocatio. Galle, s. 247.

11 Mel. Enarratio Epist. ad Colossenses, 1527: Quia Christus ipse dicit Joh. viii.: cum loquitur mendaciam, ex propria loquitur, non faciam Deum auctorem peccati, sed naturam conservantem, et vitam et motum impertientem, qua vita et motus diabolus aut impil non recte utuntur. — Claris sententiis traditum est (Joh. vi., Rom. viii.), humanam voluntatem non habere ejusmodi libertatem, ut justitiam christianam seu spiritualem efficere possit, idque ideo, ut discamus, christianam justitiam non tantum esse civilia opera, seu ejusmodi opera, quae ratio per se efficit, sed novam quandam vitam prorsus ignotam impia. — Habet libertatem voluntas humana in deligendis his, quae ψυχικω sunt, ut hoc aut illud cibi genus eligere, — habet et vim carnalis et civilis justitiae efficiendae, continere manus potest a caede, a ferro, abstinere ab alterius uxor. With this agree the Visitation Articles, 1527 (ed. by Strobel, s. 31 and 36), and the Augsburg Confession, Arts. 18 and 19. He goes a step farther in the tertia editio Enarrationis Epist. ad Rom., 1532, in cap. 9: Scriptores veteres omnes praeter unum Augustinum ponunt, aliquam causam electionis in nobis esse. Et recentiores μᾶλα βεβαιων affirmare audent, rem totam pendere ex meritis nostri et dignitate nostra, quod ideo falsum esse necesse est, quia neque justissimam neque salvamur operis dignitatem nostram aut implostenement legit. Verecundius est, quod aliquamdiu placuit Augustino, misericordiam Dei vere causam electionis esse, sed tamen eutanus aliquam causam in accipiente esse, quatenus promissionem oblatam non repudiat, quia malum ex nobis est. Galle, s. 274.

12 Loci Theol., 1585. De causa peccati et de contingenti, E. vero: Est autem hae plia et vera sententia, utraque manu, ac verius toto pectore tenenda, quod Deus non sit
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The misapprehension, dangerous to morality, of the formula, that faith alone justifies, he expressly contended against in the Visitation Articles,13 1527: in his Loci, 1535, he declared that good works were the necessary results of faith.14

causa peccati, et quod Deus non velit peccatum. Sed causae peccati sunt voluntas Diaboli, et voluntas hominis. E. III. verso: Nec invehenda sunt in Ecclesiam deliramenta de Stoico fato, aut τιπ τής δυνάμεως: nihil enim habent veri aut armi isto, sed sunt merae praestigiae aut sophisticae conscrvationes. Deinde non est obscurum, quantum haec opinio nocet peletati et moribus, si sic sentiant homines, ut Zenonis servulius dicebat, non debere se plecti, quia Stoico fato coactus esset peccare. Ab his opinionibus decet pios auribus atque animis abhorrere. De humanae viribus seu de libero arbitrio, E. IV. verso: Quaeritur, quomodo voluntas sit libera, h. e. quomodo possit obedienti legi Dei.—Primumigitur respondeo: cum in natura hominis reliquum sit judicium et delectus quidam rerum quae sunt subiectae ratione aut sensui, reliquis est etiam delectus externorum opor tum civilium. Quare voluntas humana potest sua viribus sine renovatione aliquo modo externa legis opera facere.—Illud tantum addam, hanc ipsam libertatem efficiendi civiliis justitiae saepe vinci naturali imbecilitate, saepe impediri a diablo. —Secundo, Evangelium docet in natura horribilem corruptionem esse, quae repugnat legi Dei, h. e. facit, ne praestare integram obedientiam possimus.—Scendum est igitur de libero arbitrio, non posse homines legi Dei satisfacere. Nam lex divina requirit non tantum externa facta, sed interiorem munditiem, timorem, fiduciam, dilectionem Dei summam, denique perfectam obedientiam, et prohibet omnes vitiosos affectus. Constaut autem, homines hanc perfectam obedientiam in hac corrupta natura non praestare. De hac corruptione praecipue loquitur, non de externis factis, cum extenuamus libertatem voluntatis.—Deinde et hoc addendum est: voluntas humana non potest sine Spiritu sancto efficere spirituales affectus, quos Deus requirit, scil. verum timorem Dei, veram fiduciam misericordiae Dei, obedientiam ac tolerantiam afflictionum, dilectionem Dei, et similis motus. —Necque haec eo dicuntur, ut laqueos injiciamus conscientiis, aut deterreamus homines a studio obediendi, aut credendi, aut ne consentur. Imo cum a verbo ordiri debamus, certe non repugnandum est verbo Dei, sed anintendum ut obtinemus, et intuenda promissio Evangelii, quae est universalis.—Porro in veris certaminibus haec clarus judicari possunt, quam in otiosis disputationsibus. Nam in vero agone, uti angimus de remissione peccatorum, erigere nos debemus et intueri in promissionem.—Et Spiritus sanctus ibi efficac est per verbum. Sicut inquit Paulus: Spiritus adjutat infirmatam nostram. In hac lucta horatans est animus, ut omni consat retinet verbum. Non est dehortandum nos conetur, sed docendus, quod promissio sit universalis, et quod debeat credere. In hoc exemplo videmus, conjungi has causas, Verbum, Spiritum sanctum, et voluntatem, non sanseotiosam, sed repugnamb infirmatam suae. Has causas hoc modo ecclesiastici scriptores conjungere solent. Basilius inquit: μονο ληπνων, καλ ὁ θεος προσκυνεται. Deus anteverit nos, vocat, movet, adjutav, sed nos viderimus ne repug nemus. Constat enim peccatum oriri a nobis, non a voluntate Dei. Chrysostomus inquit: ὁ δὲ ἡλικίων τῶν βουλόμενων ἡλικίων. Id apte ditictur auspiciante a verbo, ne adverse tur, ne repugnet verbo. Et nos quidem sic judicare oportet. Non enim indulgere de- temus diffidentiae aut desidiae naturali. Schenkel, ii. 445.

13 Supra, § 34, Note 22.
14 Locci Theol., 1535. De bona operibus, G. IV. verso: Plane igitur et clara dico: obedientia nostra, h. e. justitia bonae conscientiae su operum, quae Deus nobis praebuit, necessario sequi debet reconciliationem.—Acceptatio ad vitam aeternam, seu donatio vitae aeternae conjuncta est cum justificatione, l. e., cum remissione peccatorum et reconciliatione, quae fide contingit, juxta illud: quos justificat, eodem et glorificat (Rom. viii. 30). Itaque non datur vita aeterna propter dignitatem bonorum operum, sed gratis propter Christum. Et tamen bona opera sua necessaria sunt ad vitam aeternam, quia sequi reconciliationem necessario debent. Ideo Paulus ait: vae mihi si non docuero Evan-
After he had for a long time held fast to the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as in agreement with the ancient Church, and had been opposed to all union with the Swiss, he was first led to adopt a milder tone by the *Dialogus* of Oecolampadius, and began, after 1531, to declare in favor of a union. After the conference with Bucer in Cassel, at the end of 1534 and beginning of 1535, he decidedly changed his views, holding firmly, from this time on, that the internal reception of Christ and union with him is all that is essential in the Lord's Supper.

*gelium* (1 Cor. ix. 16). Item: *quia talia agunt, regnum Dei non possident* (Gal. v. 21). Requiruntur autem non solum externa civilia opera, sed etiam spiritualia motus, timor Dei, iducia, invocatio, dilectio, et similis motus.— Sed non satis est docere, quod obedientia nostra necessaria sit: addendum est enim, quomodo placat Deo, cum constet, neminem satisfacere legi.— Et necessaria est illa obedientia, et placat Deo, sed in reconciliatia, et est justitiis, non quia legi satisfacit, sed quia jam personae placet.

14 He seeks to show this agreement in the work: *Sententiae Patrum de Coena Domini cum praef.* ad Myconium, March, 1530. Galle, s. 890.


16 Oec. *Dialogus,* quid de Eucharistia Vetere tum Graeci, tum Latinis senserint, 1530. is written against the *Sententiae* of Melancthon, to show that Augustine did not teach the *manducatio oralis,* that particular passages from other Fathers are interpolated, etc.


18 Mel. ad J. Brentium, 12. Jan., 1535 (C. R., ii. 823): *Orum de pollax twon palai ws yvpytviiwv adxvraias ovflxv, av, av dno amfowtwv xerpvnwv o tov vpytwv perx vntxou, kal yfotiriwv inanvle de adxvraias olov nooerai o nndoi (the Dialogues of Oecolampadius had manifestly helped him to a knowledge of this).* Σχέντιον άδ και εγώ, α ταξιων γνώσεων έναριστείτοι. σφόδρα δε εγώ, την ενετή σκληρότης ένετη δικαίω κα και άνω εάναν δοκεώ, και αυτών των πραγμάτων. And right after his return from Cassel he wrote about the negotiations there had with Bucer—ad J. Camerarium, 10. Jan., 1535 (l. c., p. 822): *Meam sententiam noli nunc require, fui enim nuncius alienae eti profecto non dissimulabo quid sentiam, ubi audiero, quid respondeant nostri.* Schenkel, l. 552.

20 Loci Theol., 1535. *De Coena Domini, X. VIII.* Supra dictum est, Sacramentum ceremoniam esse additam promissioni, in qua Deus nobis aliquid exhibet. Sic et haec Coena est Sacramentum, debet enim intelligi cereremia addita summae totius Evangelii, quod et complectitur in ipsis verbis: *hic est calix novum testamentum,* i. e., testimoniun novae promissionis. Est et summa Evangelii seu promissionis in his verbis: *hoc est corpus meum quod pro nobis datur,* item: *hic est sanguis qui pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum.* Principalia igitur finis hujus ceremoniae est, ut testetur, nobis exhiberi res in Evangelio promissa, scil. remissionem peccatorum et justificationem propter Christum.—Deinde sic prodeat haec ceremonia, cum fidem addimus, scil. quas credimus promissa contingere, noques consolament; et hoc spectaculum oculis atque animo objicietur, ut nos ad credendum adnoseat, et fides in nobis excucicetur. Christus
Melancthon’s doctrinal views were widely diffused by his numerous hearers, and gained the majority of the academical teachers in Wittenberg. Luther was magnanimous enough to distinguish between what was essential in religious doctrines and their dogmatic form of statement; and thus the small body of his strictest adherents, at the head of whom was Nicholas von Amsdorf, never fully succeeded in making him mistrustful of his true helper.  

enim testatur ad nos pertinere beneficium sumum, cum nobis imperitit sumum corpus, et nos sibi adjungit tanquam membra, qua non potest alia conjunctio cogitari proprior. Testatur item se in tanquam efficacem fore, quia ipse est vita: dat sanguinem, ut testetur, se nos abluere.— Multae autem et horribiles de hoc Sacramento controversiae extituerunt. Disputatur de verbis Coenae, an sit in his verbis metaphora: hoc est corpus meum. Queritur de Missa, an sit quaedam oblatio facienda et applicanda pra aliis vivis et mortuis, ut mereatur eis remissiis seu culpae seu poenae; quid differat opus sacerdotis et laici. Hae controversiae et aliae his vicinias facile dijudicari possent, si non esset mutata vetus Ecclesiae consuetudo in hac ceremonia tractanda. Atque utinam symodus eas pie et feliciter explicet. Ego nec auctor nec assessor ullius novi dogmatis esse volo, quod non habet Ecclesias veteris probata testimonia. Non enim contemno Ecclesiae catholicae judicium et auctoritatem. Quid autem de verbis Coenae senserint ecclesiastici scriptores, ex dictis eorum apparebit. Paulus inquit: Panis est communicatio corporis Christi, pœcum est communicatio sanguinis Christi. Itaque datis his rebus, pane et vino, in Coenae Domini, exhibentur nobis corpus et sanguis Christi. Et Christus vere adest Sacramento suo, et efficax est in nobis, sicut Hilarius inquit: quæ sumpta et hausta faciunt, ut Christus sit in nobis, et nos in Christo. Mirum profecto et ingenium pignus summi erga nos amoris, summae misericordiae, quod haec ipse Coena testatum vult, quod seipsum nobis impertiat, quod nos sibi adjungat tanquam membra, ut sciamus, nos ab eo diligi, respici, servari. Mel ad Vitum Theodorum, 23. Apr., 1538 (Corp. Ref., iii. 514): Ego ne longissime recedemus a veteribus, posui in usu sacramentalum praeientiam, et dixi, datis his rebus Christum vere addesse et efficacem esse. Id profecto satis est. Nec addidit inclusionem, aut conjunctionem talem, qua affigeretur s(ac) communicatum, ut affuturino, aut misceretur, aut misceretur. Sacramenta pacta sunt, ut rebus summa adsit ad id.— Quod requiret amplius? Et hac decreurrendum est tandem, nisi defendas illud, quod nonnulli jam dicunt, separatim tradiri corpus et sanguinem. Id quoque novum est, ac ne Papistis quidem placitur. Error forensis est, ut dicatur, multas quasestiones parit illa physica conjunctio: an separatim, an simul inclusae partes, quando ad sit, an extra usum? Horum nihil legitur apud veteres. Nec ego, mi Vite, inveheam has disputations in Ecclesiam, eoque tam parce dixi in Locis de hoc negotio, ut a questionibus illis juventutem abducerem. On his agreement with Calvin, see Calvinus ad Farellum, Mart., 1539 (Calv. Epistolae, ed. Genev., 1576, p. 12): Cum Philippo fuit mihi multis de rebus colloquium (in Frankfort, March, 1539, see Henry, i. 244): de causa concordiae ad eum prius scripsersanum, ut bonis virtis de ipsorum sententia certo possemus testari. Miseream ergo paucos articulos, quibus summan rei breviter perstrinxeram. Iis sine controversia ipse quidem assentitur: sed fatetor esse in illa parte nonnullos, qui crassius aliquid requirant, atque id tanta pervicacia, ne dicam tyrannice, ut diu in periculo fuerit, quod eum videbant a suo sensu nonnihil alienum. Quamquam autem non putat constare solidam conceptionem, optat tamen, ut haec concordia, qualscumque est, foveatur, donec in unitatem suae vertitatis nos Dominus utrinque adduceret. De ipso nihil dubita, quin et pene nobiscum sentiat.  

21 How Luther thought about the attacks on Melancthon (§ 34, Note 25), ad Mel., 27. Oct., 1527 (de Wette, iii. 215): Scribis to flagellari a quodam, quod poenitentiam a timore Domini incipi docueris in visitatione vestra. Scripsit similis fere Mag. Eisleibius,
When Caspar Cruciger, in 1536, first made public the Melancthonian formula—Bona opera non quidem esse causam efficientem salutis, sed tamen causam sine qua non—it was violently assailed by Cordatus. Luther, whom Amsdorf tried to rouse up, disapproved, indeed, of the formula, but so fully conceded the right intention of it, that the opponents had to drop their complaint.

sed ego pugnam istam verborum non magni puto, praesertim apud vulgum. Nam timor poenae et timor Dei quam different, facilius dicitur syllabis et literis, quam re et affectus cognoscitur. Thus, too, he would certainly have judged in after years about most of the attacks upon him. Mel. ad Vitum Theodorum, 22. Jun., 1537 (Corp. Ref., iii. 383). Scis me quasdam minus horrida dicere de praedestinatione, de assensu voluntatis, de necessitate obedientiae nostrae, de peccato mortali. De his omnibus scio re ipsa Lutherum sentire eadem, sed ineruditi quasdam ejus fortissimam dicta, cum non videant quo pertineat, niumiam amant. Nec ego cum illis pugnandum mihi esset duxce. Fruantur suo judicio. Mihi tamen concedant homini Peripatetico, et amanti mediocritatem, minus Stoicei alciibui loquii.

21 Supra, Note 14.
23 Amsdorf. ad Lutherum, 14. Sept., 1536 (Corp. Ref., iii. 162), an announcement of the false doctrine. Melanchthon, who knew only by report about the intrigues against him, wrote in respect to them—ad Lutherum, Jonam, Bugenhagium, et Crucigerum, 1. Nov., 1536, l. c., p. 179.
24 Mel. ad Vitum Theodorum, 22. Jun., 1537 (C. R., iii. 883): Equidem studio omni officio tueri concordiam nostrae Academiae, et sciss in hoc genere me etiam artis aliquld adhibere solet. Nec hostili animo videtur in nos esse Lutherus. Heri etiam admodum amanter de his controversiis mecum collocatus est, quas movit quadratus (Cordatus), cum quidem ego disputarem, quam tragicum spectaculum futurum esset, si velut Cadmel fratres inter nos ipsi depugnaremus. Cruciger ad Vitum Theodorum, 10. Jul., 1537, l. c., p. 885: Existimo, te vidisse jam propositiones Lutheri nuper disputatas respondente Petro Ravo. Ibi cum forte repeteremus cujusdam argumenta de hac propositione, quod nova obedientia sit necessaria ad salutem, adducet ad id Scripturae locis, tamen D. negatam sibi placere hoc sic dici necessarium ad salutem, quod vulgus forte non recte intellegere; hoc mihi proelio concedebat, quod sit effectus necessario sequens justificationem. (According to an account of Fridr. Myconius, in Just. Menius Bericht von der bittern Wahrheit, 1559, M. 3., Luther, in this disputation, did not say that the position, "that good works are necessary to salvation," was altogether objectionable, but said that the position, "that good works are necessary to justification," was so.) Quod ego sane accipiam, cum de re viderem eum non dissentire, etiamquasdam υποσχληπων dicere solebat, ut de batuentibus vocabullis philosophici, praesertim illud, quod Philippo respondente de abrogatione legis, etiam obligationem sublatam esse, quasi sentiens, non solum quod works justificationem et condemnationem nullam esse vim legis, sed etiam debitum obedientiae abolitum. Male hoc habuit nostrum, sed noluit eam rem porro agitare. Then, upon the calumnies of the opposite party, with the remark: Lutherus quidem ipse satiis ostendit, hoc sibi displicere. Melanchthon changed the passage in his Locii (cf. Note 14), in the edition of 1538, so as to read: Haece nova spiritualitas sua necessaria est ad vitam aeternam, ut reconciliationem necessario sequi debeat, without being farther attacked for it. In the Instructions of the Wittenberg divines to F. Myconius, when he was sent to England in 1538, he was expressly enjoined not to contend about the position that good works are necessary to salvation, if justification through faith alone was recognized; see Just. Menius, ubi supra. Meanwhile Me-
Meanwhile, as Melancthon had advised the court preacher, Jacob Schenck, in Freiburg (at the beginning of 1537), to yield about receiving the Lord's Supper under one species, an attempt was made to bring him into suspicion with the Electoral Court and with Luther as to his general doctrine about this sacrament; but no abiding impression could be made. Luther, on the contrary, decidedly took Melancthon's part, when Agricola, doubtless en-

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Melancthon afterward also avoided the expression, ad vitam aeternam, adhering to the statement: obedientia nostra necessario sequi debet reconciliationem, which formula is also found in the Locii of 1535; see Note 14.

36 Strobel's Literargesch. von Mel. Locis Theol., s. 112. Matthes, s. 185.

37 In the Weimar archives there is a document professing to report inquiries addressed to Luther and Bugenhagen, by the Chancellor Brück, in the presence of the Elector, May 6, 1537 (C. R., iii. 955), and in which these two men are asked about the deviations of Melancthon and other irregularities, and at the same time are put under obligation to observe a strict silence about this inquiry. The document is doubtless genuine, so far as this, that such an examination was intended; but that it really took place, is only noted on the back of the document in another handwriting; and this is manifestly incorrect. For, 1. In the reported investigation mention is reproachfully made of the changes (up to that time most unimportant) made in the Augsburg Confession, in the new edition by Melancthon; and if this really took place, how can we explain the important changes in the edition of 1540, and Luther's agreement with them? 2. Brück's letter to the Elector, October, 1537, refers to another examination of Luther, which had to do only with the doctrine about the Lord's Supper, and which, as is very plain from the narrative, could not have been preceded by any similar conference. In this letter it is said (C. R., iii. 427): "Doctor Martinus sagt und bekennt, dass er nimmermehr gemeint hatte, dass Philippus noch in den Phantaseyen so steif steckte. Daraus ich verstande, dass ihm Philippus das Schreiben Ew. Chf. G. (?) an Doctor Jacob (Schenk) verborragen gehabt. Er zeigte darneben an, er hatte wohl allerlei Vorsorge, und könnte nicht wissen, wie Philippus am Sacrament wäre. Denn er nannte es nicht anders, hielte es auch nur für eine schlechte Ceremonien, hätte ihn auch lange Zeit nicht sehen das heil. Abendmal empfahlen. Er hätte auch Argumente gebracht nach der Zeit als er zu Cassel gewest, daraus er vernommen, wie er fast Zwinglischer Meinung wäre. Doch wie es in seinem Herzen stünde, wisse er noch nicht. Aber die heimlichen Schreiben und Räthe, 'dass unter den Tyrannen einer das Sacrament möge in einerlei Gestalt empfahen,' gäben ihm seltsame Gedanken. Aber er wollte sein Herz mit Philippo theilen, und wollte ganz gern, dass sich Philippus als ein hoher Mann nicht möchte von ihnen und von der Schul allhier thun; denn er thät ja grosse Arbeit. Würde er aber auf der Meinung verharren, wie er aus dem Schreiben an Dr. Jacob vermerkt, so müsste die Wahrheit Gottes vorgehen." Melancthon about this time expected an examination (ad Camerar., 11. Oct., C. R., iii. 420, ad Vitum Theod., 13. Oct., p. 429: Heri intelligi scriptos articulos mihi proponendos. Sed certi nihil habeo, est enim mirifica occultatio), which did not come off, since meanwhile Agricola had again come forward with his Antinomianism, and Schenck had joined him. Mel. ad Vitum Theod., 25. Nov., 1537, I. c., p. 152: Post illas nuper de me deliberationes habitas eti dies mihi dicta erat, tamen Lutheri morbus impede, ne quid ageretur, ita deinde fuerunt inducias. Et Fribergensis ille δεμαγωγος ita ruit, ut displiecet suo theatro. Vociferatur turpiter contra legum illa διστορα, quae somniabat Islebius, Christianis nullam legem praedicandum esse. De haec ipse ro jam litigat per literas Islebius cum Lutheri. Vide, quae doctrinae genus isti inepti parliant, qui nostras in his materiis accuratas et μεθοδικας distributiones fastidiant, et suas quasdam διψυχολογιαν amant, quibus applaudunt indecti.
couraged by these circumstances, again tried to insist upon his Antinomian views in opposition to Melancthon. Melancthon remained in the position of collocutor of the Wittenbergers, and was ever conscious of his essential agreement with Luther, which was also conceded by the latter, who always spoke with high veneration of his Philip. As to the new edition of the Augsburg Confession in 1540, the so-called Variata, afterward so much calumniated, no one at that time thought of taking of-

\[\text{See above, § 84, Note 27. But still the machinations of the opponents continued;}\]


\[\text{In Smalcald, Febr., 1540, Matthes, s. 197; in Werms, Nov., 1540, s. 207; in Ratisbon, Apr., 1541, s. 218.}\]

\[\text{Testamentum Melanchthonis, 1540, C. R., iii. 825. After he had here spoken of his faith and his labors for the new Church, he says: Nec meum consilium futit, ullam nominem serere, sed peracue et proprie exponere doctrinarum catholicam, quae traditur in nostris Ecclesiis, quam quidem judico singulari Dei beneficio patefactam esse his postremis temporibus per Dr. Martiniun Lutherum, ut Ecclesia repurgaretur et instauraretur, quoniam aliqui funditus perilisset. — Agò autem gratias Rev. D. Doctoris M. Lutheri, primum quia ab ipsò Evangelium didici, deinque pro singulari benevolentiam, quam quidem plurimis beneficis declaravit, eumque volo a mea non secus ac patrem coll. Ego, quia vidi et comperti praeditum esse excellenti et heroice vi ingenii et multis magnis virtutibus ac pictate, doctrina praeclusa, semper eum magni fecl, dilexi, et colendum esse sensi.}\]

\[\text{Luth. ad Mel., 18. Jun., 1540 (when Melanchthon was staying in Weimar, on the journey to Hagenau), in de Wette, v. 293: Mirum est, quam desideramus ut videre. — Nos tecum, et tu nobiscum, et Christus hic et ibi nobiscum. — Nos, qui te sincere amamus, diligenter et efficaciter orabimus. When Luther immediately afterward found Melanchthon sick unto death in Weimar, he exclaimed, when he first saw him, "God help! how the devil has reviled this organ onto me!" and then he prayed mightily, and spoke to Melanchthon words of the tenderest love. See Ratzeberger, by Neudecker, s. 102.}\]

\[\text{Conf. Aug. a. 1540 a Mel. edita variata illa, accurate reddita et illustrata a Mich. Weber, Halia, 1830, 4. The most important change was in Article X. This originally read: De Coena Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adisset et distribuantur vesentibus in Coena Domini, et improban secus docentes. — But in the Variata: De Coena Domini docent, quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeat cornus et sanguis Christi vescentibus in Coena Domini. The first form was considered by the Catholics in Augsburg, 1530, as in agreement with their doctrine; and so the Philippists (Melancthonians) justified the necessity of a change. The second formula undoubtedly had respect to the Concordia with the Swiss, then existing; and the Calvinists could afterward find in it their own doctrine. Comp. Ueber das Verhaltniss der veranderter Augs. Conf. zur unveranderter, Rudelbach's und Guericke's Zeitschr. f. d. Luther. Theol. und Kirche, 1851, iv. 640.—The German Confession, subscribed by the princes in Augsburg, was changed by Melanchthon in later editions only verbally, and thus has had no editio variata.}\]
fense at it. On the other hand, the Cologne project of a Reformation, which appeared in 1543, but which was not known in Wittenberg until 1544, aroused new divisions by its section on the Lord’s Supper, which was drawn up by Bucer, but approved by Melancthon. The sharp censure of Amsdorf was more readily welcomed by Luther, because he at that time was suffering in his bodily health, and was in a bitter mood on account of the state of affairs in Wittenberg; and he had also been made very excitable by the controversy with the Swiss, then renewed, just upon this

32 It was considered as a revision, which made the Confession more plain; very much praised by Brenz (Brent. ad Vit. Theod., 1541, C. R., iv. 737), and immediately used at the colloquy of Worms, January, 1541, without any heed being paid to Eck's exceptions on account of the alteration of the text (see Melancthon’s Report, C. R., iv. 84) by the Elector (who yet in his Instructions had specially desired that the colloquist should abide by the Augsburg Confession) or by Luther (Weber's Gesch. d. Augsb. Conf., ii. 812). On the contrary, Luther wrote to the Elector, May 10, 1541 (do Wette, v. 857), as to the Ratisbon negotiations, which were a continuation of those at Worms: “Zuletzt bitten wir, E. K. F. G. wollten M. Philippus u. den Unsern ja nicht zu hart schreiben, damit er nicht abermals sich zu Tod grame. Denn sie haben ja die liebe Confession ihnen erlahmen, und darin noch reich und fest bleiben, wenn gleich alles feylet.” As long as Melancthon lived the Variata was universally used without objections, even by the most decided opponents of Melancthon, as Westphal, and in the Weimar Confutation-Book (Strobel's Apologie Melanchthon's, s. 181 ff.), until it was first rejected by Flacius in the Weimar disputation with Striegell, 1560 (Disp., p. 127), and then by the party of the Duke of Saxony, at the Naumburg Diet of the Princes, 1561 (Salig’s Gesch. d. Augsb. Conf., iii. 669), and at the colloquy in Altenburg, 1569 (infra, § 38, Note 17), as being favorable to the Sacramentarians and Calvinists. Peucer declared, in Praef. in Ph. Mel. Opp., p. 1., 1562: Fuit autem posterior (editio emendatior Aug. Conf.) scripta a Philippo, mandante, recognoscente et approbante Luthero, et necesse fuit, eam scribi propter adversarios, quod multa cavillamentur illi, quas oportuit explicari, ut occasiones et argumenta talium cavillationum—eis adimeterant. On the other hand, the divines of the Duke of Saxony maintained at Altenburg, 1569 (Acta, the Wittenberg edition, fol. 258, b): “Es wissen auch viel Christen, dass Lutherus selbst wider dieselbige Aenderung oftmals geredt, Beschwerung durbar gehabt, und gesagt, dasselbe Buch ware auch nicht Philippus, sondern der christl. Kirchen Bekenntniss, darum gebuehre es ihmo als einem Privaten nicht, nach seinem Gutdunken und Wohlgefallen dasselbe zu verneuern oder zu verändern.” But yet Peucer’s allegation was repeated by men who were not at all on the side of the Philippists. Nic. Schnecker, Catalogus Brevium Praeceptorum Conciliorum, Francof. ad M. 1571. 8., p. 97: Recognita est Aug. Conf. posterior, relegante et approbante Luthero, ut vidi adhuc testes affirmant. Dav. Chytraus Hist. d. Augsb. Conf., 2te Ausg., 1577, und Mart. Chemnitis, Judicium do Controversiis quibusdam circa quosdam Aug. Conf. Articulos (ed. Polyc. Leyser., Viteberg, 1594), p. 7, say, at least, that it was brought forward at the conference at Worms with the approbation of Luther; comp. Strobel's Apologie Melanchthon's, s. 85. Weber's Gesch. der Augsb. Conf., ii. 291.

33 In many letters at this period Luther bewails his feeble state of health. On his controversy with the Wittenberg jurists, who declared private betrothals valid, see his letters to the Elector, Jan 22, 1544 (de Wette, v. 615); to the consistory in Wittenberg (s. 618). His aversion to luxurious habits, especially in female dress, is expressed to his housekeeper, July, 1545 (s. 752).

34 See Div. I., § 8, Note 18.

35 See Div. I., § 8, Note 26; supra, § 35, Note 36.
matter of the Lord's Supper. The friendly relations between the two men seemed to be endangered; but Melancthon had most to undergo from the strict Lutherans. Luther regained his composure, and the attack upon Melancthon, from which he shrank, was not made. Soon afterward the latter drew up the proposals for union, which were to be handed in to the Emperor (the so-called Wittenberg Reformation); and Luther hesitated as little as did the other Wittenberg theologians to subscribe them (Jan. 14, 1545), though they breathed throughout the pacific spirit of Melancthon.


38 He alluded to him with the highest honor in his Praef. ad Tom. i., Opp. Lutheri, 5. Mart., 1545: Nunc extant methodici libri quam plurimi, inter quos loci communes Philippus excellunt, quibus theologus et Episcopus pulchre et abunde formari potest, ut sit potens in sermone doctrinae pietatis.—Eodem anno (1518) jam M. Philippus Melanthon a Principe Friderico vocatus huc fuerat ad docendas litteras graecas, haud dubie ut haberem socialis laboris in theologia. Nam quid operatus sit Dominus per hoc organum, non in literis tantum, sed in theologia, satis testantur ejus opera, etiamsi irascatur Satan et omnes squamam ejus.

39 Corp. Ref., v. 578. Here, p. 584, it is proposed to establish confirmation: "Nämlich, so ein Kind zu seinen mündigen Jahren komme, öffentlich sein Bekennniss zu hören, und zu fragen, ob es bei dieser einigen göttlichen Lehre u. Kirchen bleiben will, und nach der Bekennniss und Zusage mit Auflegung der Hande ein Gebet thuen." To the Lord's Supper are to be admitted (s. 588) those who, "vorhin verhört und absolvirt sind, und nicht in öffentlichen Lastern verharren, welche auch rechten Verstand haben sollen, was dieses Sacrament sey, nämlich Niessung des wahren Leibes und Blutes Christi, und wozu diese Niessung zu thuen, nämlich dass der Glaub erwecket und gegräft werde: dieweil uns Christus durch diese seine Ordnung seinen Leib und Blut gebe, dass er uns gewisslich zu Gliedmassen mache, vergebe uns unser Sünd aus Gassen um seines Todes willen, nicht von wegen dieses unsers Gehorsams, wolle uns gnädiglich erhören und regniren, etc. Item, dass wir für seinen Tod und Auferstehung u. alle Gaben die danken. Item, dass wir biebe auch erkennen, dass wir Eines Heilands Christi Gliedmass sind, und sollen gegen allen Gliedmassen Lieb u. Gutes erzeigen unserm Hailand Christo zu gefallen," etc. S. 598, a proposal again to recognize bishops and to obey them: "Wenn sie anfahen, zu pflanzen reine Lehre des Evangelii und christl. Reichung der Sacramente."
In the last months of Luther's life the friendly relations between the two men were wholly restored. But Luther saw long beforehand that the existing dissension, no longer reined in by him, would lead to an open rupture after his death.

§ 37.

CONTROVERSY OF THE PHILIPPISTS AND THE STRICT LUTHERANS, TO THE DEATH OF MELANCTHON, 1560.

The unfortunate results of the Smalkald war were the occasion of the outbreak of this controversy. The Augsburg Interim, and the tyranny with which it was carried out in Southern Germany, aroused the wrath of all the adherents of the Reformation; and thus the strict disciples of Luther, who tried to imitate this man of genius in all respects with a slavish exactness, received great applause for their violent opposition to the Interim. When Melancthon, on the other hand, in his despondency, allowed himself to be used by the Elector Maurice, who was generally considered as an apostate, in drawing up a second Interim, his friends complained of him, and his enemies began at once a most bitter warfare against him and his followers in Electoral Saxyony (the Phil-

40 Chancellor Brück reported to the Elector, Jan. 9, 1546 (C. Ref., vi. 10), that Luther advised not to send Melancthon to Ratibon, and then said: 'That Philip was a true man, neither shy of nor avoiding any body; but for this service he was weak and sick. —If we were to lose the man from the university, half the university would go off with him.'

41 From the Weimar archives Sackendorf reports (Comm. de Lutheranismo, iii. 165) that Luther, in his severe illness at Smalkald, 1537, had said to the Elector, fore, ut post mortem suam discordia in Academia Wittenbergens erit, et doctrinae suae mutatio fieret.

1 Postilla Melanthoniana, i. 319: (Polypragmosyne) nonnunquam oritur ex kacoγια τε seu imitatione prava alieni exempli, ut multi nunc volunt similes esse Lutherò: prætextum zelum, qui est sine scientia, tumultuantur de rebus ignotis, non inquirunt fontes negotiorum. De talibus inquit Polybios: Multi volentes videri similes magnis viris, cum ipse imitari non possint, imitantur παράγεσται et producunt in theatrum suam.—Calvini Secunda Defensio contra Westphalum, 1556 (Opp., viii. 679): O Luther, quam paucos tuos præstantiae imitatores, quam multas vero sanctae tuae jactantiae simias reliquisti!

2 His letter to Christoph v. Carlowitz, a councilor of the Elector Maurice, 28th Apr., 1548 (C. R., vi. 879), which soon became known, made a particularly unfavorable impression about him.

3 See Div. I., § 9, Notes 17, 18.

ippists). When as yet there were only reports in circulation about the new Interim, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Professor of the Hebrew language in Wittenberg, assailed it as designed to restore the Papacy. Then from Magdeburg, to which city he had fled from Wittenberg in April, 1549, he began to fight against the Leipsio Interim, which had in the mean time (December, 1548) been published, in conjunction with the strict Lutherans who were living in Magdeburg, Nicholas von Amsdorf, Matthew Judex, Nicholas Gallus, to whom were added John Wigand, preacher at Mansfield, and Caspar Aquila, Superintendent in Saalfeld. It was particularly urged against it that the Church ought not to allow what were really matters of indifference (adiaphora, the

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9 Flacii Narratio Actionum et Certaminum, drawn up by him for the Strasburg divines, 1568 (in Conr. Schlusselburgii Catalogus Haereticorum, lib. xiii., Francof., 1599, p. 802), gives the chief corruptions thus: Fuit abjicit adisertae formulas solae fides, sicut ea Philippus indicavit, ut non liberaretur usus est et qui eam ille testem Coelisacius immerit, et contra accepta, principali depot omnes dogmas in Interim.—Fuit renovatum Pseudoapostolorum dogma de operum necessitate ad salutem, ut in causa sine qua non, olim anno 1538, gravissime anathematizatum et ecclesiasticam scientiam et religionem ad fundamenta revertant, et Papismi impetates omnes restituant; utque hoc astutius efficiant, adiaphorum commento fascinant plios animos.

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Adiaphoristic Controversy) to be forced upon it by a hostile power. At the same time, in this controversy the milder form-

ulas of the Melanchthonian theology were declared to be corruptions of pure doctrine, and then were made the occasion, one after another, of as many special controversies. Thus the Wittenberg divine, George Major, was led by an attack of Nicholas von Amsdorf to declare (1552) the necessity of good works to salvation. Thereupon the Majoristic controversy broke out with great violence, in which Justus Menius, Superintendent of Gotha, was also involved. The Wittenbergers conceded that that phrase might easily be misunderstood, but not that it was absolutely false, and let Major stay in his post as teacher; and they were

10 To Amsdorf’s work, “Dass Dr. Pommer und Dr. Major Aergerniss und Verwirrung angereicht,” Magdeburg, 1551, 4., appeared the reply: “Auf des ehrenwürdigen Herrn Niclas v. Amsdorfs Schrift Antwort G. Majors.” Wittenberg, 1552. 4. Major there writes, C. 1, verso: “Das bekannte ich aber, dass ich also vormals gelehret, und noch lehre, und fürder alle mein Lebtag also lehren will, dass gute Werk zur Seligkeit nöthig sind, und sage öffentlichen und mit klaren und deutlichen Worten, dass niemands durch böse Werk selig werde, und dass auch niemands ohne gute Werk selig werde, und sage mehr, dass wer anders lehret, auch ein Engel vom Himmel, der ey verflucht;” [that good works are necessary to salvation, that no one can be saved by bad works, nor without good works, etc.] In further explanation [that good works can not effect forgiveness or justification; that those gifts are received alone through Christ, and by faith], C. 11, verso: “Dass, wiewol wir also lehren, dass die Werk zur Seligkeit von nöthen, dass dennoch solche gute Werk das nicht wirken oder verdienen können oder mögen, dass uns die Sünde jergeben, die Gerechtigkeit zugerechnet, der h. Geist und das ewige Leben gegeben werden: denn solche herrliche himmlische Güter sind uns allein durch den Tod unsere einigen Mittlers und Heilands Jesu Christi erworben, und müssen allein durch den Glauben empfangen werden: dennoch müssen auch gute Werk, nicht als Verdienst, sondern als schuldiger Gehorsam gegen Gott vorhanden seyn.” In his sermon, delivered soon after, on “Paul’s Conversion,” Leipzig., 1553, 4. D. 8, he says, — “that works are not to attain salvation, but to maintain salvation, and so far necessary that the not doing them is a certain sign that faith is dead.”


12 Melanchthonis Sententia, 1553. C. R., viii. 194 : Cum dicitur, nova obedientia est necessaria ad salutem, Papistae intelligunt bona opera esse meritum salutis. Haece propositionis falsa est; Ideo illum modum loquendi mitto. Et tamen dici usitatum est: nova obedientia est necessaria, non ut meritum, sed necessitate cause formalis; ut cum dico: paries albedine necessario est albus.—Necessarium autem significat: coactione extortum — (aut) ordinatum immutabili ordine: sic dicitur: in angelis, Maria bona opera sunt necessaria, videlicet ordinata immutabili ordine divino, quo creatura subjecta est creatori. Melanchthon’s Memorial to the Senate of Nordhausen, Jan. 13, 1655, C. R., viii. 410: He earnestly advised the preachers who were there contending about the proposition— “Good works are necessary to salvation,” to let it drop, [on account of the different ways in which it was understood; and also that they should stop discussing Dr. Major and his affairs in the pulpit. As to the ambiguity of the proposition, he further speaks of the sense in which necessarium and debitum are used in the discussion, some understanding them as equivalent to, extortum coactione, others as implying only the order and plan of divine wisdom. Others, again, went so far as to say that good works were more injurious than bad works. And Dr. Jäckel (Agricola) and Naogeorgius (Kirchmaier) main-
accordingly accused of holding the same error. Thereupon Joa-
chim Westphal, preacher in Hamburg, renewed the sacramental
controversy against Calvin and Peter Martyr,43 undoubtedly with-
tained that a man may have justifying faith even while knowingly violating the divine
law. To which Dr. Luther replied, that by sins against the conscience faith is expelled;
and that good works are not mere outward works, but repentance, thankfulness, etc.):
“Weil doch als bald diese Deutung angehängt wird, als sollten gute Werke Verdienst
seyn der Seligkeit; zum Andern, dass sie auch Doctoris Majoris Person et Sach nicht
auf den Predigstuhl bringen, sondern stellen dieses zu seiner selb Erklärung. Und ist
diese Disputation aus vielen vorigen frevelen Reden von zwanzig Jahren her verursacht.
Ethische wollen diese Rede nicht dulden; gute Werke sind nöthig; oder also: man muss
gute Werke thun; wollen diese zwei Wörter necessitas und debitum nicht haben:
und stund der Hofprediger (Agricola) derselben Zeit, und spieltet mit dem Wort muss: ‘das
Muss ist versalzen;’ verstand necessarium und debitum für erzwungen durch Furcht
der Strafe, extoripto coactione, und redete hohe Wort, wie gute Werke ohne Gesetz kä-
men. So doch necessarium und debitum nicht erstlich heisset extortum coactione, son-
dern die ewige und unentwandelbare Ordnung göttlicher Weisheit, und der Herr Christus
und Paulus selbst diese Worte necessarium und debitum brauchen. Ein andrer sagt:
dem Glauben wären gute Werk schädlicher denn böse Werk. Darnach kamen Doctor
Jacket (Agricola) und Naogeorgius (Thom. Kirchmaier, 1544, C. R., v. 290), die rissen
das Loch noch weiter auf, und verstünden die Proposition: sola fide justificamus also:
es behielte ein Mensch den Glauben und heil. Geist, wenn er gleich wider Gottes Gesetz
wissentlich thäte, als da David den Ehebruch und Todeschlag thät. Nahmen weg den
Unterscheid der todlichen Sünde und der bösen Neigung in Heiligen. Und ist des
Naogeorgi Schrift davon durch den— Herzog Joh. Friedrich—an— Doctorem Martinum
gesandt worden, der darauf geantwortet und deutlich geschrieben vom Unterscheid der
Sünden, und dass durch Sünd wider das Gewissen der heil. Geist und Glaube ausge-
stossen würden.— Wahrhaftiger Glaub ist nicht ohne Werk im Herzen, ob sie gleich
nicht Verdienst seyn, cause justificationis, sondern folgen dem Glauben. Und ist eine
grobe Rede, so man spricht von dem bekehrten Morder am Kreuz, er habe nach der Be-
kehrung nicht gute Werke gehabt. Denn Werke heissen nicht allein äusserliche Tha-
ten, sondern auch im Herzen Reu, Anrufung, guter Vorsatz, Danksgung, Geduld, wel-
che Tugenden sind Früchte des heil. Geistes.” Comp. the Responsum de Controversia
Schweinfurtiana, 18. Nov., 1559, on the same subject, C. R., ix. 969. Major, in his “ Be-
kenntiss v. d. Artikel der Justification,” Wittenberg, 1558. 4., vindicated his orthodoxy,
and concluded with the proposal “not to make use of the phrase, ‘good works are neces-
sary to salvation,’ on account of their false interpretation,” saying that he had “for
some years refrained from using it.” Still his opponents were not satisfied, but demand-
ed recantation. Andreas Musculus, professor in Frankfort-on-the-Oder, a follower of
Agricola, and a violent foe of Melancthon, said, in an address, 1558, “Those that teach
that we must do good works belong to the devil, with all who follow them,” and was
involved in a controversy about it with his colleague, Abdias Praetorius (S. Th. Wald
Controversia de honorum Operum Necessitate inter Musculum et Praetorium agitata,
Dis., Lips., 1786. 4.). Amsdorf wrote a work with the title, “That the proposition, good
works are hurtful to salvation, was [is] a right true Christian proposition,” 1559. 4.; that is,
works by which it is hoped to deserve grace and salvation; and thus the matter be-
came a frivolous oxymoron.

43 First against the Consensus Tigrinensis, 1549, see § 35, Note 51, and against Petri
Martyris Vermillii Florentini de Sacramento Eucharistiae in celeberrima Angliae Schola
Oxoniensii Tractatio, Tiguri, 1552. In the preface of Jo. Wolfius to the latter, after a
characterizing of the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord’s Supper, it is added: hujus quidem
opiniosis Martinum Lutherum autorem et patronumuisse ferunt:—eum errorem Pe-
trus Martyr omnem diligentissime refutavit. Thus was the attack opened. Westphal
now wrote: Farrago Confusanearum et inter se Dissidentium Opinionum de Coena Do-
respect to the Philippists, who agreed with Calvin, though they did not openly say so (the *Calvinistic Controversy*). The Swiss at first kept silence; but when John a Lasko, driven from England (1555) under Mary, with his French Reformed Church, was refused admission into Denmark and Northern Germany with bitter expressions of religious hatred, Calvin and Bullinger, incensed by this fanaticism, came forward in defense of their doctrine. Calvin claimed to agree with the Augsburg Confession,
and appealed to the authority of Melancthon as its author. His opponents, on the other hand, with hardly-dissembled scorn, endeavored to prove that, during the lifetime of Luther, Melancthon had taught only the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper. In spite of all these charges Melancthon kept silence. Then the Philippists, scattered through the north of Germany, began to be stigmatized as Crypto-Calvinists.

John Timann, preacher in Bremen, in a work against the Sacramentarians, 1555, first insisted upon the ubiquity of Christ's body as a settled dogma, and most of the Bremen preachers subscribed to it. The cathedral preacher, Albert Hardenberg, was attacked as a Crypto-Calvinist on account of his decided opposition to them. In the violence of the strife


20 A new edition of Phil. Mel. Sententiae Vett. aliquot Scriptorum de Coena Domini (§ 36, Note 15) cum praef. Nic. Galli, quae secundae hujus editionis causaostendit et alia continet lectu utili, Ratisponae, 1554. In the preface it is said: Cunumque reperiantur, qui etiam Philippii auctoritate errorem hunc mollient et inaunent, etiam causa haec non nititum hominum suffragiis, opera pretemamen featurum arbitrarum (ac quod nec auctori recte improbati possit), si hanc olim editam ab ipso confessionem darem recedendum.—Quo modo suspicentur aut opinentur aententia Philippii in re sacramentaria, nos eam clare hic expressam demonstramus, et gratias ipsi agimus pro collectis veterum suffragiis. Westphal then wrote, Clarissimi viri, Ph. Melancthonis Sententia de Coena Domini, ex Scriptis ejus collecta, Hamburg., 1557.


22 Thus, in Schwerin, the jurist Justus Jonas; in Rostock, the magister Rudolph Munchhausen; Wigger's Kirchengesch. Mecklenburgs, s. 144.

23 Farrago Sententiarum Consentientium in Vera et Catholica Doctrina de Coena Domini—contra Sacramentariion dissidentes inter se Opinionem—collecta per Jo. Timannum Amsterodamum, Francof., 1555. A sketch of this work in Dan. Gerdes Hist. Motu Ecclesiasticorum in civitate Bremensi ab a. 1647—61 (in Serinium Antiquar., v. 1, also printed separately), p. 91. A section of the work, p. 225-299, was to prove, quod Christi corpus ubique sit, eo quod Verbum caro factum est, et quod sedet ad dextram Patris.

24 A Hardenberghii Positiones adv. Ubiquitatem Corporis Christi in Farragine Jo. Amsterodami, in Gerdes, p. 96; § 13. Quare juxta formas loquendi tam Scripturae sacrae quam veteris Ecclesiae concluendo adversus imaginariam et admodum nuper istam reper-
many zealots were brought to the outskirts of transubstantiation. Melancthon contended unreservedly against these new excrescences, and never denied, in the public declarations he had occasion to make, his essential agreement with Calvin on the Lord's Supper; but he avoided saying anything upon the peculiarities of the Lutheran doctrine, in order to get rid of a disagreeable controversy.

The Flacianists were the ruling party in Magdeburg, Ducal Saxony, and the north of Germany; the Philippists in Electoral Saxony alone. On the other hand, the larger part of the Evangelical churches of the country (particularly in Pomerania, Hesse, and Southern Germany) looked upon the controversy with such a degree of impartiality, that, with all their attachment to Luther's doctrine, they still acknowledged the great services of Melancthon, and blamed the violence of the Flacianists. But as they did not prevent the latter from speaking their high words, these seemed to have more influence than they really possessed. They even went so far as to summon Melancthon, January, 1557, to a recantation, which, however, he refused to make.
After Flacius had entered upon a theological professorship at Jena, April, 1557, this University became the centre of the strict Lutherans; as, too, it had been destined to be a firm citadel of pure Lutheranism, against the degenerate Wittenberg, by the princes of the duchy, the pious martyr, John Frederick, and his son, John Frederick the Second. Theologians from Jena, deputies of the Duke of Saxony, brought their disputes even into the religious conference with the Catholics at Worms, September, 1557, and so put an end to the colloquy. 29

The beginning of 1558, Amsdorf, as if for the consecration of the new Jena University, attacked the Propositiones de Libero Arbitrio, 1555, of Dr. Pfeffinger; 30 and Flacius then turned the controversy against the Melancthonian synergism, 31 defending, in

cutos doctrinae. 6. Tempore persecutionis edatur ingenua confessio, et non admissatur servitus pugnans cum libertate christiana. 7. Petimus quoque amanter a Rev. Domino praeceptore, ut publico quodam scripto contestari velit, suam sententiam de rebus adiaphoris et necessitate operum ad salutem cum nostrarum Ecclesiarum confessione conjunctam esse.

29 Acts, C. R., ix. 221. Planck, vi. 129. This aroused so much attention that Pope Paul IV. wrote at once to Ferdinand, 14. Nov., 1557 (Raynalduis, 1557, No. 82): Cum maxima cura et sollicitudine afficeremur ex impiorum consiliis, quos Wormatiam confluxisse animum nostrum erexit, et hujusmodi inter eos, ut audivimus, dissidia excitavit, ut non acrius cum quiescendi quater se certare et dissidere, alli aia dogmata defendentes, coequo; quia quidem tam idonea occasio allata, cum in manu tua, carissime fili, sit, impia eorum consilia dissipare, non neprotuapcrpetuainDeum pietate et religione studio entiteris, utandirimus, dissidia excitation, utnon acrius cum catholicis quam inter secertare et dissider, aliadiatadefendentes, coequo;


31 M. Jo. Stoltsii (court preacher to the Duke of Saxony), Refutatio Propositionum Pfeffingeri de Libero Arbitrio, cum praef. M. Jo. Aurifabri. M. Flacii Illiud de eadem Controversia, October, 1558. Flaciuss de Originali Peccato et Libero Arbitrio, two disputations, 1558, and November, 1559, also appended to the Disp. Vianicensis, p. 248. Now first was attention directed to the changes which Melancthon had introduced into his edition of the Loci Theol., 1548, in the section De humanis viribus, s. de libero arbitrio, and which was ever afterward regarded as the leading passage for synergism: Vidi multos non Epicureos, qui cum essent in aliquo moerore propter suos lapsus, disputabant: quomodo sperem me recipi, cum non sentiam, in me transfundi novum lucem et novas virtutes? Præterea si nihil agit liberum arbitrium; interea, donec sensero, fieri illam regenerationem de qua dicitis, indulgebo diffidentiæ et allii vitiosiss affectibus. Hac Manichææ imaginatio horribilis mendaciam est, et ab hoc errore mentes abducendas sunt et docendae, agere aliquid librum arbitrium.—Nec admittendi sunt Manichaeorum furores, qui fingunt, aliquem esse numerum hominum, quos vocant òlakôvov kai çoîkôvov, qui converti non possint. Nec fit conversio in Davide, ut al laph in ficam verteretur. Sed agit aliquid liberum arbitrium in Davide, cum audivit objurgationem et promissionem, volens jam et liber fatetur delictum. Et agit aliquid ejus voluntas, cum se sustentat hac voce: Dominus abstulit peccatum tuum. Cumque conatus se hac voce sustentare, jam advuvatur a Spiritu S. juxta illud Pauli: Evangelium est potestia.
opposition to it, unconditional predestination (the Synergistic Controversy). In vain did the Evangelical princes, assembled at Frankfort, try to put an end to all these controversies by a considerate and candid declaration—the Frankfort Recess, of March

Dei ad salutem non repugnanti, i. e., non contemnentis promissionem, sed assentienti et credenti.—Si tantum exspectanda esset illa infusionis qualitatem sine ulla nostra actione, sicut Enthusiastae et Manichaei finixerunt: nihil opus esset ministerio evangelico, nulla etiam lucta in animis esset. Sed Institutus Deus ministerium, ut vox accepimus, ut promissionem mens cogit et ampletactur, et, dum repugnamus diffidentiae, Spiritus S. simul in nobis sit efficax. Sic igitur illis, qui cessationem suam excusant, qui putant, nihil agere librum arbitrium, respondere: Immo, mandatum Dei aeternum et immotum est, ut voci Evangelii obtemperes, ut filium Dei audias, ut agnoscas mediatorem. Quam tetra sunt haec peccata, nolle adspiciere donatum generi humano mediatores, Filium Dei? Non possum, inquiies. Immo aliquo modo potes. Et cum te voces Evangelii sustentas, adjuvare te a Deo petito, et scito, Spiritum S. efficacem esse in ea consolatione. Scito, velle Deum hoc ipso modo nos convertere, cum promissione excitatus luctum non bisticum, invocamus caetera nostra contra conscientiam. Tala non sunt in diabolis: discriminen igitur inter diaboles et genus humanum consideretur. Fiat autem haec illustrat, considerata promissione. Cum promissio sit universalis, nec sint in Deo contraria voluntates, necesse est, in nobis esse aliquam discriminem causam, cur Saul abjiciatur, David recipiatur, i. e., necesse est, aliquam esse actionem dissimilem in suos. Hae dextre intellecta sunt et usus in exercitius sibi et in vera consolatione, cum accipies animi in Filio Dei monstrato in promissione, illustrabit hanc copulationem causarum, verbi Dei, Spiritus S. et voluntatis. Many of the friends of Melancthon took exception to this paragraph—post mortem Lutheri insertum—especially to the definition, liberum arbitrium facultatem esse applicandi se ad gratiam, i. e., audit promissionem, et assentiri constat, et abjicit peccata contra conscientia. Talia non sunt in diabolis: discrimine igitur inter diaboles et genus humanum consideretur. Fiat autem haec illustrata, considerata promissione. Cum promissio sit universalis, nec sint in Deo contrariae voluntates, necesse est, in nobis esse aliquam discriminem causam, cur Saul abjiciatur, David recipiatur, i. e., necesse est, aliquam esse actionem dissimilem in suis. Hae dextre intellecta sunt et usus in exercitius sibi et in vera consolatione, cum accipies animi in Filio Dei monstrato in promissione, illustrabit hanc copulationem causarum, verbi Dei, Spiritus S. et voluntatis. Many of the friends of Melancthon took exception to this paragraph—post mortem Lutheri insertum—especially to the definition, liberum arbitrium facultatem esse applicandi se ad gratiam, and asked him about it, particularly at Worms, 1557. Melancthon satisfied them by the declaration that he meant, voluntas renata; comp. Balthasar's Historie des torgischen Buchs, st. 5, s. 13, 81.


23 C. R., ix. 489. Historie des Sacramentstreits, Leipzig, 1591, 4., s. 570. A work by Melancthon is at the basis of it: either the Formula Consensus (C. R., ix. 365) drawn up at Worms, or the German draft of the same for the Elector August, C. R., ix. 403; or see Melancthon's letter to the Council of Nuremberg, May 14, 1658, C. R., ix. 548. Besides this an essay of Brenz was used, presented to Duke Christopher of Wurtemberg, which, with exception of the Osiander question, agrees wholly with Melancthon's (Sattler's Würtemb. Geschichte, iv. 125. Schnurrer's Erläut. der Würtemb. Kirchen-Beformations- u. Gelehrten-Gesch., s. 248). The princes, in their final declaration (Recess), announce that they do not design to put forth any new Confession, but only to speak of the contested points in the sense of that of Augsburg. Thus: 1. Man is justified through faith alone, on account of the obedience of Christ, but not on account of the subsequent new life, in which great infirmity and sin still remain (against Osiander). 2. "About this proposition—good works are necessary to salvation. It is doubtless divine and immutable verity—nova obedientia est necessaria; new obedience is necessary in the justified; and these words must be understood correctly. Necessary means, according to divine appointment: nova obedientia est necessaria, and nova obedientia est debitum eo ipso, quia ordo immotum est, ut creatura rationalis Dei obediat. On the other hand, some make a gross interpretation; necessary means, forced by fear or punishment. The words good works are also grossly understood, as if they meant only external works. But this saying, nova obedientia, etc., must be thus understood: the new light in the heart,
18, 1558. Duke John Frederick the Second decidedly refused to accept it; and published, the beginning of 1559, a confutation of all the erroneous doctrines of the times, particularly those of the kindled, through the Word of God, by the Son and the Holy Ghost, and also including joy in God, petitions, good intentions, from which external good works proceed. Although now the proposition, nova obediencia est necessaria, is to be retained, yet we will not append the clause ad salutem, because this is understood of meritem or deserts; and so the doctrine of grace is obscured. For this remains true, that man is justified before God, and is an heir of eternal blessedness, through grace, for the sake of the Lord Jesus, and only through faith in him. 8. Of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord. According to the Augsburg Confession, it is to be taught [that Christ is essentially present with the bread and wine, and that we eat and drink his body and blood, and so are his members; as Hilary (below) testifies; and Paul, too, says that the bread we eat is the communion with the body of Christ] 23 as in this, the Herrn Christi, Ordnung seines Abendmals er wahrhafft, lebendig, wesentlich und gegenwartig sey, auch mit Brod und Wein, also von ihm geordnet, uns Christen sein Leib und Blut zu essen und zu trinken gegeben, und bezeuget hiermit, dass wir seine Gliedmassen seyen, applicirt uns sich selbst und seine gnadige Verheissung, und wirkt in uns. Hilarius also says: Haec sumta et hausta faciunt, ut Christus sit in nobis et nos in ipso; i. e., as man dies niesset u. trinkt, ist damit Christus in uns und wir in ihm. Diese Worte reden klar von der Niesung, wie auch ausdrucklich von der Niesung Paulus redet: das Brot ist die Gemeinschaft mit dem Leib Christi; das kann nicht ausser der Niesung verstanden werden. 4. [As to the Adiaphora, or things indifferent, they may be used or not, without sin; yet when the truth is perverted, not only ceremonies in themselves indifferent, but even others, may become hurtful. As Paul says, to the impure all is impure.] 4. Von den Adiaphora, oder mittelmässigen Ceremonien in der Kirche. Von mittelmässigen Ceremonien soll also gelehrt werden, dass dieselben mogen ihrer selbst halb ohne Sünde gebraucht oder unterlassen werden: da aber die rechte christliche Lehre des heil. Evangeliums verunreinigt oder verfolgt würde, da sind nicht allein die mittel-mässigen, sondern auch andere Ceremonien schädlich und nachtheilig, wie Paulus sagt: den Unreinen ist alles unrein." Further on, the princes agree that when in future there are disputations on any of these articles, that they will confer again in Christian love and gentleness, and not allow that there be other teaching in their lands. Whoever comes to contrary conclusions is to seek advice of the experienced. No work shall be published on religious matters without being first inspected by the appointed authorities; and calumnious writings shall not be allowed. Consistories and superintendents are to receive instructions for such cases; and no one who teaches differently shall be allowed to be in the service of the Church. Moreover, by this agreement they do not intend to depreciate or exclude other estates of a kindred confession; they are to be invited to accede. This declaration (Recess) was subscribed by the Electors of the Palatinate, of Saxony, and of Brandenburg, by Count Palatine Wolfgang, Duke Christopher of Württemberg, and Landgrave Philip of Hesse. J. F. le Bret, De recessu Francofurtano anni 1658, dogmatico eridos pomo, Tubing., 1796. 4. Planck, vi. 174. 23 Illustrissimi Principis ac Domini, Dom. Jo. Friderici secundi, suae ac fratrum Dom. Jo. Wilhelmi, et D. J. Friderici nati junioris nomine solida et ex verbo Dei sumpta confutatio et condemnatio praecipuarum corruptiarum, sectarum et errorum, hoc tempore—ingruniuntium et grassantium,—ad suae Cels. et fratrum suorum subditos cujus-cunque ordinis scripta et edita. Jenae, 1559. 4. Contents: 1. Confutatio erroris Servetii; 2. Schwenkfeldii; 3. Antimonorum; 4. Anabaptistarum; 5. Zwinglii., f. 20: Summa sententiae nostrae, sicut et in Augustana Confessione et Apologia, et Schmalc. articulis propositur, haec est, videlicet: quod in Coena Domini Christus re vera corpus et sanguinem suum sumentibus impertiat, idque non imaginari, sed vere et substantialiter; non absentia in coelo, sed presentia in terra; nec tantum dignis, sed etiam dignis; non sive tantum spiritualiter, sed etiam ore corporaliter usurpanda; ac quod credenti-
Philippists, that thus he might forever establish puro Lutheran-
ism in his land. But this work introduced dissension even among

bus simul donet et applicet remissionem peccatorum, atque alia beneficia in Evangelio
promissa. Against the first objection of the Zwinglians: Christus supra coelos omnes
evectus est, et nunc consideat ad dextram eterni Patris definito et conscripto loco: ergo
impossibile est, in sacramento Coenaes corpus et sanguinem Christi vere et substantiali-
ter exhiberi, wird behauptet, ascensionem Christi non esse localem quandam disjunc-
tionem aut secessionem ab Ecclesia, sed patefactionem illustrem et conspicuam divini-
tatis, quam habuit Christus ab eterno una cum Patre, et quam forma servi assumpta
in natura nostra tantisper texit et occultavit, donec mysterium redemptionis nostrae
absolveret. Deinde dextra Dei non significat locum aliquem definitum et circumscrip-
tum, ut est dextra alicujus regis: sed ut Deus nullo corporali loco concludi et appre-
bendi potest, ita dextera ejus omnia implat, excedit et superat, et nusquam non prae-
dest.—Has vero majestas Christi, ut modo nullo impedimento est praesentiae corporis
ipsius in Coena, ita multum magis eam comprobet et confirmit, et quia humanitas Christi
ad dexteram Dei collocata est, et cum divinitate perpetuo et indissolubiliter facere con-
spicua, unione hypothastica. 6. Confutatio corruptelarum in articulo de libero arbitrio s. de
viribus humanis. First against the Pelagians, and then against the Synergists, f. 33
verso: Secunda opinio longe concinnior et judiciorationis plausibilior haec est: homi-
nem lapsu Adae vitiatum, et de suo statuet integritatem miserabiliter quidem dejectum
esse, ut natura ad peccatum propensity et proclivity sit, sed tamen vires humanas non
ita prorsus prostratas, extinctas et deletas esse, quin gratiae Dei excitant et adjuvanti
libere in conversione hominim cooperari possit. Hinc receptionem vel refectionem gra-
tiae Dei in libero hominis arbitrio collocant: et mentem ac voluntatem hominis
πόρινυς
seu causam cum verbo et Spiritus Dei cooperantem statuat nostrae ad Deum conversio-
nis seu regenerationis. In opposition the doctrine is set forth, naturam humanam lapsu
Adae non modo infirmatum, sed prorsus a Deo aversam eique inimicam et tyrannidi
peccati ac Satanae subjectam esse, ita ut non tantum peccata ad peccandum inclinet
et feratur, sed peccato prorsus obnoxia et manipata sit. Tali enim lapsu Adae non
sustulit ipsum voluntatem, tamen ex libera servam, et ex bona malam fecit. Deinde
profitetur, utrumque homini non renato impossibile esse, intelligere aut apprehendere
voluntatem Dei in verbo patefactam, aut sua ipsius voluntate ad Deum se convertere,
boni aliqvid velle aut perficere. F. 35 verso: Paulus totum Deo vindicat, quod scilicet
non tantum voluntatem nostram adjuvet, sed ipsum velle et perficere efficit. F.
36 verso: Quod autem post regenerationem homo, per Spiritum sanctum nova luce et
voluntatem donatus, jam ut templum et organum Spiritus sancti Deo obtemperet, ut tunc
πόρινυς
Dei appelletur, non refragatur. 7. Confutatio errorum Osianidi et Stanchi
in articulo justificationis. 8. Contra errorem Majoris, quod bona opera necessaria sint
ad salutem. 9. Confutatio Adiaphorismi, f. 55: Hoc et illius gravissimis causis inducti
hactenus Adiaphorismos contradiximus, et nos ab ipsis auctoribus tantisper segregamus,
donec solemni aliqua et perspicua refutatione ab ipsis condemnetur, et ex Ecclesia
Christi explodatur ac profigitur. Conclusio, f. 59: Mandamus primum omnibus et sin-
gulis nostrae ditionis Praeisatis, et inprimis Academiae Jenensis Professoribus,—ut quae
schola ab ill. Principe Electore amantissimo parente nostro, et a nobis delectissimoque
fratribus nostris ad tuendum coeleste salutari veritatis Evangelii depositum, oppugnandoque
errores ac sectae praecipue instituta fundataque est, item Superintendentibus, Pastori-
bus,—Ludirectoriis,—ut et puram Evangelii doctrinam—hisce et quae confluentes
congruentum—docent, nec ulla ratione corruptelis illis, quam conflatut hic suspicet
esse, aut ulla alius patrociniun aut sophisticae definitionem accommodem. From that
document, de libero arbitrio, unconditional predestination necessarily follows.
This was not, indeed, acknowledged in plain terms by Flaccus (see Planck, iv. 704), but
it was by others of his party, e. g., Wigand, in his Solutiones ad Paralogismos Syner-
gistarum (Schlüsselburg, Catal. Haeret., v. 228): Alia sunt arcana Dei, quae ut non
possimus, ita nec debemus scrutari; alia sunt patefacta, quae toto pectore amplectenda.
the divines of Jena, since Victorinus Strigel defended synergism. The Duke, misled by zealots, at first had him imprisoned (from March till August, 1559); but even after his release the division was not healed.

Other disturbances sprung up at the same time in Heidelberg. The Reformation had been introduced into the Palatinate under the co-operation of Melancthon, and his doctrine about the Lord's Supper adopted in the church order. The imperious Tilemann Hesshusius, made General Superintendent in Heidelberg, 1558, could of course easily discover Crypto-Calvinists, and attacked in particular the deacon William Krebitz for being one. The Elector Frederick III., who succeeded Otto Henry in 1559, at first tried to reconcile the disputants; but as they continued the controversy in the pulpits he dismissed both of them, September, 1559.

Before his death Melancthon had occasion to speak decidedly about the controverted topics. In his opinion about the Weimar Conutation, given to the Elector August, March 9, 1559, he declared against the Flacian excrescences in a concise manner;
They would be esteemed the most cordial haters of Popery, yet have not a word to say about their most gross idolatry; and besides this, they advocate such propositions as not even papists have done, viz., that the body of Christ is in all places, in stone and wood. If this be so, what were the difference between this sacrament and other things?"


"[In substance: he, Philip, had been particularly attacked about free-will. But even in Luther's life he had rejected the Stoica and Manicheea deliria, written by Luther and others, that all deeds, good and bad, must occur as they do, which is against God's word, and blasphemous; he had tried to show how far man, even before regeneration, had free-will to maintain external discipline.] (The Pomeranian General Superintendent, Jac. Rungius, a pupil of Melancthon, related about the Worms Conference, 1557; see Balthasar's Hist. des torgischen Buches, St 6, s. 52: Cum Pontifici a nostris flagitarent, ut dammarent Illyricum in doctrina de libero arbitrio, Osianorum in doctrina de justificatione, et Calvinum in doctrina de Coena Domini, et Brentius cum plerisque alis a condemnando Illyrico non alienus esset; respondit D. Philippus, non esse in eo obsequendum Papistis, qui sub nomine UlyriciLuthericondamnationemvafrae nostrisflagitarent. Sibi Lutherimentcem etsententiamindoctrinaiiberi arbitrii esse notam, damnare igitur eam nec posse, nec veile.)—Wie wir nun lehren von der Bekehrung oder Wiedergeburt,— referiren wir uns auf unsere Schriften.— Nun sagen wir, es soll der Mensch beide Predigt betrachten, Gesetz und Evangelium; und so er sich triestet mit dem Evangelio und Trost in rechterer Schmerzen fühlet, ist gewiss, dass Gott den hell. Geist in das Herz gibt, der alldann wirket.—Und ist also der hell. Geist arrabo und das Pfand im Trost, und bleibet die Regel: praecedentegratia, comitantevoluntatc. Denn beides ist wahr: Wenn der Mensch wäre wie ein Block, so ware kein Streit. Item, so sich der Wille vom Trost abwendet mag, so ist dagegen zu verstehen, dass er etwas wirket, und folget dem hell. Geist, so er den Trost annimmt. Et rejiciens rejiciat sua voluntate, nec Deus est causas, quod voluntas rejicit. Item, donec voluntas omnino repugnat, nulla est conversione.—Wir sprechen, der Gefallene soll in der Reue und Angst die Verheissung der Gnade betrachten; dadurch wirket Gott,—gibt ein Fünkeln des Glaubens, dass Trost u. Streit anfahret. Hie schreiet Illyricus, Stolz und sein Bruder Gallus von der Erwählung: was hilft diese Verheissung diesen, die nicht erwählt sind?—So sind dergleichen Trostschriften, durch Lutherum gestellt, noch in seinen epistolae zu finden, und haben ich und Andre oft in Gegenwärtigkeit gehobet, dass er selbst Andre also getrübet hat: sie sollten sich an die Promission halten, welche ist universalis, und sollen wir uns selbst nicht ausschliessen." [In substance: Man is to have respect to both law and Gospel; if he has comfort in the Gospel, with real sorrow for sin, God is working in his heart by the Spirit. The Holy Ghost is the arrabo, and pledge of comfort; the rule is—praecedentegratia, comitante voluntate. If man were a block, there were no controversy; there is activity both in opposing and yielding to the Holy Spirit. God works in and by the repentance of the fallen, and gives a glimmer of grace for comfort. And such comfort Luther, too, preached and talked about, exhorting to hold fast to the promise, which is universal.] 

Joach. Came-
PART II.—CHAP. I.—LUTHERAN CHURCH. § 37.

MELANCHTHON, 1559.

but more fully against all the old and new errors of the times\(^39\) in

rarius was also asked by the Elector to give a memorial on the matter, and handed one
in, Feb. 15, 1559, wholly agreeing with Melanchton; it is in the Neue Beiträge von
alten und neuen Theol. Sachen, 1754, s. 721.

\(^39\) Mel. Testamentum, 18. Apr., 1560, C. R., ix. 1098: Confessionem fidei et gratiarum
actionem ad Deum et dominum nostrum J. Chr. scripsermo ante bis, sed chartae sunt
interceptae. Volo tamen confessionem meam esse responesiones de Bavariais articulis
contra Pontificios, Anabaptistas, Flacianos et similes. The Responsories appeared in
Viteb., 1559. 8.; reprinted in Opp. Mel., i. 360, and in Corp. Doctrinae Missicum, p. 891.

De XXII. Art. An credant in homine esse liberum arbitrium? Resp. Etiam in homine
non renato est aliqua libertas voluntatis, quod attinet ad externa opera facienda.—Ego,
ut intelligi posset, dici de externis gestibus, et ut disputaciones quasdam obscuras praec-
terea, nomine eam libertatem regendae locomotivae.—Haec rectio locomotivae, quae
est facere opera externa legi Dei congruentia, nominatur usitate externa disciplina,
quam severe praecepri a Deo manifestum est.—Simul autem scierunt quod, hanc liberta-
tem regendae locomotivae etiam horribiliter impediti dubius rebus, praevertim in impii,
videlicet humanae infirmitate et impulsiibuset diaboiborum.—Palam etiam rejicio et de-
testor Stoicos et Manichaeos furusos, qui affirmant, omnia necessario fieri, bonas et ma-
las actions, de quibus omittit hic longiores disputations. Tanam oro juvenes, ut fui-
gam has monstrosae opiniones, quae sunt contumeliosae contra Deum, et perniciose
moribus.—Recitata vera sententia de hoc gradu libertatis in non renatis profitteri et hoc
necesse est contra Pelagianos et Monachos, hanc disciplinam nequaquam esse impieitione-
nem legi Dei, quae concionatur de perfecta conformitate cum Deo, et interiori et ex-
terio obedientia, nec esse inchoationem interioris obedientiae, nec esse justitiam coram
Deo, nec tollere pecas, nec mereri remissione pecatorum.—Non possunt tolli pecca-
tum et mors libero arbitrio hominum, nec potest voluntas humana inchoare interiores
obdientiam sine Filio Dei, sine Evangelio, et in Spiritu sancto. Talis non est libertas
humanae voluntatis. Sed tamen in renatia qualis sit libertas, considerandum est, quia
non est minor libertas in Joseph, quam in Scipione. Simul etiam considerandum est,
quid intem intet castitatem Joseph et castitatem Scipionis.—Etiames foris haec opera
videntur similia, tamen intus causae dissimilest sunt, Filius Dei ascendens cogitationem
in mente per doctrinam, et Spiritus sanctus excitat motus in corde, quibus ipse est, et
voluntas obtemperat volens, non coacta.—Persona justa est soli fide propter Mediatori-
orem: deinde placeb obedientia, quae est justitia bonae conscientiae, quae regitur invoca-
tione Dei et Spiritui sancto, et est fructus Spiritus sancti, et cultus Dei, quia petitur, sen-
titum et praedicat auxilium Dei, et ostenditur, quod Deo hic honos tribuatur, qui in
credente propter Filium placet.—Manifestum est et varie oppugnari fideem in illis ipsis
quoque, qui ad Deum conversi, renati et sancti sunt, cum aut adspicientiam humanae
infirmatatem, aut disputant de electione. Hic certe opus est labore quaerente dicta, quae Deus
consolationis causa propinavit.—Sicut igitur etiam conversi postea consolatione erigendi
sunt, ita in ipsa conversione dicendum est ipsis, qui jam habent dolores, ne maneant
in dubitatione, donec dicat cogantur credere, sed audiant et cogitant Evangelium, quo Deus
est efficax et traht corde, et aciunt se tunc esse illos auditores, ad quos dictum est: ve-
ritis ad me omnes, qui laborat et operatus est, et ego requiro vos.—Sed dicunt illi disputa-
tores, Evangelium tantum ad electos pertinere. Ad id respondeo: eti non omnes ac-
cipiam consolationem, tamem promissio est universalis, et certum est pertinere eam ad
omnes, qui eam acceipient.—Donec enim omnino repugnat voluntas, nulla facta est con-
versio. Ideo inuit Chrysostomus: ήκει μιν ο δι ναοι, βοηθήματι δι έλλει.—Alli non vol-
tunt videri tollere doctrinam, et tamen removent consolationem, quae inchoaret verbo,
cum disputant promissionem particularis esse, et ponunt contradictorias voluntates in
Deo. Hic oppono dictum: fideis et auditu est. Et quae potest esse fides, si depellatur
mens a promissione his fulminibus: fortassis nihil ad te pertinet promissio, expecta
violentos raptus et coactionem.—Vidimus ipsum Lutherum in suo quodam agone ego et
alli sepe repetentem hoc dictum: conclusit omnes sub peccatum, ut omnia minuerat.—
Et tamen simul factoe, plurima Deum in omnibus sanctis ipsa gerere, ut voluntas tantum

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his Responsiones ad impios Articulos Bavaricae Inquisitionis, August, 1559; and in the memorial drawn up by request of the Elector Palatine, Frederick III., November 1, 1559, he counseled that sit subjectum patiens. Interea tamen regula tenenda est: *fides ex auditu est; cogitatio
one provisionis nos sustentemus, repungnemus diffidentiae, et inter veros gemutis dicemus: "credoo, Domim, opem fer imbecilliati meae. *Art. XXIII. An sola fide homo justificetur." Eti verum est, cum in consociatione fit vera consolatio fide per Spiritum sanctum, habitare Deum in cordibus, et inchoari novam obedientiam; tamen semper statuendum est, in hac vita personam justam esse coram Deo sola fide, i.e., habere remissionem peccatorum et reconciliationem seu imputationem justitiae, placere seu acceptam esse personam Deo ad vitam aeternam, et haeredom vitae aeternae sola fide, i.e., fiducia Mediatoria; ut, quamquam in Paulo renato habitat Deus, et sunt excellentes virtutes, tamen quia adhuc in eo peccatum est in hac vita, persona habet remissionem peccatum,—et est justa, placens Deo, et accepta ad vitam aeternam sola fide, i.e., propter solum Mediatorem. *Art. XXIV. An credant bona opera facta in dilectione esse merita vitae aeternae?—Utor doctrinae in hoc articulo in hac re:—1. Necesse est in conversione statuere, quod persona placeat Deo propter Filium gratissimam fide. 2. Agnoscamus, nos nequaquam legit satisfacere, sed haerere in nobis adhuc multa peccata, et ha sordes vero dolore deploremus. 3. Sciamus tamen inchoandum esse obedientiam, et operatum in nobis esse bonum propositum non faciendo contra conscientiam. Et hanc inchoatam obedientiam, quamquam languidam, tamen etiam placeat propter Mediatorem in conversa, qui et repugnant infirmitatibus suo, et credunt, sive remittit propter Mediatorem. Haec exercitia fidelis in quotidiana invocatione considerentur. Et quamquam haec obedientiam nequaquam meretur vitam aeternam, tamen justa provisiones de operibus: datate et dabitur eobis, et similae habet in hac vita praeasia spiritualia et corporalia, justa consilium Dei, mediationem multarum publicarum et privatarum calamitarum. *Refutatio Serekis on the two natures in Christ: Castes et renovator usist Begins on Postea l'eternitate in Ecclesia retineamse sunt.—Nequaquam dictum in abstracto: natura divina est humana; sed in concreto dictur: Deus est homo, cum de Christo nato ex virgine loquimur. Item: Deus est natus ex virgine, Deus est passus. Et nominatur haec forma loquendi communicatio idiomatum, quae est praedictatio, in qua proprietas unius naturae dictur de persona in concreto, et significatur, in Christo duas esse naturas, non tantum ulla, ut altera sit socia et separabilia, sicut in Elia et Aliis Sanctis adeo Deus societate ut auxiliator et separabiliter, sed sic, quod λόγος assumitur humanam naturam miranda unione insperabilii et personalii. Haec breviter adiici, ut pli commune factum de veteribus Ecclesiae certaminibus et judiciis, cogitent de fontibus. Supra recti dictum Petri, qui alii, Christum passum carne, et addidi alia quasdam vetera dicta, quae sint in consist. et opponant Stenckfeldi (Schwenckfeld) et aliorum clamoribus, qui audacte similias spargunt Eutychianos, et delent doctrinam de communicatione idiomatum. In his quorsumdam tanta est petulantia, ut angant duplce communicatio idiomatum, allam dialecticam, allam physicae, quae est confusio naturae.

an end should be put to the controversy about the Lord’s Supper, which most aroused popular feeling, by an earnest prohibition of the discussion of all needless questions.

Frederick III. adopted this advice of Melancthon as the rule of his procedure; and, as he prescribed the formula—that the body of Christ is received with the bread—for the Church in the Palatinate, and at the same time had no objection to ecclesiastical fellowship with the Swiss, in the eyes of the strict Lutherans he seemed to have avowed himself wholly on Calvin’s side. Thus he was necessarily driven more and more toward the Swiss; and he also changed the church ordinances after the Swiss pattern, 1560.\(^\text{41}\) The Palatinate was reputed to be Calvinistic, although it had not adopted the most characteristic features of Calvin’s system—his doctrine of predestination and form of church government. The adjacent Württemberg was so roused by these events, that John Brenz, the leader of its clergy, who had hitherto been so circumspect in the midst of the controversies,\(^\text{42}\) at a synod in Stuttgart, December 19, 1559, procured the adop-

\(^{41}\) Literatur, see Note 37. Heppe, Character der Deutsch-Reformirten Kirche, in the theol. Studien u. Krit., 1850, iii. 684.

\(^{42}\) See above, Note 27. Planck, v. ii. 390. Ebrard, ii. 646. [Comp. Brenz, Selbstapologie für seine Rechtgläubigkeit, by Dr. G. Veesenmeyer, in the Zeitschrift f. die historische Theologie, 1860.]
tion, not only of the strict Lutheran doctrine about the Lord's Supper, but also of the declaration of the absolute ubiquity of the body of Christ. Thereupon, too, he gave the first precise development of this doctrinal point, and a wholly new shape to the doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum*. Melancthon uttered

43 Confessio et Doctrina Theologorum et Ministrorum Verbi Dei in Ducatu Wirtembergensi de vera Praesentia Corporis et Sanguinis J. Chr. in Coena Domini, German and Latin in Pfaffi Acta et Scripta publica Ecclesiae Wirtembergicae (Tubing., 1720. 4.), p. 334: Firmiter credimus et docemus, in Coena Domini cum pane et vino virtute verbi seu Institutione Christi verum corpus et verum sanguinem Domini nostri J. Chr. vere ac substantialiter exhiberi omnibus Coena Domini utentibus, ut, quemadmodum ministri manu exhibentur, ita ore manducantis et bibentis accipiantur.—Dum vero hanc veri corporis et sanguinis Christi veram praesentiam statuimus, nullam corporis et sanguinis ejus cum pane et vino conmixturem, nullam in pane localem inclusionem esse rimus, sed sacramentali unione talem praesentiam docemus, quae verbo Christi definita est. Accipiens enim panem, dixit: *hoc est corpus meum*; accipiens calicem dixit: *hic est sanguis meus*.—Quia vero ab his, qui veram in Coena Domini corporis et sanguinis Christi praesentiam negant, articulus fidei ad ascensu Christi in coelum, et ecessionem ejus ad dexteram Dei Patris opponitur, ut, quoniam in coelo est, in Coena praesens esse negatur: nos hunc fidei articulum non nostris, sed Apostoli verbi quam simplicissime explicamus, ubi scribit: *qui descendit, idem ille est, qui etiam ascendit supra omnes coelos*, ut *impleret omnia* (Eph. iv. 10). Non enim scilicet in editore locum aequalis vel firmamentali ascendit, ut ibi haeret, sed etiam in eam majestatem et gloriama ingressus est, quae teste Apostolo est (Eph. i. 21) *super omnem principatum, et potestatem, et virtutem, et dominionem, et omne nomen, quod nominatur, non solum in hoc saeculo, sed etiam in futuro*. Itaque nullum humanae naturae diffusionem aut membrorum Christi distractionem imaginarnur, sed hominis Christi majestatem explicamus, quae ad dexteram Dei collocatus, non solum divinitate sua, sed homo Christus quoque Ipmet omnia modo coelesti et humanae rationi imposuerat, quae majeste praesentia ejus in Coena non toluit sed confirmavit. In the passage, Eph. iv. 10, the apostle is speaking, not—de vestiniorum impetione, sed de majestate Christi, quis nunc in gloria Patris omnibus omnibus praebens est, et res omnes illi praebentes. Its connection with the fifth section of the ducal Saxon *Refutation* is not to be mistaken (see above, § 34).

44 Brenz wrote as early as the beginning of 1560 his work De Personali Unione divinarum Naturarum in Christo, which, however, was not published till 1561. 4. (see J. Brenz by Hartmann and Jäger, i. 88.), reprinted in Brenti Oph., viii. 881. Cf. p. 834: Quamquam divina substantia non mutetur in humanam, et unaqueque suas habet proprietates, tamen hae duae substantiae ut sunt in unam personam in Christo conjunctae, ut altera ab altera reipsa nuncquam dividatur. P. 885: Ut ubicunque est Deitas, ibi etiam sit humanitas Christi. P. 836: Quid obsceco prohibet, quod minus iud, quod convenit uni substantiis se, hoc conveniat alteri per accidentem, ut Dialectici Ioquentur? Vetus et verus sermo est de Christo, quod quicquid convenit Filio Dei per naturam, hoc conveniat filio hominis per gratiam. P. 887: Etsi humana substantia obnoxia est passioni et morti, tamen haec proprietas non sic inhaeret homini, ut ea mutata mutetur et hominis substantia.—Homines in sua resurrectione retinent veram et perfectam humanam substantiam. Quod si haec proprietatem seu accidentium mutatio non mutat rei substantiam, quomodo non possit etiam immutata manere substantia corporis, etiam aliubi non esset localiter in loco, cum in loco esse non sit corporis substantia, sed tantum proprietis substantiae accidentaria? P. 888: Etsi humannam naturam extra Christum, et juxta physicam rationem in uno tantum loco esse oportet,—et Christus suscepit tempore ministerii et conversationis suas in hoc mundo humanas (propter peccatum) imbecilli- tates, ac fuit corpore suo, pro conditione hujus mundi, in loco circumscriptive: tamen interea hypostatica unio non fuit dissoluta, ut, ubicunque fuit deitas Christi, ibi non se-
PART II.—CH. I.—LUTHERAN CHURCH. § 37. CHRIST'S UBICIETY. 453

in vain his warnings to the Duke Christopher of Württemberg,43 and soon greeted with joy the summons which released him from

cum habuerit etiam humanitatem suam, idque non localiter, sed—repleti
cum tribuimus Christo multa et varia corpora, nec tribuimus corpori ejus localem extensionem aut diffusionem, sed evhehimus ipsum ultra hunc corporalem mundum, extra omnem creaturam et locum, et collocamus juxta conditionem hypostaticae unionis in coelesti majestate: quam etsi tempore carnis suae in hoc seculo dissimulavit, seu ea esse, ut Paulus loquitur, exinanivit, tamen nunquam ea caruit.—Porro ex hac admiranda et ineffabili unionis oritur celebris illa in ecclesiasticis scriptoribus communicatio idiomatum.

—Existimant multi, quod, cum dictur, inter divinam et humanam naturam Christi esse communicationem idiomatum, intelligendum sit, esse tantum communicacionem proprietatum vocabulorum, et non proprietatem rerum. Ac veteres recte quidem docuerunt, quantum ego hactenus judicare possum, de communicacione idiomatum. Scholastici autem et recentiores nonnulli, cum dicent personam Christi non habere ubique secum unitam humanitatem, videntur affirmare, in Christo esse tantum communicacionem verbalem, non realem.—His seet tandem Christus homo non verus Deus, sed tantum nuncupativus; et patietur pro peccatis nostris Deus Christus non vere, sed tantum sermone.

Nos autem intelligimus in hac materia per idiomata non tantum vocabulorum, sed etiam rerum proprietates: ut, cum per communicacionem idiomatum de Christo dictimus, Deum esse passuum et mortuum, non sit sententia, qua Deus Verbum dicitur tantum communicatiam proprietatum vocabulorum, et non proprietatem rerum. Neque etiam carnis pati et mori, res autem ipsa nihil prorsus ad Deum pertineat, sed quod Deus, etsi natura sua nec patitit, nec moritur, tamen passionem et mortem Christi ita sibi communem faciat, ut propter hypostaticam unionem passionis et mortis personaliter ad sit, et non aliter, ut sic dicam, afficiatur, quam si ipse pateretur et moreretur.—Sic etiam idiomata τοῦ Λόγου—praedicantur non verbis tantum inanibus, sed etiam verba et reipsa de carne Christi. Sola Deitas est vivifica, et tamen etiam caro Christi est vivifica, habetque vim vivificam, non quidem e sua carnis natura, sed ex natura deitatis, cui personaliter est unita. P. 847: Si deitas et humanitas Christi una sunt et inseparabiles persona, certe negari non potest, quin, cum Filius Dei assumptus in utero matris filium hominum in unitatem personae, continuo evixerit et collocaverit eum in ea majestate et gloria, in qua ipse ab aeterno patrem suum fuit.—Itaque et tum ascendit Filius hominis in coelum, et deinceps in terra omni communi terrae generi afficiatur. P. 848: Vere passus est humanos dolores, vere mortuus est: int creatamen rerum omnium, ut accipiam corpus et sanguinem Christi in Coena ab ipso instituta, cum habeam domi panem et vinum, in quibus corpus et sanguis Christi praesentia sint, et licet mihi singulis diebus, imo et horum ea sumere? Sed audire vixiam. Etsi Christus sua majestate una cum corpore et sanguine suo a tuo domestico pane et vino minime abit, tamen ut sumas ea efficaciter, verbum Christi sequendum est. Against the ubiquity, H. Bullingeri Tractatio Verborum Domini, Jo. xiv. 2, Tiguri, 1561; it gave occasion to the following controversial works: Jo. Brentii Sententia de Libello Bullingeri, cui Titulus est: Tractatio, etc. Francof., 1561. 4. (Opp., viii. 868).—H. Bullingeri Responso, qua ostenditur, Sententiam de coelo et dextrae Dei firmiter adhue prescitatem, Tig., 1562. —J. Brentius, De divina Majestate Christi. Francof., 1562. 4. (Opp., viii. 891). Peter Martyr, too, and Beza, and, on the other side, Jac. Andreae, took part in this dispute; Planck, v. ii. 482: Baur's Dreieinigkeit, iii. 410.

43 The Duke of Württemberg, probably stimulated by Mel. Resp. ad Impios Art.
these entangling controversies, which became more and more threatening: he died April 19, 1560.

§ 38.

CONTINUATION OF THE CONTROVERSY TO THE FALL OF CRYPTO-CALVINISM IN THE ELECTORATE OF SAXONY, 1574.

While the occurrences in the Palatinate and in Bremen were giving new life to the controversy with the Calvinists, the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's body1 presenting the most important point in dispute, the synergistic disquietudes in Jena were also on the increase. The theologians and clergy of that place, invigorated by the accession of John Wigand and Matthew Judex, 1560, endeavored to uphold the principles of the Confutation (see above) by an inquisitorial church discipline.2 At the colloquy be-

Bavar. Inquis., had made complaint, as early as November 3, 1559, to the Elector of Saxony about the sacramentarian character of Melancthon's works (see the letter in Settler's Würtemb. Gesch., iv. 140), and asked for a synod. Melancthon now sent to him his Enarratio Epistolae ad Coloss. praelecta anno 1556, Vitæb., 1559. 8. (Opp., iv. 824). Here it is said (Opp., iv. 858): Ascendit, scil. corporali et physica locazione, in coelum; i. e., in locum ocelestem, ubiqueque est, quia hic non sunt fingendae allegoriam. Ascensio fuit visibilis et corporalis, et saepus via scriptur tota antiquitas, Christum corporali locazione in aliquo loco esse, ubiqueque vult. Corpus localiter allucbi est secundum veri corporis modum, ut Augustinus inquit. Mel. ad Hardenber, 12. Jan., 1560, C. R., ix. 1029: Dux Wirtebergensis me atrociter accusat, quod natu

1 See § 37, Note 44. Gespräch zwischen Wirtemberger und Pfälzer Theologen im Kloster Maulbronn, 1564. Ebrard, ii. 666.

2 Special excitement was caused by the refusal to allow the jurist, Matth. Wesenbeclus, to take the place of a godfather, in July, 1560 (the acts in J. J. Müller's entdeck-
between Flacius and Striegel, in Weimar, August, 1560, the former, in his violence, was led to make the assertion that original sin is the very substance of human nature; many, and among them the Duke John Frederick the Second, were made to waver in their judgment about synergism. The latter, however, still adhered so firmly to the Lutheran side, that, at the Diet of Naumburg, January, 1561, called by the Elector August to effect a renewal of the union of the princes upon the Augsburg Confession in opposition to the Council of Trent, he and the Duke of Mecklenburg hesitated to subscribe unless the prevailing errors were condemned. Soon afterward he found it necessary to change his policy, that he might put an end to the disturbances in Jena. He took away from the preachers the right of excommunication, 

* Disputatio p. 26, 44. Ed. Schmid, in Niedner's Zeitschr., 1849, i. 60.

which in Jena had been so much abused, and gave it instead, as well as the censorship of all published works, to a Consistory established in Weimar. When the Flacianists now began to make a noise about the subjection of the Church, and the suppression of the pure doctrine, the Duke saw no other way for restoring the endangered peace than by deposing the theological professors (the latter part of 1561) and all preachers who agreed with them. The theological faculty was filled with Wittenberg divines.

The controversies at Bremen produced no less disquietude. Hardenberg was banished in 1560 from the district of Lower Saxony; the strict Lutheran magistracy now called Simon Musius, who had just been driven from Jena, to be the Superintendent of Bremen, to annihilate all traces of Calvinism. In a new church order he tried to enforce the hierarchical pretensions which had just cost him his place in Jena; and a new controversy threatened to spring up. Meanwhile the new burgomaster, Daniel von Büren, put an end to all this confusion, by dismissing the Superintendent, and forbidding all polemics against Hardenberg in the pulpit, 1562. The members of the Council belonging to the opposite party fled from the city, and endeavored to raise a commotion against the sacramentarian Bremen; but the city steadfastly adhered to the principles which had given it repose, and maintained them, too, in the agreement made in 1568 with those who had fled from them.

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7 Salig, iii. 843. Planck, iv. 636. Striegel published a Declaration about his opinions, and mediating Württemberg divines a Superdeclaration; but Striegel, by accepting a professorship at Leipsic, gave up all prospect of reconciliation. Some forty preachers were deposed because they adhered to the Confutation, and ignored these Declarations. Salig, iii. 882. Planck, iv. 643. Schmid, in Niedner’s Zeitschr., 1849, i. 50.
8 In 1562, Joh. Stössel, who had studied at Wittenberg, and received the degree of Master; in 1565, Seinecker, Freyhub, and Salmuth. Salig, iii. 914.
11 Treaty of Verden, 3d March, 1568, in Lünig’s Reichsarchiv, Part. special. Cont., iv. p. 255. The city here declared its adherence to the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Catechism of Luther, the Bremen Church Order, and the Frankfort Recess, and allowed the refugees to come back, on their promise to give up all opposing claims. Duntze, iii. 858.
As now, in consequence of these occurrences in the Palatinate and in Bremen, the controversy about the sacrament had become the most important and living of all the doctrinal conflicts, and as, at the same time, the agreement of Melancthon and Calvin upon the disputed doctrine had been made very evident; the theologians of the Saxon Electorate, who openly avowed themselves the true disciples of Melancthon, were stigmatized as Crypto-Calvinists by the strict Lutherans. The Elector August, with whom the son-in-law of Melancthon, Caspar Peucer, Professor of Medicine and Physician in Ordinary to the Elector, had the greatest influence even in theological matters, wished, as a true Lutheran, to keep far away from all Calvinism; and yet he regarded the Flacianists as exaggerated ultra Lutherans, hostile to his house, and fomenters only of disturbances. And so he was very ready to believe, as to his theologians, that they adhered to the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper in all essential points, and were opposed to the Flacianists only in rejecting some excrescences of this doctrine, particularly the ubiquity of Christ's body. They, however, concealed from him that they found what was essential in Calvin as well as in Luther; and that, going beyond

12 The bookseller Vögelin, in Leipzig, published there in 1560, under the title Corpus Doctrinae Christianae, in German and Latin, a collection comprising, besides the three ecumenical Symbols, works of Melancthon alone; viz., the Augsburg Confession and Apology, the Saxon Confession (see Div. I., § 9, Note 27), the Loci Theologici, the Examen Ordinandorum, and Responsiones ad impios art. Inquisit. Bavari. This Corpus Doctrinae Melancthonii or Philippicum was introduced into the churches by the Elector, on the motion of the Leipsic Consistory (Löschcr's Historia Motuum, iii. 197). Comp. Balthasar's Historie des Torgischen Buchs, ii. 39; on the editions: Strobel's Literar. gesch. v. Mel. Locis Theol., s. 267.

13 The Reformed Simon Stenius, who studied at this time in Wittenberg, and was afterward professor in Heidelberg, in his Oration, qua in Academia Heidelb. D. Casp. Peucer manibus parentatum est, Servetae, 1603. 4., p. 23, says, of the Wittenbergers and their subsequent fall: Nihil magis, ut ego puto, offensit Electorem magnanimum, quam quod non diserte opinionem sacramentariam vulgo vocatam Peucerus vel probaret vel improbat, sed in uncorius quibusdam et ambiguis responsis dubium quaerentiam animum relinquere, magis ipsis iure socrati imitans, quam suae naturae morem gerens. Quae prudens, ut tum existimabatur, temporique multorum opinione conveniens tergiversatio etiam in alius reprehendebatur. Meminat ab Esromo (Rödinger, Professor of Natural Science in Wittenberg) aliquando non leviter objurgari, quod nimis libere sententiam orthodoxam defendere. Opus esse circumspectio politica, ne intempestiva nec politica, ne intacta scilicet rebus communibus noceat. Respondi ego simplici animo, me natura abhorrire a simulandis studio, ac in veritatis divinae professione nihil loci esse ejusmodi artibus. Addidit autem quasi vates aliquis et hoc: vos dabitis aliquando poenas hujus politicæ cautioine; vestrum erat, veritatem publice et aperte profiteri. Jam vultis a nobis in scholis frangi glaciem, ut facilius exivus vos pateat, et tamen indignamenti, si quid aperitus a nobis proferatur. The jurist, Justus Jonas, the younger, in his letters to Duke
Melancthon, they were becoming more and more impatient against all the peculiarities of the Lutheran doctrine. They were, in fact, complete Calvinists, though, in presence of their prince, they tried to seem like genuine Lutherans.

The Elector August could only be confirmed in his satisfaction with his divines, when he compared the peace that reigned in his territories with the disturbances which the Flacianists had brought into the land of Ernest. After John Frederick the Second, in his rancor against the loss his house had sustained from William von Grumbach, had become involved in enterprises disturbing the peace, and so had fallen under the imperial ban, and had been taken prisoner by the Elector August, April, 1567; his brother and successor, John William, in spite of his friendly relations with the Elector, again revived the plan of making Jena the seat of pure Lutheranism, dismissed the Wittenberg divines who had been installed there, and called in their place the strict Lutherans, John Wigand, John Frederick Coelestinus, Timothy Kirchner (1568), and Tilem. Heshusius (1569). A conference, set on foot by the Elector and their Duke, between their divines, in Altenburg (October, 1568 to March, 1569), was made the occasion, by the Jena theologians, of uttering the most intemperate accusations against the Philippists, and of course widened the rupture. The

Albert of Prussia, 1561 sq., also bitterly blames the dissimulation of the Wittenbergers, who held to the truth in Calvin's sense, and yet condemned Calvin; Joh. Voigt's Briefwechsel der berühmtesten Gelehrten mit H. Albrecht, s. 403, 406.

14 Compare the conduct of Peucer and of the theologians in the matter of Conrad Schliisselburg, a student of Wittenberg, when he wished to take the degree of Master. Since he would not grant that the divines taught pure doctrine, he was sent off in January, 1568, and in March the anathema, too, was published against him: Schlüsselburg, Catal. Haer., xiii. 609, 730; Mohrni's Kirchen- u. Literarhist. Studien u. Mittheilungen, Bd. 1, Heft 2 (Stralsund, 1825), s. 239.


16 E. Schmid, in Nieder's Zeitschr., 1849, i. 55. The negotiations upon the call to Heshusius, whose dismissal from the post of court preacher to the Duke Palatine of Neuburg was refused, see in J. J. Müller's entdecktes Staats-Cabinet, fünfte Eröffnung, s. 48.


18 Enumeration of the Philippist corruptions of the doctrine of justification, see the Wittenberg Acten, F. 12; "1. That we are justified before God by both imputations and impositions at once. 2. We are chiefly justified by faith. 8. That good works are neces-
Elector August was so indignant at this, that he demanded of his
sary to salvation. 4. That by good works we have salvation and justification. 5. That
we are not to contend about the word sola in the proposition—we are justified through
faith alone (sola). 6. That there is a difference between justification and salvation. 7.
That the righteousness of the Christian, by which he is justified before God, is in this
life imperfect. 8. That eternal life is given for good works. 9. That salvation and
justification are received through faith and confession." They afterward set aside the
Corpus Doctrinarum Missicum as unsound. F. 276: [In substance: 1. Because the copies
of the first impression did not contain the original Augsburg Confession of 1530, but a
copy never approved by the estates; and in the second impression the two are mixed
up; and that the author (Melanchthon) had no right to make the changes of his own
will.—And, besides, Philip had so altered it as to open a window for the Calvinists to
gain; and Papists, too, may take advantage of this.] "1. Dass die Exemplar und
Bücher des ersten Drucks die wahre alte Confession, so anno 30 zu Augsburg Kaiser
Karl übergeben, nicht haben, sondern an derselben Statt eine solche Confession, die zu
Augspurg weder geschrieben noch übergeben, oder von den Ständen Augspurgischer
Confession approbiert und unterschrieben worden. Im andern Druck aber beruhertes
Corporis doctrinarum werde zwei Exemplar der wahren, rechzen und unrechten Augspur-
gischen Confession in einander gemenget. Nu hat aber der Autor oder Schreiber des-
selben Buchs nicht Macht gehabt, dasselbe als sein eigen Buch, darum seines Gefallens,
zur corrigiren.—Über das so hat Philippus so oft gedachte Augspurgische Confession ge-
fändet, dass er auch endlich den Sacramentirern und Calvinisten ein Fenster aufgethan
in dieselbe einzuschleichen. Man mag trau zusehen, dass nicht etw mit der Zeit die
Papisten auch ein solch Schlupfloch finden, sich in dieselbige mit einzudrehen." Comp.
above, § 36, Note 33. After these corruptions have been pointed out in the Corpus Doc-
trinarium, they go on to say about Melanchthon that he should not be held to be equal to
Luther, and that he himself confessed that he wanted to bring Luther's doctrines into
his manual (and that he was worthy of honor so far as he did this truly, but in error
when introducing philosophy and fleshly wisdom). "Wo er nur solches recht, rein und
treulich thut, ist er wahrlich aller Ehren und Dankers wert: so oft er sich aber die Philo-
sophiam, menschliche Vernunft und fleschliche Weisheit, lässt anderswohin verleiten,
da ists offenbar, dass er nicht gerade zugehe, sondern irre und strauchle." They then
refer to Melanchthon's indecision about Carlstadt's vagaries, and also in Augsburg. "Es
bezeuget auch gnügsam die einige Disputation, darinnen Lutherus die páptische Pro-
position von Nothwendigkeit guter Werk zur Seligkeit aus der Kirchen verworfen und
verdämmt, und die Aenderung und Unterdrückung derselben Dictaten Philippi durch
Lutherum erlanget, wie oft Philippus hab aus der Bahn springen wollen, und doch vom
Luther zu uück gezogen und gehalten worden. (Comp. above, § 36, Note 25.) Wie auch
Philipus die Sacramentirer in ihrer Schwärmerei gestärkt, bezeuget nicht allein Cal-
vinus in öffentlichen ausgegangenen Schriften, sondern auch der Brief an den Churfür-
sten Pfalzagraften, und etliche andere an Hardenbergiam.—Wie er sich auch zur Zeit
des Interims gehalten, und was er den Papisten nachgegeben und eingeräumt, beweiset
nicht allein sein Brief an Carolovicium geschrieben (see § 36, Note 87), welcher Kaiser-
lischer Majestät selbst zu lesen gegeben, und schier durch ganz Europam ausgesprengt
worden, sondern auch seine Schriften und Rathschläge den Actis synodiciis einverleibt.
Letzlich so werfen uns die Papisten selbst, und nicht ohne Ursach für, dass Philipus
seine Bücher, sonderlich da Lutherus alt worden, und aus diesem Leben abgeschieden,
so oft geandert, gemindert und gemehret." [That Luther condemned, at Augsburg,
the papal proposition about the necessity of good works to salvation, and demanded
a change in Philip's dictata; and that Melanchthon was kept straight only by Luther.
And then, too, Philip strengthened the sacramentarians (Calvinists), as is seen in sev-
eral of his writings. He also yielded to the papists in the matter of the Interim, as is
seen in his letter to Carolovicium, which went the rounds of Europe, etc. And the pa-
pists, too, reproach us with the fact that Phillip altered his works too much, especially
after Luther had grown old.]
clergy, besides their pledge to adopt the Corpus Doctrinae Philippicum, a formal abjuration of Flacianism.\footnote{19}

The Ultra-Lutherans felt the blow severely, when some of them, and even their very leader, Flacius, in their exaggerations, were carried beyond the boundaries of orthodoxy. In spite of all the warnings of his friends, Flacius did not give up his opinion that original sin is the very substance of the human soul; on the contrary, in 1567 he set it forth at length as a most weighty doctrine, not yet sufficiently recognized in its important bearings on the purity of the doctrine of the Church.\footnote{20} And thus he at last com-

\footnote{19} They were obliged to sign a declaration (given in L"oscher's Hist. Motaum, iii. 21) accepting the Corpus Doctrinae, and also to declare: "Ich bin auch den Flacianischen Illyrischen f"ahlichen Irrthum, z"achtigen Gebiuds und Sch"armedy, damit dieser Lande Schulen und Kirchen von dem erdichteten und angegebenen Adiaphorismo, Synergismo, und Majorismo, und andern falschen Auflagen beschweret, nicht anh"angig, hab auch nicht Gefallen darob, und will auch hinf"ortan mit Gottes gn"adiger H"ulp mich desselben g"anzlich enthalten, dammiren, fliehen und meiden, und nach Vermogen auch verb"uten" [renouncing Flacius and all his works, and adiaphorism, and synergism, and majorism, and promising henceforth to flee and condemn all these things]. Of course no success attended the attempt of the estates of electoral Saxony, through the Weimar estates, to put an end to the calumnies of the clergy of ducal Saxony against the Church of electoral Saxony (February and March, 1570); see the doings in the Sammlung v. alter u. neuen theol. Sachen, 1734, a. 164, 375.

\footnote{20} In M. Flacii Clavis Scripturarum (Francof. ad M., 1567, 2 Partes, fol.) appeared, ii. 523, as Tract. VI. Aliquot Theologici Libelli, among them, p. 635, one De Peccati Originalis aut veteris Adami Appellationibus et Essentia, p. 638: Ad declarationem hujus sententiae ubiorem, quod praeceptuum peccatum originale sit quidquam substantiale in homine, forte non parum profuerit distinguere substantiam materiale et formalem. Potest enim considerari substantia alicujus testacii aut vitrei aut argentei vasis, tum quatenus ex tali materi"a est, tum quatenus vas illud sic formatum est pulchre aut turpiter.—Sic igitur in hac disputatione de corruptione hominis non nego, illam viliorem materiam, aut massam hominis initio conditam adhuc utcunque remanisse, tamei valde vitiatam, sic ut in vino aut aromatis, expirante aere et ignea substantia, remaneret tantum terrena et aquea; sed formam substantialem, aut substantiam formalem deperisse, imo in contrariam esse mutatam sentio. Loquor autem non de ista externa et crassa forma, quam considerat in adolescentes puellas, aut etiam in toto hominie philosophia;—sed loquor de ea nobilissima substantiial formae, ad quam praecepue ipsum cor, aut potius anima rationalis formae erat, ita ut ipsa sua essentia esset Dei imago, eumque reprezentaret, utque sua substantiales potestates, intellectus ac voluntatt atque, ab Dei proprietates essent conformatae, eumque tum reprezentaret, tum vere agnoscerent, et promptasimne amplectenterur.—Hanc ergo formam substantialem dico non tantum deperisse hominis, sed etiam prorsus in contrariam esse inversam: ita ut, cum ante homo, praeceperit quod attinet ad animam rationalem, esset vivensis Dei viva imago, nunc sit sua essentia in eadem summa ac nobilissima parte vera imago Satanae. Hanc substantiallem immissionem animae Scriptura (comp. Ps. li. 12; Exech. xi. 19) exprimit per cor lapideum aut adamantium, aut contra per cor spirituale: quod ideo pro anima rationalis ponitur, quod ibi anima rationalis habitaret censeatur.—Hanc igitur inversam substantiam formalem, aut formam substantialem summi gradu, quae jam eum, ut causa formalis, facit imaginem et filium Diaboli,—statuere esse verum et quas unicum fontem omnium peccati, sive habitualia, sive actualis, et id ipsum quod vocamus originale peccatum: quod non tantum ideo sic vocatur, quia nobiscum oritur, sed etiam
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pelled the Jena divines (after 1570) to combat this new Manicheism (the Flacian Controversy). Flacius persuaded a part of his adherents to adopt his error; but every body else was opposed to him.

quia oriantur inde omnigena peccata: quae ratio etymologiae aut appellationis hujus, hactenus a multia neglecta, diligenter observanda est. Hoc igitur modo sentio, et asserro, primarium peccatum originale esse substantiam, quae anima rationalis, et praeerat ejus nobilibissimae substantialesque potentiae, nempe intellectus et voluntas, quae antea erant, illa praeclaro formatae, ut essent vera imago Dei, — nunc sunt fraudae Satanae adeo proruss inversae, ut sint vera ac viva imago Satanae. P. 654: Ita eadem res potest habere duos auctores ac causas, alium ratione primae creationis, et alium ratione secundae metabolismos eos. Sic multa alter sunt a natura ratione primae originis, alter ab arte ratione secundae transformationis, ut vitrum, lateres, testae, caseus, butyrum. P. 655: Opponunt aliqui, que alio tamen distinguat creator Dei a peccato, quod non est a Deo. Respondet: separato tu mihi jam Diabolum a sua inhaerente malitia. Non ergo alter possimus ista distinguere, quam dicendo, hominem ratione primae creationis et presentis etiam conservationis esse a Deo, sicut et ipsum Diabolum; sed ratione inter horrendae metabolismos eos esse a Diabolo, quis nos vigore efficacis sententiae ac poene irati Dei — ut sunt verae simulacrae Satanae. P. 654: Ita cadec respicit haeberacula autores ac causas, alium ratione praeerat ejus nobilem substantiam, et praesertim ejus nobilem substantias ac potentias, ut intellectus et voluntas, quae antea erantit semper praecelatae, ut essent vera ac verae imago Dei. — nunc sunt fraude Satanae adeo prorsus inversae, ut sunt vera ac verae imago Satanae. P. 654: Ita cadec respicit haeberacula autores ac causas, alium ratione praeerat ejus nobilem substantiam, et praesertim ejus nobilem substantias ac potentias, ut intellectus et voluntas, quae antea erantit semper praecelatae, ut essent vera ac verae imago Dei. — nunc sunt fraude Satanae adeo prorsus reversae, ut sunt vera ac verae imago Satanae.

11 Particularly Cyriacus Spangenber, dean in Mansfeld, at the head of several Mansfeld preachers (Ed. Schmid, i. 71; ii. 118, 242), and Christopher Irenaeus, court preacher in Weimar, with several Thuringian preachers (ii. 238). Both continued the controversy after the death of Flacius, although Irenaeus was dismissed for it in 1572, and Spangenber in 1574 (ii. 271). Irenaeus, and other Flacianists expelled from Saxony, were installed in the Austrian possessions, and transferred the dispute thither; see B.
Ultra-Lutheranism, inflamed by the controversy on the Lord's Supper, also led the Flacianist, John Saliger, of Rostock, to a statement essentially kindred with the doctrine of transubstantiation, 1568. But this controversy was confined to Mecklenburg. On the other hand, the doctrine of ubiquity was generally accepted by the strict Lutherans, although in Lower Saxony that modification of it (deviating from the absolute ubiquity of the Württemberg divines) advocated by the Brunswick theologians, Martin Chemnitz and Nicholas Selnecker, had many advocates.

Raupach's Erläuteretes Evangel. Oesterreich., 2te Fortsetz., s. 43, and in several other passages.

23 Der Saligersche Abendmalsstreit, dargestellt von Dr. J. Wiggers, in Niedner's Zeit- schr. f. hist. Theol., 1848, iv. 613. Saliger (Beatus) and Fredeland, when preachers in Lübeck, already taught that by virtue of the consecration, and otue omnes, the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper were the true body and blood of Christ, and accused those who denied this of being Sacramentarians. Further, they declared that the peccatum originis was—ipsa substantia corporis et animae hominis, and taught that Christ assumed—carnem alterius speciei. They were deposed in Lübeck, 1568. Saliger was immediately installed as pastor in Rostock, and here renewed the controversy (comp. Chytraei Epist. ad Beatum, Apr., 1569, in Chytraei Epist., p. 666). The two Dukes at length, in October, 1569, issued a decision, drawn up by David Chytraeus, that the body and blood of Christ [are truly given us by Christ himself through his ministers, and received by the mouth: merely blessing the elements, or repeating the words of the institution, does not make a proper sacrament—this must include all the actions—as Christ said, "Do this;"] "uns von Christus selbst durch die Hand des Dieners gegeben, und nicht allein mit dem Glauben geistlich, sondern auch mit dem Munde leiblich von uns genossen—wird. Der Segen, wie ihn eistliche nennen, oder die Erzählung der Worte der Einsetzung Christi, wo nicht die ganze Action des Abendmauls, wie die von Christo ge- ordnet, gehalten wird,—macht allein nicht ein Sacrament; sondern es muss der Befehl Christi: 'das thut,' welcher die ganze Action dieses Sacraments, dass man in einer christl. Zusammenkunft Brod und Wein nehme, segne, austeile, empfange, esse, trinke und des Herrn Tod dabei verkündige, zusammenfassest, unzertrümmert und unverrückt ge- halten werden." Saliger was deposed because he would not submit to this decision; of his Flacian errors, which were then not openly opposed, no word was spoken. Some Wismar preachers afterward defended his opinion about the Lord's Supper; and in Rostock several citizens (Beatians) remained true to it, so that there were dealings with them about it as late as 1596.

24 Mart. Chemniti De Duabus Naturis in Christo, de Hypostaticaorum Unione, de Communicione Idiomatum et alia quaestionibus inde dependentibus, Jenae, 1570. 8., often reprinted, and also at the end of Chemm. Locis Theol. Cap. 4: Humana natura, quia ex se, et ex naturali sui constitutione non est sufficienti et idonea ad omnia officia regni, sacerdotii et dominii Christi, ad quae assumpta est, ex illa unione cum演习 accepit non tantum inprehensionis et ineffabillis dona et ornamenti creatae et finita, formaliter ipsi inhaerentia; sed quia tota plenitude Dei, Filii Dei, personaliter in assumpta natura habitat, plenitudo illa lucet in ea tota, ipsis caro illa, hoc quasi lumi- ne accensa, ipsa etiam luceat, atque ita dictata sit divinis virtutibus et operationibus, non per physicam effusionem et essentiam inhaesionem, sed per oeconomicam unionem, ut λόγον omnipotentias suae opera in illa, cum illa et per illam assumptam naturam pro beneplacito suo exercat et perficit, sicut anima corpori, et ignis ferro igniis potentias et operationes suas communicat. Quam majestatem in ipso primo momento uniónis, quando tota plenitude Dei in Christo habitare coepit corporaliter, humana natura

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accepit ac habuit; sed ratione exinanitionis, tempore humiliatione, illam non semper exercuit et usurpavit. Deposita autem in resurrectione et ascensione servi forma in plenariam ac manifestationem ejus possessionem et usurpationem per sessionem ad dextram majestatis et virtutis Dei collocata et exaltata est. 

Cap. 30: Quia unio facta est salva differentia et naturam et proprietatem essentialium, certum ac verum est, assumtant humanam naturam per hypostaticam unionem non amississe essentialis suas proprietates, nec factam essentialiter—infinitam aut immensam; sed in ipsa unione est ac manet ratione essentialium finita. Sicut eo modo in terris conversatus fuit, Paulo in castris adstitit, et jam in coelis juxta veri glorificati corporis modum sua adevit, ac Stephano ita se ostendit, et tali etiam forma in nubibus ad iudicium venit. Quia vero praeterea habemus certum verbum et peculiarem ac specialem in testamentaria institutione Filii Dei praelectionem et asseverationem de praeceptis corporis et sanguinis sui in coena, scit et max de praelectione praecepta totius Christi in Ecclesia dicemus: certe propter physicas proprietates non est ex humana ratione decretum faciendum, Christum cum assumpta sua natura non posse, praetere ultra quam essentiae seu physicae assumptae naturae proprietates ferant et efficiant, alio, Deo possibili ac noto, nobis vero incomprehensibili modo, per et juxta hypostaticam unionis oeconomiam praeexistem adhese, ubicunque verbo suo tradidit, promisit ac asseveravit, se corporis suo adesse. Toti plenitudini Deitatis Filii personaliter unita est assumpta natura, ut λαος νων intra arcum, arcis in maximam—complexum non alicubi particulas aliquis, sed totius plenitudinis divinae suae naturae, quae supra et extra omne locum est, secum, intra se, apud se, et penes se, personaliter unitam atque praeexistentiam semper habeant, et in illa plenitudine Deitatis assumpta natura suam—ineseparabilem et indistinctam, seu locorum inter intervallo indistinctam habeat immanentiam.—Præsentia haec assumpta nature Christo, de qua nunc agimus, non est vel naturalis, vel essentialis, sed voluntaria et liberrima, dependens a voluntate et potentia Filii Dei, h. e. ubi se humanus sua natura adesse verbo tradidit, promisit et asseveravit.—Doctrina haec de hypostatico unione ostendit, Filii Dei non possibile tantum, sed facile esse, praelectionem illum corporis suis, verbo promissam, ratione ac virtute hypostaticae cum Divinitate unionis, praestare et efficere velle ac posse.—Rotineamus illud quod verissimum est, Christum suo corpore esse posse, ubicunque, quandocunque, et quomodoque vult: de voluntate vero ejus ex patefacto certo verbo judicemus. Atque illud consilium, ut omnium simplicissimum et tutissimum Lu therus ipse simplicioribus subjectit. Cum enim multis argumentis de generali ubiquitate disputasset, postea cum animadvertet, in quos labyrinthos disputatationum controversiæ Sacramentaria ita abspireret, et a verbis institutionis, quibus praelectione corporis et sanguinis Christi in Coena traditur et prout ultimatur, adneceret, tandem in majori sua de Coena Domini confessione inquit (T. ii., Wittenb., p. 178; see above, § 35, Note 19): hic argumenta illa de ubiquitate refutari non possint, se tamen cum nemine velle contendere, an modum ubiquitatis corpus Christi in coena adsit, cum divina sapientia et potentia possit alio nobis ignoto et inaffabili modo illud, quod certo verbo et expressa praelectione tradidit, efficere. Ac rationem addit, quod adversarii inde arripiant occasisone digrediendi in alias inexplicabiles disputationes, ut interim frivolas habeant, ne ad verum controversiæ statum, qui in verbis institutionis propusatur, respondeant cogantur. Et Tomo Jenensi 8, fol. 375, inter Lutheri sententias extat una, quae dicit, simplicioribus sufficiere hoc axioma, Filium Dei cum assumto suo corpore, quando vult, posse esse ubicunque vult, salva corporis veritate. And thus it is said (at the end of I.) in the "Wohlgegrundetes Bericht," which takes the last place in the Corpus Doctrinae Julium, and in which Chemnitz undoubtedly had the largest share, that we may attribute to the human nature of Christ only the prerogatives "about which we have express and clear testimony in the Scriptures:" and "as to the dispute about ubiquity—according to Luther's counsel, we set it aside, for most weighty and critical reasons, until hereafter, in eternity, we shall see Christ as he is, face to face in his glory; as this is fully declared in the repeated common Confession of the Saxon Churches on this article, to which we refer the pastors." Baur's Dreieinigkeit, ill. 428.

Selnecker's writings on the Lord's Supper, in Fortges. Sammlung v. alten u. neun theol. Sachen, 1744, s. 856. Cf. Kurze, wahre u. einfaltige Bekanntnus Dr. Nic. Sel-
In all these controversies the divines of Ducal Saxony and of Lower Saxony were opposed to those of Electoral Saxony; the Württemberg theologians were in conflict with the latter only on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The churches of other parts of the country took little part in these disputes; in many of them, particularly in Pomerania and Hesse, the Corpus doctrinae Philippicum had high authority.26

When Jacobus Andreae, Chancellor of the University of Tübingen, supported by his prince, Duke Christopher, who had always desired union,27 and by Duke Julius of Brunswick, undertook, in

nececri v. d. Majestat, Auffahrt, Sitzen zur Rechten Gottes und vom Abendmale unseren Herrn J. Chr. Heinrichstadt, 1571. 4. [3. The ascension of Christ, and sitting at the right hand of God, means his coming to new honor and power. 4. The heavens received him: this does not mean that he is restricted to a certain locality, nor that his body is no longer on earth, but that he is Lord of heaven as of earth. 9. Christ does not sit on any particular throne—the whole heaven is his throne, etc. 10. Christ is everywhere, and in his human as well as divine nature—as he promised—though this is above and beyond all the natural properties of the human body.] "3. Christus ist aufgehaben, gen Himmel gefahren, oder in Himmel aufgenommen, u. durch die Rechte Gottes erhöht. Dieses Auffahren heisst nicht aber sich hinaufsteigen, als wann einer an einer Leiter oder Treppen auf ein Soller über sich steiget; sondern—zu den Rechten Ehren kommen, und neue unmessliche Gewalt bekommen. — 4. Er hat den Himmel eingenommen, der Himmel aber, als ein gewisser erschaffener Ort, hat ihn nicht eingenommen, oder an einen gewissen Ort beschlossen, dass er derwegen mit seinem Leib, wo, wenn, und wie er will, auf Erden nicht mehr seyn könne;—sondern er ist ein Herr des Himmels, ja über alle Creaturn im Himmel u. Erden. Ich fahre auf, spricht er, zu meinem Vater, das ist: mir ist alle Gewalt geben im Himmel und Erden.—9. Christus sitzt nicht auf einem sonderlichen Stuhl seiner Menschheit nach, an einem gewissen umschränkten Ort, und nach dem Cirkel abgemessen Revier,—sondern der ganze Himmel ist nu sein Stuhl, und seine Majestät und Gewalt ist unendlich, und er ist allmächtig, wahrer Gott und Mensch.—10. Christus, Gottes und Marien Sohn, ist an allen Orten, und bei uns alleszweig gegenwartig laut seiner Verheissung: ich bin bei euch bis zu Ende der Welt, nicht allein nach seiner göttlichen Natur, sondern auch, da er laut seines Worts seyn will, und dahin er sich mit seinem Wort auch nach seiner menschlichen Natur selbs verbunden und versprochen hat, als im Abendmal, obgleich solchs geschicht wider und uber alle natürliche Eigenschaft eines menschlichen Leibes."

On the other hand, in the *Articuli de Coena Domini*, written by Andreas Musculus (cf. § 37, Note 13), laid before his ministers for subscription by the Elector John George of Brandenburg, 1572, in c. 2, Art. 5: Non dari locum, in quo sit Filius Dei secundum divinam naturam, ut ibi non sit Filius hominis secundum humanam naturam et ante et post ascensionem; and Art. 6, that Christ, from the moment of conception—nullis necessitatibus localitatis physicae subjectus, nec exit locorum terminis inclusus, aut locorum angustiis necessario circumscriptus; see these, with criticisms, in Lamb. Danaei Opusc. Theol., Genevae, 1588, fol., p. 1588.

26 Duke Julius of Brunswick wrote to Chemnitz, who had raised objections to its introduction in the duchy, November 14, 1570 (Fortges. Sammlung v. alten u. neuen theol. Sachen, 1787, s. 895) [recognizing it as the first and true body of doctrine, and, as such, received in these principalities]: "Inmassen denn dasselbige erste und rechte Corpus doctrinae auch in Pommern, Hessen, und andern Churfürstentümern mehr aus christl. guten Rath in die Kirchen verordnet worden."
27 Joh. Brenz, by Hartmann and Jäger, ii. 408.
1569, to labor for the restoration of ecclesiastical harmony; he was very much in favor of the Wittenbergers, hoping to effect a union between them and the churches which until now had taken no part in the strife, and thus to force the Jena divines and their party to yield. Consequently the latter at once declared decisively against him; the Wittenbergers excepted only to the doctrine of ubiquity as stated in his articles, and demanded that their Corpus Doctrinae be taken as the pure norma of doctrine. Accused (1570) by Duke Julius to the Elector of rejecting ubiquity, they easily vindicated themselves before him; but yet much excitement was aroused when they now proceeded to expound their doctrine of the Lord's Supper, decidedly rejecting ubiquity.


29 His articles in Hutter, f. 29; more full in the Unschuldige Nachrichten, 1718, s. 188.


31 Planck, v. ii. 544.

32 The complaint referred to the Propositiones de praecepsibus horum temporum Controversiis, Vitemb., 1570, published at the public promotion of 12 Doctores theol. (see Löschner’s Hist. Mot., iii. 23, 142). The Declaration of the Wittenbergers to the Elector, 31st July, 1570, in Hutter, f. 87.

To the violent attacks upon them they replied by a no less violent defense, and even succeeded in quieting the discontented Elector by the Consensus Dresdensis, in October, 1571. When, after


the death of Duke John William, the Elector, as guardian and regent of the Thuringian principalities (1573), banished Hessusius

andern Heiligen und auserwählten Engeln, die auch im Himmel seind, erklären es auch fürnehmlich von der Erhöhung nach beiden Naturen zum königlichen und priesterlichen Amt, welches doch den Unterschied beider Naturen nicht aufhebet. Dann allein Christus also im Himmel ist, dass er für und für in des Vaters allerheiligsten Rath und Schooss, und also wahrhaftig in das Allerheiligste ein- und ausgehet, siehet und erkennet den Willen des Vaters, sammlet ihm eine Kirchen aus menschlichem Geschlecht, u. s. w.—Wir glauben und halten, dass der Herr Christus in dieser Ordnung seines heil. Abendmals wahrhaftig, lebendig u. gewiss gegenwärtig ist, also dass er seinen wahren Leib für uns am Stamm des Kreuzes aufgeopfert, und sein wahres Blut vor uns vergossen mit Brot und Wein in diesem Sacrament uns giebet, und hiemit bezeuget, dass er uns annahme, zu Gliedmassen seines Leibes mache, und uns mit seinem Leib reinige, und Vergebung der Sünden schenke, und wahrhaftig in uns wohnen und kräftig in uns sein wolle.—Wir vermeiden auch die fremde und zur Einsetzung dieses Nachtmals nicht gehörende Streite, welche Herr Lutherus selber mit Vlies vorhüten und abscheiden wollen. Als do er vielmals sagt, dass vom Allenthalben oder an allen Orten seyn nicht soll disputirt werden.—Dass aber dieser Zeit unruhige Leut sich dawider erst anfangen aufzulegen, wie wir seind dem deutschen Kriege her auch in andern Artikeln mit Schmerzen haben erfahren müssen, dass alles was zuvor recht und unangefochten blieben ist, nu erst von ihnen aus Muthwillen ubel gedreht und verfalscht worden ist; in deme haben dieser Lande Kirchen u. Schulen, so stets bei einerlei Form der Lehre geblieben, solche unruhige Leut für jedermännlich billig zu beschuldigen, als die weder die Wahrheit noch den Frieden suchen, und nicht weniger in diesem Artikel von der wahren Gegenwart des Leibes u. Blutes Christi im Abendmal, als in andern Artikeln ganz gefährliche und irgende Disputationes erregen, und die einfältige gewisse Lehre mit ungegründeten und fremden Getichten auf scheuslichste Terde berben. Denn dass durch die ertichte realem oder physicaem communicationem, daraus sich etliche bemühen fundamenta und Gründe der Lehre vom Abendmal zu suchen, der hohe Artikel von beiden Naturen in Christo verfalschet, und hiergegen alle alte verdamnte Ketzerrei der Marcioniten, Valentinianer, Manichäer, Samosatener, Sabellianer, Ariane, Nestorianer, Eutychianer u. Monotheleten auf die Bahn gebracht werden, das ist anderswo allbereit dargethan und erwiesen." Among the reasons urged against the ubiquity are [2. It is wholly unseemly that Christ, in the Supper, should not be present in a different way from that in which he is everywhere present, in stone and wood (as in the divine omnipresence); the sacramental union of the body of Christ with the bread must be something special (as Luther taught in the Formula Concordiae). 4. This doctrine began in the opposition to Schwenckfeld’s extravagances. 6. It is an implicatio contradictionis that Christ gives us his true body in the Supper, and yet that he has no real human body after his resurrection, which must be the case if ubiquity be poured out upon the humanity of Christ]: "Zum andern ist es der Ordnung und Stiftung des heil. Abendmals ganz ungemäss, dass in wahren Brauch desselben eine Gegenwart seyn soll per modum ubiquitatis, d. i. dass Christus im Abendmal anders nicht seyn soll, als sonst an allen Orten, in Steinen und Holz, gleich als wie man sonst von der praeentia universalis, oder allgemeinen Gegenwart redet, damit Gott in allen Creaturen gegenwärtig ist, so doch die sacramentliche Vereinigung des Leibs Christi mit dem Brot (wie es Herr Lutherus in Formula Concordiae, mit den oberländischen Theologen anno 36 gestalt, selbst nennet) eigentlich gehörret in die besondere Gegenwart des Herrn Christi, damit und darndurch er im heil. Ministerio in der gläubigen Menschen Herzen kräftig seyn will."—"Zum Vierent, dass vor wenig Jahren Caspar Schwenckfeld die ertichte Allenthalbenheit des Leibs Christi gleicher Gestalt gestritten, und darmit seine irrage Meinung von einer neuen, fremden, und vorher unerhörten Gegenwart des Leibs und Blutes Christi im Abendmal, wider die Lehre dieser Kirchen von diesem hohen und grossen Geheimniss, darthuen wollen."—"Zum sechsten, dass es ein offen-
and Wigand from Jena, and likewise drove off all the clergy of that district who were not ready to declare their doctrinal agreement with the church of Electoral Saxony, the strict Lutheran party seemed to be entirely conquered, and the Philippists to have the upper hand. The Wittenberg Philippists, at least, were deceived by appearances, and thought that they might come out more openly with their Calvinism, which they did (1574) in the Exegesis perspicua Controversiae de Coena Domini. But thereupon all the Protestant princes assailed the Elector with the demand that he should no longer spare the avowed Calvinists; and August was terribly enraged against those who had been deceiving him so many years. The leaders of the party were arrested, and kept a long time in strict imprisonment; the theologians and suspected clergy were obliged to subscribe articles in Torgau; the four

barliche implicatio contradictionis ist, welche mit der göttlichen, ewigen Wahrheit streitet, dass Christus im heil. Abendmal uns seinen wahrhaften Leib gibt, und dass er doch keinen menschlichen Leib nach seiner Verklärung haben soll, welches ohne Mittel folget, wo die Allenthalbenheit samt der wesentlichen Ausgießung der göttlichen Eigenschaften in die Menschheit Christi eingeführt werden soll."

36 Löscher's Historia Motum, iii. 154.
37 According to Löscher, iii. 162, Pezel and Peucer had a leading part in it, but it was drawn up by Earmor Rüdinger, professor of the natural sciences. Here were rejected the doctrines of the *manducatio oralis*, and the actual reception of the body by the unbelieving, about which the Wittenbergers had before kept silence.
38 Hutteri Concordia Concors, t. 50. Löscher, iii. 160. Anton's Gesch. d. Concor- dienformel, s. 120. Planck, v. ii. 618.
39 Privy-councillor Dr. Georg Craccaus (his life in the Sammlung vermischter Nachrichten zur sacha. Geschichte, Bd. 8, Chemnitz, 1778, s. 1) and the Church-councillor Joh. Stössel died in prison; but the physician Casp. Peucer was liberated in 1586 (Casp. Peucerii Historia Caroerum et Liberationis divinae, opera et studio Christ. Pezelii edita, Tiguri, 1605); the court preacher Christian Schütz was set free in 1589, at the beginning of the second Saxon Crypto-Calvinistic dispute.
40 "Kurz Bekenntnis u. Artikel vom heil. Abendmal des Leibs und Bluts Christi, daraus klar zu sehen, was hievon in beiden Univ. Leipzeg u. Wittenberg, und sonst in allen Kirchen und Schulen des Churfürsten zu Sachsen bisher öffentlich gelehret, geglaubt und bekannt worden. Auch was man für sacramentirische Irrthum und Schwärmerie gestraft hat, und noch strafet. Uebergeben und gehandelt im jüngsten Landtag zu Torgau. Wittenberg, Septt., 1574. 4." Also at the same time, in Latin, Confessio paucis Articulis completissum Summam Doctrinae de vera Praesentia Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Coena dominica, etc., Witeb., 1574. 8. In this Confession they assume the ground (Preface) that the correct doctrine had ever been taught in the church of Electoral Saxony, and that now only a few Crypto-Calvinists have been detected; further, that Melanchthon entirely agreed with Luther in doctrine; and that they therefore adhered to the Philippist Confessions, the Corpus Doctrinae, and the Consensus Dresdensis. The Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper was, indeed, set forth with all its specialties; so in particular Art. affirm. VII. Indignis quoque corpus et sanguinem Domini exhiberi, et ab his in instituta distributione vere accipi, and Art. VIII. the oris manducatio: so, too, Calvin, Beza, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, and the Theologi Heidel- bergenses (Art. negat. VII., and frequently) were specially denounced. On the other
Wittenberg divines, who hesitated, were banished. And thus was Philippism conquered in its strong-hold by strict Lutheranism.

§ 39.

OSIANDRIC CONTROVERSY.

Andreas Osiander, the highly endowed reformer of Nuremberg, in opposition to the external view of justification by faith alone, as undoubtedly held by many of the reformers, and as objected to the Lutheran Church by the Anabaptists, adopted the position

hand, it is said, Art. affirm. IV.; Firmiter retinemus utrumque fidei articulum: ascendit ad coelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris. Ac ne carnis quidem ubiquitatem, aut quicquam quod vel veritatem corporis Christi tollat, vel ulli fidei articulo repugnet, propter presentiam in Coena fingimus aut probamus. Denique de modo et possibilitate presentiae corporis et sanguinis Domini plane nihil disputamus. Nam omnia haec imper- scrutabilia—statuimus.

41 Friedr. Widebram and Christoph Petzel went to Nassau, Heimr. Moller to Hamburg, Caspar Cruciger to Hessen.

42 The Torgan Confession did not, indeed, satisfy the strict Lutherans; see the Bishop of Pomesania, Joh. Wigand's, Erinnerung von der Bekenntniss der Theologen in Meissen, Königsberg, 1575. 4.; and his other work, Ob die neuen Wittenberger stets bis daher einig mit den alten gelehret, u. ob Lutheri u. Philippi Schriften durchaus ganz einig und einhellig, Königsberg, 1575. 4. Meanwhile the Philippists had to accommodate themselves to the strict Lutheranism now ruling at the court. Dr. Andr. Freyhub, Professor of Theology at Leipsic, was accused of holding that Christ was exalted in his two natures; that no divine property was imparted to his human nature; and that the body of Christ is in heaven, in a definite place; and although he with justice appealed to the Dresden Consensus, which was expressly sanctioned by the Torgau Confession, he was still deposed; see Hutter's Concordia Concors, p. 82. The Elector now attached himself to the theologians who had before this tried to restore peace to the Church (Andreas, Chemnitz, Seelnecker, etc.): that he was still very much opposed to the old Jena divines, as Flacianists, is clear from his correspondence with the dowager Duchess Dorothea Susanna, 1575 (Sammlung v. alten und neuen theol. Sachen, 1784, s. 534), who long tried in vain to procure the restoration of her court preacher, Gernhardus, deposed in 1573.

1 See Div. I., § 1, Note 118.
that faith was the medium of the indwelling of Christ in the human soul. This form of statement often occurs in Luther's works, and Osianer used it to describe living faith as appropriating Christ, and developed the view in a mode akin to that of the German mystics of the 14th century. This representa-

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3 Ein gut Unterricht und getreuer Rathschlag aus heil. göttlicher Schrift, wess man sich in diesen Zwietschachten, unsern heil. Glauben und christl. Lehr betreffend, halten soll (by Osianer), 1524, reprinted at Königsberg, 1553, in 4to; cf. the reprint, f. 2, v. [God knows himself; his knowledge is a word; and the word is God himself, preached to us in the Gospel. Therein is the nature of God, his righteousness, truth, grace, made known to us; all is shown in Christ. And whoever rightly receives the Word, receives God himself. Through faith the Word of God, Christ himself, dwells in us; we say with Paul, "I live, yet not I, etc.; and thus through the Word dwelling in us we are justified. We no longer live in fleshly sense, but the spirit of Christ dwells in us; for Christ can not but be righteous, and work righteousness in us. And so Christ must be our righteousness, not by being in heaven, but by being in us, etc.]: "Gott erkennet sich selbs, sein Erkantnus ist ein Wort, und das Wort ist Gott selbs, dasselb Witt lässt er uns eroffnenu. predigen im heil. Evangello. Dann daselbst würd uns die Natur Gottes eröffnet, nemlich sein Gerechtigkeit, Wahrheit, Weisheit, Gnad und Barmherzigkeit, etc., wie er dann sich selbs erkannt, und das alles in Christo erzeigt hat. Und wer das Wort recht vernimmt, behält und glaubt, der empfahet Gott selbs, dann Gott ist das Wort. So nun durch den Glauben das Wort Gottes, Christus unser Herr, in uns wohnet, und wir mit ihm eins seyn werden, mögen wir mit Paulo wol sprechen: 'Ich lebe, lebe aber nicht ich, sonder Christus lebet in mir;' und da seyn wir denn durch den Glauben gerechtfertigt. Dann es leben nicht wir, d. i. wir leben nicht nach dem fleUchlichcn Sinn, sondernder Sinn und Geist Christiist und lebt in uns: der kann je nicht anders dann gerecht seyn, und Gerechtigkeit in uns würken. Darum spricht er Joh. xv.: 'Ohn mich konnt ihr nichts thun; und Esiasam xxxvi.: 'Herr, du wirst uns Fried geben, dann alle unsere Werk hastu in uns gewurkt.' Und also muss Christus unser Gerechtigkeit seyn, nicht dass er im Himmel zu der Gerechten des Vaters gerecht sey, und wir hernieden in allen Sünden und Unfalt wollen leben, und dann sprechen, Christus wär unser Gerechtigkeit: er muss in uns, und wir in ihm seyn, und so das geschicht, haben wir auch den heil. Geist, durch den die Lieb in unser Herz gegessen wird, wie Paulus zu den Röm. am 5. sagt. Also sicht und verstehet man, dass wir durch Gottes Wort Gott erkennen, und also im Glauben, d. i. in Gottes Wort leben. Dann der Glaub empfahet und fasset Gottes Wort, das Gott selbs ist: das bringt denn auch den heil. Geist mit ihm, der die Lieb in das Herz geuset, und wird durch den Glauben der Tod, durch die Lieb aber die Sünd vertrieben. Und das ist das neu Verbündnus, das uns Gott durch Jeremias am 31. Cap. zusagt und spricht: 'Ich will mein Gesetz in ihr Inwendigstes geben,—und ihrer Ungerechtigkeit nimmer mehr gedenken.' Das alles aber ist nicht vollkommen, dieweil wir in diesem Leben seyn, sonder nur angefangen, und wachst von Tag zu Tag." Handlung Eines Ehrenam weisen Rath zu Nürnberg mit ihren Predicanten, 1522; reprinted, Königsberg, 1553, in 4to. Osianer to Art. 8 [Only one simple righteousness availswith God, that is God himself; the Word is Christ, whom we receive by faith; and thus is Christ, as God himself in us, our righteousness. Works are not righteousness, but its fruits. It is, indeed, true that faith is not without works flowing from love, but these should never be called righteousness; the faith which does not work is no faith]: "Es ist nit mehr denn nur eine einige ein-
tion harmonized very well, in the chief points, with the Lutheran doctrine of justification. And though Osiander laid an unwarrantable stress upon the peculiar shape he had given to the doctrine, and though, too, he was not wanting in readiness to engage in controversy, yet he was unassailed so long as Luther's magnanimous spirit was able to restrain in the new church all confiding Gerechtigkeit die vor Gott gilt, die ist Gott selbst: das Wort ist aber Christus, das fassen wir im Glauben, und ist also Christus als Gott selbst in uns unser Gerechtigkeit, die gilt allein vor Gott.—Werk aber der nicht Gerechtigkeit, sondern Frucht der Gerechtigkeit. Es ist wol wahr, der Glaub ist nit ohn Werk die aus der Liebe fließen, sollen aber nimmer mehr Gerechtigkeit genennt werden: es ist auch der Glaub, der nicht wirkt, kein Glaub, sondern nur erdicht und todt, wie ein gemacht Bild nit ein Mensch ist.” To Art. 4 [The Gospel has two parts; the first, that Christ has satisfied the justice of God; the second, that he purifies and justifies us from sin by dwelling in us]: ”Das Evangelium—hat aber zwei Stück, das erste, dass Christus der Gerechtigkeit Gots Gnug hat gethan,—das andere, dass er uns von Sünden hat gereinigt und rechtvertigt uns, so er in uns wohnet.” Heberle, A. Osiander’s Lehre in ihrer frühesten Gestalt, in the Theol. Studien u. Krit., 1844, ii. 371. C. H. Wilken, A. Osiander’s Leben, Lehre und Schriften, Erste Abth. v. 1498–1530 (Stralsund, 1844. 4.), s. 13.

* Schlüsselburg, Cat. Haeret., vi. 245, and Melch. Adam, in the Vita Osiandri, relate that Osiander, in Marburg, 1529 (Div. I., § 4, Note 37), preached after Luther, in his high-flying way, and that Luther expressed disapproval and anxiety about it. But this is contradicted in Melanchthon ad Camerar., 6th Oct., 1529 (C. R., l. 1098): Osiander—mirifice deflectavit Lutherum et nos omnes. There is manifestly a confounding of this with a later occurrence at Smalcald; see Wilken, s. 32, 62. Osiander himself relates that he had maintained, in Augsburg, 1580, in opposition to Melanchthon, that Christ, who dwells in us by faith, is, in his divine nature, our righteousness; and that he could not get this high truth introduced into the Augsburg Confession; see “Beweisung dass ich nun über die 30 Jahr allweg einerlei Lehr v. d. Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens gehalten hab, Königsberg, 1552,” 4. C. 1. v.; and “Widerlegung der ungegründeten, undiestlichen Antwort Ph. Melanchthon’s, Königsberg, 1562,” 4. O. 1. P. 3. In fine, Osiander says, in his “Bericht u. Troschrift an alle die, so durch das falsch, heimlich Schreiben—meiner Feinde, als sollt ich von der Rechtfertigung des Glaubens nicht recht halten, —geärgert oder betrübet worden sind, Königsberg, 1551,” 4., that he preached in Smalcald in 1557, from 1 John, iv. 2, 8, on justification, and that his sermon was very much lauded by Luther and the other theologians present. On the other hand, M. Flacius, in his “Verlegung des Bekenntniss Osiandri v. d. Rechtfertigung, Magdeburg, 1552,” 4. A. 4. v., appealing to Nicholas von Amsdorf, who was still living, alleges that Luther, and many other theologians, were much pleased with Osiander’s new interpretation of 1 John, iv. So, too, Justus Menius, in his work, “v. d. Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt, wider die neue alsulmatische Theologie A. Osiandri, 1559,” 4.; he adds that Amsdorf then prophesied “that if this spirit should at any time get time and space, the fantasies of all other enthusiasts would be esteemed as only child’s play in comparison with him.”

* This showed itself particularly in the controversy about the general formula for confession, which all the preachers in Nuremberg read after the sermon, but which Osiander rejected, 1538. This matter he brought in a rude and presumptuous manner into his sermons; so that Laz. Spengler, otherwise his friend, wrote to Veit Dietrich, August, 1538 (Leben Spengler’s, by Hansdorf, s. 812): “It was indeed high time for Dr. Luther, the patron of all of us, to ride Osiander with a tight rein, in a special letter, for this horse is too bold and unchecked to be ridden even with sharp spurs: that you know as well as myself.” Peace was restored by Luther; but Osiander revived the dispute in 1536 and 1539; see G. Th. Strobel’s Leben Veit Dietrichs, Altorf u. Nürnberg, 1772, s. 26.
troversies which did not seem to him to be indispensable for preserving the purity of truths essential to salvation.6

Osiander was driven from Nuremberg by the Interim, but was immediately appointed preacher and professor in Königsberg by his old protector, Duke Albert of Prussia. But here, too, there were excitable divines, who were at once irritated by his imperious nature, and who took offense at his peculiar doctrine about justification, as promulgated in his very first disputation, April 5, 1549.7 The controversy,8 stirred up chiefly by Friedr. Staphylius,9 came into the University chairs and the pulpits. A second disputation of Osiander, October 24, 1550,10 and his confession, 1551,11 in which he more fully developed his doctrine,12 only in

4 How correctly Luther judged the man is seen in the letters he wrote about the first dispute on the formula for confession, October 9, 1533. In that to Osiander (de Wette, iv. 48 sq.) he exhorts him most earnestly to peace; in the other to Wenc. Linck (s. 485), he says about Osiander: Nunc te per Christum oro, ut una cum tuis sodalibus velis oculos istos misericordia vestrae non claudere, et hunc hominem suis opinionibus captum, velut aegrotum agnosceret, et hoc cogtare, non quomodo publice confundatur et damnatur, ne ex scintilla ista fiat incendium, sed potius, quanti fieri potest adhuc modestia et prudentia et simul patientia vestra, liberetur et sanitetur.—Non credidissem ego (hoc aequa jactabis, neque disseminabis in publicum), istum hominem tot cogitationibus occupatum, et ut ex suo scripto intelligo, tam procula sinceritate nosseret, et negotia faceret, quae melius esset praeceperet. Si igitur vobis nostrum consilium placnerit, speramus, cum tempore rem istam in se quieturam esse, et illum interim prope nos accessurum esse. [Comp. J. C. Lehnerdt, Anecdota ad hist. Andrei Osiandrī pertinentia. 3. Fart. Regiomont., 1841-44.]

7 A, Osiandri, theologiae inschola Regiom. Professoris primarii, Dispulationes duae: una de i. ••••••• et Evangelio habita Nov. Aprilis, 1543, altera de justificatione habita l. Kal., November, 1550, Region., 1560. 4.

8 A narrative favorable to Osiander's is: Job. Funcken's wahrhaftiger grundl. Bericht, wie die ärgerliche Spaltung von der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens sich anfänglich im Lande Preussens erhaben, Königsberg, 1558. On the other side: Joach. Mörlin's Historia, welchergestalt sich die Osiandrische Schwärmelei im Lande zu Preußen erhaben, und wie dieselbe verhandelt ist, mit allen Actis beschrieben, s. 1, et s. 4; and by Staphylus: Historia Acti Negoti inter Frid. Staphylum et A. Osiandrum in Prussia contra Calumnias Jo. Funccl in Strobel's Miscellanea literar. Inhalts, i. 219; ii. 224. In addition: "Hersoz's Albertii I. Ausschreiben—, darin gründlich und ordentlich, wie sich die ärgerliche Swiespalt über dem Articul von unser armen Sander Rechtfertigung erhaben, und was wir uns mit grossen Sorgen, Einigkeit zu machen, bemüht, dargethan, und was wir ferner durch freundl. Beförder—Herrn Christofs, Herzogen zu Wirtenberg, durch S. L. Theologos—vorgeschlagenen Mittel—erlernet, u. zu Fortstel-lung der Einigkeit unserer Kirchen gehalten wollen haben, Königseburg, 1558," 4., with many documents. The effect of the dispute upon the University of Königsberg is described in Dr. M. Töppen's Gründung der Univ. zu Königseburg; Königsb., 1844, s. 168.

9 He again became (1552) Catholic in Breslau, was a counselor of the Emperor Ferdin-nd, was made superintendent of the University of Ingolstadt in 1561, and died in 1564. Leben u. Schriften Friedr. Staphylī, in Strobel's Miscellanea, l. 1. Dr. M. Töppen's Gründung der Univ. zu Königseburg, s. 178.

10 See note 7.

11 Von dem einigen Mittler J. Chr. u. Rechtfertigung Bekennnuss A. Osiander; KÖ
flamed the strife, because he here treated his opponents with arrogance and harshness. Joachim Mörlin, who became a pastor in Königsberg, September, 1550, tried in vain to adjust the controversy, and then took the lead among Osiander's opponents. The Duke adhered to Osiander, and besought all the German estates of the Augsburg Confession to have their theologians pass judg-

nigberg, September, 1551. 4. De unico Mediatore J. Chr. et justificatione fidei Confessio A. Osiandri, Region., October, 1551. 4. On the contents, see Salig, ii. 951. 18 Disp. de Justificatione hab. ix. Kal., November, 1550, thes. 3.: Justificare propria et primaria institutione signifcat ex impio justum facere, b. a. mortuum ad vitam revocare. 4. Quod proprium est omnipotentiae divinae non minus, quam creare. 10. Fides autem, qua homo justificantur, est motus spiritualis, quem Deus per verbum praedicat et Spiritum S. in cordibus nostris excitat. 13. Ea se relative habet ad verbum Evangelii. 14. Objectum enim Evangelii est J. Chr. per verbum Evangelii fide apprehensus. 17. Sicut David vocat calicem inebriantem, cum non calix, sed viminum contentum inebriet; ita fides est justificans, cum tamen non fides, sed Christus fide comprehensus justificat. 21. Justitia illa, quam fide apprehendimus, est justitia Dei, non tantum quia Deo est accepta, sed quia re vera justitia Dei, nempe Domini nostri J. Chr., qui Deus est benedictus in saecula. 28. Eadem est justitia Patris, Filii et Spiritus S., et haec justitia Dei est justitia fidei. 29. Haec justitia non confortur cuiquam, nisi prius ei remissa fuerint peccata per sanguinem Christi. 30. Unde justificationis duae sunt partes, remission peccatorum et reconciliatio cum Deo. 31. Reconciliari autem Deo est Christo uniri, ex eo renasci, illum in nobis et nos in illo esse, per illum vivere, ejusdemque in nobis habitantis justitia justos censeri. 82 et 83. Christus enim est sponsus noster, cum quo sumus caro una, membra scil. corporis ejus, caro de carne ejus, et eos ex ossibus ejus. 36. Hinc divinae naturae consortes efficientur: qui enim Deo adhaeret, fit unus Spiritus cum eo. 88 ss. Habitatigitur Christus per fdem in nobis, et per consequens etiam Patert et Spiritus S. qui in Christo sunt, Jo. xvii. 11, 12; Jo. vi. 56, caest. 58. Hinc justitia ejus essentialis justus sumus, juxta illud, Jerem. xxiiii.: Dominus justitiam nostra. 56. Hinc vita ejus essentialis vivimus et vivemus juxta Johannis illud, c. 6, v. 57: sicut misit me vivere Patem, etc. 57. Ac illud Johannis 6, v. 58: nisi manducaverimus carnem, etc. 58. Manducare carnem hic est credere, ipsum peccata nostra pertulisse in corpore suo, et sanguinem suum effusisse in remissione peccatorum, ita ut haec fide cum illo una caro fiamus. 64. Hinc gloria ejus essentialis glorificati sumus, quia nobis eam clariatem, quam habuit apud Patem, dedit nobis, Jo. xvii. 5; cf. Rom. viii. 30; 2 Cor. iii. 13. 2 Jo. iii. 2. Hinc etiam essentialis caritate ejus inflammatum est in cordibus nostris, Rom. v. 5. Deus enim caritas est, et qui in caritate manet, in Deo manet, et Deus in illo, 1 Jo. iv. 12, 13. 68. Omnis spiritus, qui non confestetur, Christum ad hunc modum venisse in carmem nostram, ex Deo non est. Et hic est Spiritus Anti- christi. 70 ss. Zwingleius est in corde qui hoc non credit: impossibile enim est, ut credat verum corpus Christi in pane et verum sanguinem in calice, qui non credit, Christum revera habitare in Christiano homine. 73. Glacie frigida docent, nos tantum propter remissionem peccatorum reputari justos, et non etiam propter justitiam Christi per fdem in nobis inhabitantis. 74. Non enim tam iniquus est Deus, ut sum pro justo habeat, in quo vero justitia praevius nil sit. 76. Justitia quidem Christi nobis imputatur, sed non nisi cum in nobis est. 78. Tum opera bona sunt a justificatis, vivificatis, glorificatis; non vero justificant, neque vivificant, neque glorificant. 79. Et quanquam qui justificantur est, justificari debeat adhuc, hoc tamen non fit operibus nostris, sed cognitione Filii Dei per fdem, per quam ei de die in diem magis unimur. Cf. De unico Mediator Confessio Osiandri A. 4: Manifestum est, quod quidquid Christus, ut fidelis mediator nostri causa impetitio legis ac passione morteque sua cum Deo, patre suo coelesti, egit, factum id esse ante mille quingentes et eo amplius annos, cum nos nondum esse-
ment on the points in dispute, October 5, 1551. 13 Osiannder, by his attacks upon the ordinary doctrine of justification, 14 laid him-

13 The writing is in the declaration of the Duke (E. I., v.), 1558, cited in Note 8; and also (after the copy sent to the Landgrave of Hesse) in Neudecker's Neue Beitr. zur Gesch. der Reform., i. 1.

14 Comp. thes. 73, 74 above, Note 12. Osiannder Confessio, F. 2: Horribiliter errant, qui verbum justificare tantum intelligunt pro justum reputare et pronunciare, et non pro eo, quod est in veritate et reipso, justum efficere.—Ubi de justificatione fidei agitur, ibi verbum justificare non humano, forensi et sophistico more est intelligendum, sed divino modo. Deus enim non pronuntiat nos solum justos, sed efficit etiam re ipsa. Itaque est philosophicum, carnis et praemeditatus sermo, justificare esse verbum forense, ac significare, reum judicio absolutum pronunciare. Osiannder maintained that he agreed with Luther; see above, Note 2. On the other hand, he said that Melanchthon had perverted the doctrinal system in the Augsburg Confession (see above, Note
self open to the charge, made in most of these official declarations, that his views were a falsification of this fundamental doctrine of the new church.\textsuperscript{15} Only the Würtemberg judgment, December 5, 1551, drawn up by Brenz\textsuperscript{16} tried to vindicate the essential agree-

\textsuperscript{15} The mildest of these was Melancthon's Antwort auf das Buch Herrn A. Osiander's v. d. Rechtfertigung des Menschen, Wittenberg, 1552. 4.; full and thorough was the Responsio Ministrorum Ecclesiae Christi, quae est Hamburgi et Lunebergi ad confessionem A. Osiandri de mediatore J. Chr.; Magdeb., 1553. 4. About these and the other opinions, see Salig, ii. 982; Planck, iv. 333. Melancthon gives a pertinent opinion about the doctrine of Osiander, in a letter to the Osianderist Culmann, in Nürnberg, 11. Dec., 1552, C. R., viiii. 1151: Multa sunt in illis paradoxis vel aenigmatis, vel sophistis, quae populo nihil praestat, etiam si lenientur interpretatione. Quale hoc est, quod contendit illa Gorgo, non recte dici: 

\textsuperscript{16} Brenz had previously had a similar view to that of Osiander (see Mel. Ep. ad Brent. above, § 34, note 1), but was here, as on all other points, averse to controversy; compare the letters to Melancthon, 6th November, 1552, C. R., viii. 1123, and 29th September, 1555, in Riederer's Abhandlungen, iv. 482. (Non videtur mihi controversia posita simum de dogmate, sed magis de persona esse, utrumque Osiander hoc an aliud senserit.}
ment of Osiander with the Lutheran doctrine, and recommended the contestants to come to an understanding with each other. The Duke, accordingly, kept back the other opinions, that he might effect an adjustment through the Württemberg divines. Their six theses, propounded for this purpose, were in fact declared by both

—Veritas igitur et rectitudo dogmatis ista illustretur, ut nullum de eo dubium inter nostros relinquatur. Maneat autem hoc, si quidem se videbitur, in dubio, utrumque Osiander hoc an diversum senserit; to Camerarius, 13th December, 1552, in Strobel’s Beiträge zur Literatur, ii. 128.

17 See the Württemberg opinion, the first that was sent in, in Duke Albert’s proclamation, 1553 (see above, Note 8), F. 3; extracts in Salig, ii. 974; comp. Joh. Brenz, by J. Hartmann and K. Jäger, ii. 355.

18 The Duke also called upon Bugenhagen to be a mediator (21st March, 1552, in J. Voigt’s Briefwechsel der berühmtesten Gelehrten mit Herzog Albrecht, Königsb., 1841, s. 105), but received from him a decisive refusal; idem. The Tübingen declaration (which the Duke had asked for), June 1, 1552, is in Herzog’s Alberti Ausschreiben, ch. ii., and in Wigandus de Osianderismo, p. 142. The points of union [in substance: 1. That Christ’s obedience comes originally from his divine nature, and is a fruit of the divine righteousness that is in Christ; 2. That this obedience is a satisfaction for our sins, and a propitiation of God’s wrath, and that its merit is that of the eternal divine justice; 3. That we are to receive by faith this obedience of Christ, and trust in it with the assurance that our sins are forgiven, etc.]

As to the divine righteousness, both parties are agreed: 1. That God in his divine essence alone is the true, eternal justice, Luke xviii.; 2. That through faith in Christ, God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit truly dwells in us, with all his blessings; 3. That through this faith in Christ, God, dwelling in us, forgives the sin which still clings to us; but he does not let us remain in sin wholly unrenewed, but begins to expel it in this life, and to make us righteous, until in the future life we become wholly free from sin.—

The dissensions of the two parties is a bellum grammaticale—on the interpretation of the justitia Dei (see below) in some passages of Paul—whether it is to be considered as the essential righteousness of God, and the verbum justitiae to be taken merely—pro absolvere injustum, or as being—re ipse justum facere, and whether the obedience of Christ can be called a righteousness."


PART II.—CHAP. I.—LUTHERAN CHURCH. § 39. OSIANDER. 477

parties to be orthodox, but were rejected by Osiander's opponents because they might be misinterpreted in his favor. After the death of Osiander, October 17, 1552, his son-in-law, the court preacher, Joh. Funck, who had the highest confidence of the old Duke, came to be the leader of this small party; but with all his adroitness and concessions, he could not set aside the general hatred which weighed upon his party. In vain did the old Duke endeavor, by a proclamation,\(^{19}\) to effect a union upon the six Würtemberg articles, banishing meanwhile, in 1553, the reckless opponent, Mörlin. Equally in vain was a Confession\(^{20}\) of his own, offered as a means of coming to agreement (1554). Although these formulas tried to reduce Osiandrisim to the terms of Lutheran orthodoxy, yet a latent poison was scented in them. Recantation was demanded of the Osiandrists, and the most absurd errors were imposed upon them as the logical consequences of their opinions.\(^{21}\) The deposition of the refractory preachers, in 1555, only increased the general exasperation.

In Pomesania,\(^{22}\) too, and in Nuremberg,\(^{23}\) there were a few fol-

\(^{19}\) See above, Note 8.

\(^{20}\) In manuscript in Wolfenbüttel, see Salig, ii. 1027; extracts in Wigandus de Osiandrismo, p. 356. It was laid before a synod in Königsberg in 1554, which declared it to be unsatisfactory.

\(^{21}\) Matth. Vogel's Dialogus eines armen Sünders mit Moysa u. Christo v. d. Rechtfer-tigung des Glaubens, samt s. Bedenken von der zugetragenen Zwiespalt über solchen Artikel, und einer Antwort auf Dr. J. Mörlins ungestümen Sendbrief, Königsb., 1557. 4. Vogel, who had also fled from Nuremberg on account of the Interim, was by no means agreed with Osiander on all points, but was declared to be one of his followers by his violent opponents on account of his calm impartiality. According to his memorial in the case, Osiander was accused of teaching that forgiveness of sins is also had by those who do not believe; that we are justified, not by faith alone, but also by works; that believers become gods, and like Christ in all things, etc.; Salig, ii. 1056.

\(^{22}\) In Stettin Petrus Artopöus was deposed for being an Osiandrist, 1556; Salig, ii. 1045.

\(^{23}\) Here Leonh. Culmann, preacher at St. Sebold's, was the chief among Osiander's
lowers of Osiander; but when they were removed from office the controversy was soon brought to an end.

To attain peace, Funck and the other Osiandrists at last abandoned all their peculiar doctrinal formulas, and joined the Wittenbergers, who had been so bitterly contemned by Osiander himself. They persuaded the Duke to set forth (1558) a new church order with Philippiist doctrines. Funck handed in a Confession of Faith to the divines of Leipsic and Wittenberg, and was declared by them to be orthodox (1561); in 1563 he openly confessed, in four sermons, that he had previously given occasion for misunderstandings and mistrust. And yet the reproach of Osiandrism still remained upon the small and closely hedged in company of strangers, since they would not directly condemn it. Besides this they were now accused of Philippiism; and, opposed by all, they were held up only by the Duke. When the latter fell out with his estates, he being accused by them of oppressive taxation and interference with their privileges, as also of arbitrary encroachments upon the constitution of the Church, the chief blame was ascribed to the Osiandrists, since Funck, being the Duke's friends, whom Melancthon, Dec. 11, 1552 (Corp. Ref., vii. 1150), and Jan. 25, 1553 (ibid., viii. 25), exhorted to peace. Culmann too, together with Joh. Fabricius, preacher at St. Laurentius, was upbraided for favoring Osiander by the council of Nuremberg, Sept. 14, 1554; see the protocol in Strobel's Neue Beiträge, i. 91. Yet still the controversy broke out later, and Melancthon, with several other theologians, was invited to Nuremberg, Sept., 1555, to adjust it. He published at that time an Oratio, exhorting to peace, and an examination, in German, of the doctrine of justification, which was to be subscribed by all the Nuremberg clergy (both in Corp. Ref., viii. 546). Culmann and Vetter did not subscribe, but took their departure. G. G. Zeltneri Paralipomenon Osiandrinum a. Leonh. Culmanni Vita et Fata, Altorf., 1710. It was afterward made a question whether Culmann should be admitted to communion; see Melancthon's Opinion, Corp. Ref., viii. 613.

Duke John Albert of Mecklenburg, son-in-law of Duke Albert, tried to settle the dispute at a synod at Riesenburg, February, 1556. Funck made a declaration, which was considered as a recantation, but which he afterward said meant, that by his mode of teaching he had given occasion for errors, but not that he held them himself. However, he was obliged to give assent to the Augsburg Confession, and to Melancthon's Loci Communes; see the narrative of the Duke in a letter to Flacius, in Wigandus de Osiandrismo, p. 291; Salig, ii. 1055.

Matth. Vogel had, in 1556, drawn up for this object an outline of Christian doctrine, after Melancthon's Loci, and personally given it to Brenz to be examined (Voigt's Briefwechsel mit Herzog Albr., s. 57); it was also sent to Melancthon for this purpose (Voigt's Mittheilungen aus der Correspondenz des Herz. Albr. mit Luther, Melanchthon und Sabinus, s. 52). Several persons had part in drawing up the church order; among them Aurifaber, at whose instance exorcism was omitted in the baptismal service, which gave so much offense; see Hartknoch, s. 885.

Wigandus de Osiandrismo, p. 301.

Wigandus, p. 806. Hartknoch, s. 408.
confessor and counselor, had the chief influence upon him. And so they had to share in the general exasperation evoked by the arbitrary measures of the adventurer Skalich, who, since 1561, ruled the country instead of the weak Duke, and to which Funck at last fell a sacrifice on the scaffold, in 1566, in accordance with

28 See M. Toppen zur Gesch. d. ständischen Verhältnisse in Preussen, in Raumer's hist. Taschenbuche, 1847, s. 459.

29 Historie von Funck, Schnell, Horst, und Steinbach ex actis publ. mscitis; in the Acta Borussica, Bd. 3 (Konigsberg u. Leipaig, 1732), s. 217, 311, 471. Comp. the bill of complaint lodged against them, Sept. 7, 1566, p. 347. They were accused of being [pernicious disturbers of the peace, of trying to do away with the long-established order in church matters, approved by the whole country; and Mr. John Funck, too, long ago held to and defended Osiander's heretical opinions, and brought it to pass that many honest ministers and teachers were deposed and banished. Besides, he has aided in introducing a church order, without the knowledge of the country, imposing a scandalous baptismal service, and persecuting and banishing those who resisted. Likewise, it is notorious that Mr. Funck, without the assent of the land, helped to bring in a Samland President (Aurifaber, 1554), who pushed on these innovations; and that Matthew Horst, too, not long ago, without the advice of the old counsels, set up such a President (in the person of Matth. Röseler), who had passed so glibly from one studio to another, that he was first a medicus, and then a jurist, and lastly (desperatio facit monachum) became a theologus, and was put up here for a bishop or president. Again, it is notorious that Mr. Funck, Matth. Horst, Hans Schnell, and Steinbach joined with Paulo Scalichio in inverting and disturbing the common church order of the land, etc."

[Translation continues with similar content involving notable historical figures and events, indicating the historical context of religious and political conflicts during the Protestant Reformation in Germany.]
FOURTH PERIOD.—DIV. I.—A.D. 1517-1648.

a decision of a Polish commission, which the estates had requested to institute proceedings. Osiandriusm, which had long before vanished away, was now formally condemned by Mörlin, again recalled and made Bishop of Samland, in the Repetitio Corporis Doctrinae Christianae, published in 1567.30

By opposition to Osiander’s doctrine, that Christ is our righteousness only in his divine nature, the violent Italian, Francis Stancarus,31 who was professor of theology (1551) for some time in Königsberg, was led to take the opposite ground, that Christ is our righteousness only in his human nature.32 This error was overlooked in Königsberg by the opponents of Osiander; but when Stancarus endeavored to enforce it as a weighty and fundamental truth in the Evangelical churches of Poland, Hungary, and Transylvania, he found decided opposition; and this was strengthened by the memorials of Melancthon, Calvin, and the Zürich divines:33

-In the government’s note, 1542, it was established that there should be at all times two bishops in Prussia with full spiritual jurisdiction—those of Samland and of Pomesania; and yet the Duke had filled the vacant sees with presidents, who drew smaller incomes and were more dependent on him. Thus there was opportunity for more arbitrary procedures in favor of Osiandriusm. On this account the estates, as early as 1568, had pressed for the reinstatement of bishops; see Töppen, in Raumer’s hist. Taschenb., 1847, s. 416, 434, 481.

30 German, Konigsb., 1567. Fol. Latin, ibid., 1570. S. Hartknoch, s. 424: Planck, iv. 439. As Corpus Doctrinae this Repetitio presupposed the Augsburg Confession, the Apology for the same, and the Smalcald Articles; but later the formula itself was called Corpus Doctrinae Prutenicum; Hartknoch, s. 427.


32 Among his reasons, the most important are (Schlüsselburg, ix. 233): Nemo potest esse mediator sui ipsius: Jam si Christus esset mediator etiam secundum naturam divinam, esset mediator sui ipsius, quia est unus Deus cum Patre et Spiritu sancto: Ergo Christus non est mediator secundum naturam divinam (p. 249): Pacificavit sumus per sanguinem crucis ejus per eundem; reconciliavit nos corpus carnis suae per mortem, Coloss., i.: Sanguis crucis et mors sunt humanae naturae, non divinae: Ergo per naturam humanam Christi tantum sumus reconciliati, et non per divinam. But he thereby declares (p. 45): Excludo naturam divinam ab officio sacerdotii et mediationis Christi, sed non a persona ejus. He appealed especially to (p. 226) 1 Tim., ii. 5: Unus Deus, unus et mediator Dei et hominum, homo J. Chr. Rom., v. 15. 1 Cor, xv. 21; also to the Concilium Ephesinum (p. 298), the church fathers, particularly Augustine (p. 805), the scholastics Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Richard St. Victor, Biel (p. 162, 810). Peter Lombard was especially held to be the source of his opinion, who undoubtedly says, in so many words (Sentent., lib. iii. dist. 19): Christus mediator dicitur secundum humanitatem, non secundum divinitatem, et haec has remained the doctrine of the Catholic Church; see Baur’s Lehrb. v. d. Versöhnung, s. 347.

But his doctrine still produced much disquietude. His death, in 1574, was also the death of his doctrine.

§ 40.

REDACTION OF THE FORMULA CONCORDIAE.


After the Crypto-Calvinists of Saxony had been set aside, and the pugnacious theologians of the opposite party had withdrawn, the greatest hindrances to the peace of the Church seemed to have been removed. Andreae, who up to this time had been at work without success for the Concordia, now addressed himself to the matter with new zeal, especially as the Elector August joined the princes who favored it, and in fact became the most zealous among them.

There were really only two points of doctrine about which they had not come to a full decision in the orthodox Lutheran Church. The doctrine of the Lord’s Supper was indeed everywhere accepted; others have used themselves up in the strife; and so many God-fearing divines desire peace.\[Comp. C. A. Wilkens, Tileman Heschusius, Leipz., 1860.\]
ed in its strict Lutheran form; but yet the *communicatio idiomatum realis*, taught in connection with it, was not everywhere accepted in the same form, and by many it was wholly rejected. So, too, the Melancthonian synergism, violently as it was opposed, had many friends among those who did not see how else they could escape the fearful doctrine of an unconditional predestination.

What was now needed was to unite prominent theologians of different countries in the work of pacification—men who loved peace, and were above suspicion as to their orthodoxy. Andreae first sent a declaration about the controverted points, approved by the Württemberg divines (the Suabian Confession, Liber Tubingensis, 1574),2 to the two most distinguished theologians in Lower Saxony—Martin Chemnitz, Superintendent of the city of Brunswick, and David Chytraeus, professor in Rostock, both of them pupils, but not blind adherents, of Melancthon. These consultations3 resulted in full investigations, especially as to the doctrines of the Lord's Supper and free-will, which were inserted into the above Suabian Confession, and published as the Suabian-Saxon Concordia in 1575;4 but these additions made the document unsymmetrical. Andreae, therefore, reduced its contents to a shorter and more proportionate form, and this new revision was sanctioned by a council of Württemberg and Baden theologians in the cloister of Maulbronn—the Maulbronn Formula, January, 1576.5 To obtain a common document of union from these two formulas, the Elector August convened an Assembly of divines at Torgau, after several of his clergy had declared in favor of the work of

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2 Andreae had dedicated to Duke Julius "Sechs christl. Predigten von den Spaltungen, so sich zwischen den Theologen Augeb. Confession von Anno 1548 bis auf das J. 1573 nach und nach erhaben, Tübingen, 1573." 4., and sent these sermons to Chemnitz and Chytraeus with the proposal that they should be generally subscribed and used for effecting a union. But sermons were not found to be very appropriate, and Andreae was led to draw up from them the doctrinal theses in a concise form; see Rehtmeyer's Stadt Braunschweigische Kirchenhistorie, iii. 489; O. F. Schütze De Vita Dav. Chytraei Commentariorum, libb. iv. (Hamburg, 1720-28), ii. 389; Planck, vi. 408. Thus Andreae drew from these sermons the above declaration, which was not printed. The writings with which he sent it to Duke Julius and Chemnitz, March, 1574, are in J. G. Bertram's Reformations- u. Kirchenhist. d. Stadt Lüneburg (Braunschweig, 1719. 4.), Beil., s. 172.

3 See the correspondence in Bertram, Beil., s. 181 ff.

4 In Pfaffii Acta et Scripta Publica Ecclesiae Wirtembergicae (Tübing., 1720. 4.), p. 361, they are given incorrectly: many corrections are found in Balthasar's Hist. d. Torgischen Buchs. The sections on the Lord's Supper and free-will are by Chytraeus; see Planck, vi. 417.

5 Unpublished, see Planck, vi. 429.
pacification in Lichtenberg (February, 1576), and avowed their willingness to sacrifice the Corpus Doctrinae Philippicum. This convention, under the lead of Andreae, Chemnitz, and Chytraeus, soon finished their work—in the Torgau Book, May, 1576. The Suabian-Saxon Concordia was laid at the basis; but the honorable mention it made of Melanchton had to be obliterated, while many extracts from Luther were inserted, taken from the Maulbronn Formula.

6 The doings are in Hutterus, f. 76 b. Their declaration, f. 78 b: “Auf dass nun—männlich zu spüren haben, dass wir von Grund unserer Herzen zum christl. Fried und Einigkeit geneigt; so erklären wir uns dahin, dass wir keines Menschen Gewissen an obgemeldt Buch, Corpus doctrinae genannt, binden sollen noch wollen, auch dasselbig niemands aufdringen als ein Symboolum, normam oder Richtschnur, sondern halteins für ein herrlichs gute nutzlichs Buch, und commendirn es als ein methodum docendi et discendi, daraus sich die Lehrer und die Jugend rechter Art und Ordnung zu reden, zu schreiben und zu lehren erhöhen können. Und so etwas darin, so in Streit mag gezogen werden,—wollen wir dasselbig allezeit regulirt und verstanden haben nach Gottes ausdrucklichem Wort, und Schriften Lutheri.” [In substance: that they would bind no man’s conscience to the above book, nor use it as a Symbolum, but they commend it as a noble good book, to be used in teaching; the controversial points in it to be understood according to the Word of God and Luther’s writings.]

7 J. H. Balthasar’s Hist. des Torgischen Buchs, 6 Stücke, Greifswald u. Leipzig, 1741-44. 4. (P. vii. sect. 1-4, and P. viii.), appeared till 1756 as academical dissertations. The Torgau Book was reprinted, with a preface by Semler, Halle, 1760. Besides the three divines mentioned above, there also came to Torgau Andreas Musculus and Christopher Coruerus, from Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and eleven theologians from electoral Saxony; at the head of them Crellius of Wittenberg, and Harder and Selnecker from Leipzig; comp. Anton, i. 167.

8 In the Suabian-Saxon Concordia, in Pfaff, p. 385, it is said: “Es werden aber andere gute nutzliche reine Bücher, Auslegung der heil. Schrift, Widerlegung der Irrthümer, Erklärung der Lehrartikel, und sonderlich die für andere ordentlich wolgefassten Schriften des Herrn Philip, hiemit nicht verworfen, welche, sofern sie dem izziegmten Förbld der Lehre gemäss, als ordentliche nutzliche Auslegungen und Erklärung billig commendirt, und nutzlich gebraucht können und sollen werden” [i.e., other good books, commentaries, etc., and especially the writings of Master Philip, well and orderly drawn up, are not rejected, but justly commended, so as they are accordant with the type of doctrine here propounded, etc.]. In the Torgau Book (Semler’s edition, p. 12) the words in relation to Melanchton, “und sonderlich—Philippli.” are erased. In the Suabian-Saxon Concordia, in the article on the Lord’s Supper, in Pfaff, p. 444 [Philip is mentioned with Luther as an authority for the interpretation of Paul]: “Derselben auch unsere lieben Vätere und Praeceptores, als Lutherus an vielen Orten, und Philippus in libro visitationis Saxonicae diesen Spruch Paulus also erklären,” etc. In the Torgau Book, on the other hand [the name of Philip is here omitted]: “Derhaben auch unser lieber Vater und Vorfahren, als Lutherus und andere reine Lehrer Augsburgischer Confession, diesen Spruch,” etc. Without question, Musculus, the violent opponent of Melanchthon (see § 37, Note 18), had much to do with this. Dan. Greser, superintendent in Dresden, who was present, relates in his Autobiography (Schütz, De Vita Chytraei, ii. 405), that Satan tried to foment disturbances in Torgau; “so that even Dr. Musculus became so enraged that he rose up, and for a long time said he would not stay in the convention, but meant to go off. But the disturbance was restrained, and Musculus was sought to remain, so that, God be praised, all things reached a good and peaceful end.”

9 Comp., on the whole affair, Balthasar, i. 11.
This Torgau Book was now sent for approval to all the Lutheran national churches of Germany, but met with a very diverse reception. Holstein, in the Gottorf and Hadersleben part, declared against any new confession of faith. The theologians of Hesse, Zweibrücken, and Simmern held out the prospect of acceding to it, but they wished it drawn up more in the mild spirit of Melancthon. The divines of Pomerania, Anhalt, and

10 The Gottorf Memorial, by the General Superintendent, Paul von Eitzen, reprinted in the Jena Christmas Programme, 1780: Super Libro Torgensi Censura Holstio-Slesvicensis (Sept. 21, 1576), varis Observationibus illustrata (a D. Danovio); see Planck, vi. 485; Johannesen, in Niedner's Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol., 1850, s. 698. It is here maintained: 1. That the existing normal writings are sufficient for the decision of the points in dispute; 2. That by a new symbolical book the calumnies of the opponents would be strengthened; 3. That by the same, errors which had vanished away would be revived to confuse men's minds; 4. That in it, too, there were many new modes of statement and disputations, about which new and dangerous divisions would spring up. Particularly did it seem "as if it was intended by this work to put the poor church into confusion with the new paradoxes which vegetated and were sent forth in the book of Master Brentius, De Majestate Christi, 1564." The Elector was advised to adhere to his Corpus Doctrinarum, but to exclude from it, in the Loci Comm., "the two paragraphs—in loco de libero arbitrio—which were not there in the lifetime of holy father Luther" (see § 37, Note 31); and to add the Smalcald Articles, the Catechisms of Luther, and Melancthon's Sententiae Patrum de Coena Domini (see § 86, Note 15). Das Haderslebener Gutachten v. d. Propste Georg Petraeus in the Danische Bibliothek, iv. 275; see Johannesen, in Niedner's Zeitschr., 1850, s. 692.

11 Proceedings of the General Synod in Cassel, Aug. 27 to Sept. 4, 1576, see in Dr. H. Happe's Gesch. der Hess. Generalsynoden von 1568-1583 (2 Bde., Kassel, 1847), i. 195. Its memorial on the Torgau Book, Sept. 5, 1576, ibid., Appendix, p. 10 (in Latin in Hospinianus, f. 65). The severe reply of the Saxony divines (Appendix, p. 30) first made evident the division between the churches of Upper and of Lower Hesse. Landgrave William and the Hessian Lowlanders held firmly to the Philippist standpoint, and rejected the doctrine of ubiquity; Landgrave Louis and the Upper Hessians, on the other hand, led by Dr. Aegidius Hunnius, recently called from Tubingen to Marburg, showed themselves inclined to the Formula Concordiae; Happe, i. 220; Appendix, p. 54.

12 Hospinianus, f. 70, v.
13 Hospinianus, f. 78, v.

14 Their critique is in J. H. Balthasar's anderer Sammlung einiger zur Pommer. Kirchenhist. gehörigen Schriften, s. 9. Planck, vi. 496.
15 J. Chr. Beckmann's Hist. d. Fürstenth. Anhalt, vi. 106. Semler's Preface to the Torgisches Buch, s. 95. Planck, vi. 507. Johannesen, in Niedner's Zeitschr., 1846, s. 269. [Among other things, they deplore the attempt here made to tear asunder Luther and Philip, those two dear heroes, canonizing the one and making the other an offense. If they should succeed in banishing the works of Melachthon—single definitions of which have often thrown more light upon the subjects than all the other books we have—this would raise new disturbances, not easily allayed, and followed by a mere barbarity.] "Besorgen deswegen, die Autoren werden sich des Verdachts nicht entledigen können, dass sie die zwei theure Helden, Lutherum u. Philipperm,—von einander reissen, den einen kanonisiren, den andern stinkend machen, und in seinem Untergang eigene Ehre suchen wollten. Sollte es auch—wirklich darauf angelegt seyn, die so nützliche und notige Schriften Melanchthon's aus unsern Kirchen und Schulen zu verdrängen, in welche sie doch oft mit einer einzigen Definition ein grosseres Licht hineingetragen haben, als jetzt uns allen mit allen unsern Büchern möglich ist;—so besorgen wir una
PART II.—CHAP. I.—LUTHERAN CHURCH. § 40. THE CONCORDIA. 485

Magdeburg earnestly defended the theology of Melancthon against the covert attacks made in the Torgau Book. On the other hand, the theologians of the duchy of Brunswick, and the cities of Lübeck, Hamburg, and Lüneburg, desired an express condemnation of the Melancthonian teachings, and of the objectionable works of the Philippists; Hesshusius even demanded that all teachers of erroneous doctrine, and among them Melancthon, should be condemned by name. The rest of the memorials declared themselves, upon the whole, satisfied with the Book, and criticised only some insignificant points. The new Elector of the Palatinate, Louis VI., upon his accession to the government at the death of his father, Frederick III. (October 26, 1576), immediately re-established Lutheranism in his possessions; but yet he did not at first seem inclined to favor the Formula Concordiae.

The Elector August summoned another convention of theologians to meet at the cloister Bergen, near Magdeburg, which in three sessions, March to May, 1577, examined the criticisms that wahrlich eines neuen Lärmens, der sich nicht so leicht legen, und dem wahrscheinlich eine lautere barbaries folgen würde."

16 Semler’s Preface to the Torgau Book, s. 31. Planck, vi. 518.
17 At the Synod of Riddagshausen, Aug. 9, 1576: their memorial in Hutterus, f. 111. Planck, vi. 459.
18 At the Convention in Molln, Recessus Moloniensis, of Nov. 2, 1576, in Bertram’s Reformations- und Kirchenhist. der Stadt Lüneburg, Bell., s. 231.
19 His criticism on the Torgan Book in his Epist. ad Chemnitium, in Hospinianus, f. 72: Existimamns, Ecclesia in necessitatem postulare, ut in hac formula actores et patroni corruptelarum, Ilyricus, Philippus, Pfeffingerus, Osiander, Major, Calvinus, Petrus Martyr, epistola Philipp ad Palatinum nominatur, ac Ecclesia et posteritati saltem indicetur, ut juvenus in librorum lectione errores cum formula concordiae pugnantes cavere possit. [Comp. Wilkens’s Hesshusius, Leipz., 1860.]
22 In a contemporary manuscript there is a communication, ex ore Scheechzii (the court preacher of the Elector), given in Wundt, ii. 182, who says, “This Elector caused it to be proclaimed, per Stolzium, anno 1577, in the church of the Holy Ghost, that his electoral grace had no pleasure in the ubiquity, which is preached fully in all the other churches hereabouts. But Timoth. Kirchner, a proud Doctor, came here (as Professor of Theology in Heidelberg), and so influenced his electoral grace that in consequence he subscribed the Formula of Concord.”
had been sent in, and changed the Torgau Book to accord with the results of this investigation. The stricter party here acquired such preponderance as to obliterate all those traces of the Melan
thonian teaching which had remained in the Lower Saxon parts of the Suabian-Saxon Concordia. To satisfy the desire for a


The authors of the Concordia-formula had previously held to the Melancthonian synergism. M. Chemnitius, Loc. Theol., p. i., de lib. arb., c. 7, shows that the will of man in conversion is not—plane otiosa; cf. ejusd. Judicium de Controversia quibus
dum, p. 55 sq.; Examen Conc. Trid., p. i., loc. 7, Sect. 3, § 7; comp. Chytraeus, in his often-printed Catechesis, 1554, taken from Melanchthon's Locli, and in his Comm. in Genesin, Vitteberg., 1558, p. 384; and in the Declaration der theol. Fac. in Rostock an den Herzog v. Mecklenburg über die streitigen Artikel, 1570, in Bertram's Lüb. Reformations-
us. Kirchenhist., Beil., s. 100 f.; and Andreas, in his Articles of 1569 (see above, § 38, Note 29), in the Ueschuld. Nachr., 1718, s. 208. So, too, in the Suabian-Saxon Concordia, in the section on free-will, drawn up by Chytraeus and Chemnitz, synergistic views were adopted (Pfaff, p. 497), and this passage was retained in the Torgau Book (Semler's edition, p. 78). It is here said that in conversion man is not treated as a stick or stone; he is not forced to it—per modum coactionis; he can resist the Holy Spirit, or allow himself to be renewed. This section was canceled in the Bergen Book, and exchanged for another (ed. Rechenberg, p. 672), to the effect that man is only so far not to be compared with a stick or stone as the latter do not resist, do not understand or feel; but he is so much the worse, because before his renewal he only opposes the will of God; comp. Balthasar, iv. 38. The passage in the Suabian-Saxon Concordia (Pfaff, p. 499), and in the Torgau Book (Semler, s. 84), which contained Melanchthon's doctrine of the three causes co-operating in conversion, was expunged. On the other hand, in the Bergen Book (p. 681) it is declared: Quandoquidem etiam juvenitus in scholis doctrina illa de tribus causis efficientibus, concurrentibus in conversione hominis non renati vehementer perturbata est:—denuo repetitum volumus ex supra posita explicatione, quod conversio ad Deum sit solius Spiritus sancti opus:—interim tamen praedicatione et auditu sancti verbi sui, tamquam ordinario et legitimo medio s. instrumento suo, utitur; comp. Balthasar, v. 1; vi. 26.—The words of the Suabian-Saxon Concordia (Pfaff, p. 504), and of the Torgau Book (p. 94), viz., "in the cases in which man does not lay hold of grace" (sich zur Gnaden nicht appliciret) were changed to this:—"is not made susceptible to grace by God" (von Gott zur Gnade nicht geschickt gemacht wird): Balthasar, v. 22.—In the Torgau Book (p. 96) the Melancthonian formulas: hominis voluntas in conversione non est otiosa, sed agit aliquid; item: trahit Deus, sed volentem trahit, were explained and justified as referring to the will already under the sway of the Holy Spirit; but in the Bergen Book (p. 680) they are rejected as not like, but opposed, to the form of sound doctrine: Balthasar, v. 25. Other articles were altered in the same spirit. Thus the Nurembergers complain (Hospinian., f. 88, v.), in articulo de Coena, quae in Torgensi formula bene sint determinata, in Bergensi concordia depravata esset. Chytraeus ad theol. Helmbastadienses, 27. Nov., 1582. (Epist., p. 1199): Ultiam vero hic campus, adeo speciose contra ubiquitatem declamandi, adversaria insertione quorumandam dictorum Lutheri in librum concordiae (see Torgau Book, s. 236), non patefactus esset! Quae in Torgensi archetypo non extare ipsi meminisset. And thus all traces of the Melancthonian theology were set aside, of which Chytraeus, who was
concise formula, frequently expressed, the *Epitome* was added to the Solida Declaratio.

This Bergen Book sanctioned, in twelve sections, the strict Lutheran doctrine; but it also left in a wavering state the two doctrines which had till now been undetermined. It left it uncertain whether the ubiquity of the body of Christ were absolute or not, and it did not solve the contradiction between its strict Au-

absent, afterward bitterly complained; see Schützius de Vita Chytraei, ii, 458; Chytraeus ad Aegid. Hunnium, 1591 (Epist., p. 873): *Nihil omnium, quae a me dicta, acta aut scripta essent, Jac. Andreae Aristarchus noster probabat, ita ut ne verbum quidem a me scriptum libro concordiae insit, indeque non inter auctores illius, sed subscriptores recenseri merito possim.* The authors of the Formula of Concord tried to give the matter a different aspect; comp. Chemnitz to the Senate in Lübeck, 1st July, 1577 (Bertram, Beil., s. 367): as to what, in consequence of the critical opinions sent in, had been declared, illustrated, and improved in the formula, *salva substantia, comp. p. 370.*


I. De peccato originis (where, among other things, the error of Flacius is repudiates); II. De libero arbitrio (against Synergism); III. De justitia fidei coram Deo (against Osianter); IV. De bonis operibus (bona opera esse necessaria, but not, as Major said, necessaria ad salutem; on the other hand, Amsdorf’s formula was also rejected, viz., *bona opera noxia esse ad salutem*); V. De Lege et Evangelio (against Melanchthon’s doctrine, Evangelium esse concionem poenitentiae); VI. De tertiio usu Legis (against Antinomianism); VII. De Coena Domini (against Calvin); VIII. De persona Christi; IX. De descensu Christi ad inferos; X. De ceremoniis ecclesiasticis, qua vulgo adiaphorae vocantur (against Adiaphorism); XI. De aeterna praedestinatione et elec-

On the communicatio idiomatum realis, p. 778: *Sentimus et docemus,— quod humana in Christo natura Majestatem illam acceperit, secundum rationem hypostaticae unionis, videlicet quod cum tota divinitatis plenitudine in Christo habitet, non quemadmodum in sanctis hominibus et angelis, sed corploter, ut in proprio suo corpore, etiam sua majestate, virtute, gloria, operatione in assumpta humana natura liberrime (quando et quomodo Christo visum fuerit) Iucet, et in ea, cum ea, et per eam, divinam suam virtutem, majestatem et efficaciam exercet, operetur, et perferiat. Iudeaque, quodammodo, ratione, quae anima in corpore, et ignis in ferro candente agit (comp. Chemnitz, § 88, Note 24). P. 767: *Eam vero majestatem statim in sua conceptione, etiam in utero matris habuit: sed ut Apostolus loquitur, seipsum exinanivit, samisque, ut Dr. Lutherus docet, in statu sua humilissimae secretum habuit, neque eam semper, sed quoties ipso visum fuit, usurpavit. Jam vero postquam—ut Apostolus testatur, super omnes coelos ascendit; et revera omnia implet, et ubique, non tantum ut Deus, verum etiam ut homo, praezens dominatur et regnat, a mari ad mare, et usque ad terminos terrae.* P. 784: *Ubiqueque recte dixeris: hic est Deus: ibi fateri oportet et dicere: ergo etiam Christus homo adest. Et si locum aliquem monstrares, in quo solus Deus, non autem homo esset, jam statim persona haberetur. (Brenz, § 37, Note 44.) On the other hand, it is again declared, p. 783, the—majestas, quam Christus secundum suam humanitatem accepit, ut etiam secundum illam suam assumtam naturam, et cum ea, prae-

sens esse posset, et quidem praezens sit, ubiqueque velit (after Chemnitz): *praessertim vero sentimus, eum Ecclesiae suae in terris, ut mediatorem, caput, regem et summum sacerdotem, praeuentem esse.— Et sane in hujus rei confirmationem sacram suam Coenam instituit, ut testetur, se etiam secundum eam naturam, qua carum et sanguinem
gustianist doctrine about human corruption and its assertion that the grace of God through Christ was universal.27

When this formula was now sent to the Lutheran churches for subscription, the Palgrave John Casimir (who remained attached to the Reformed, though his brother, the Elector Louis, had become Lutheran) reminded the Reformed states that, if this was accepted as the symbolical book of the Lutheran Church, its separation from the Reformed Church was forever decided. This led to the convention of the Reformed states in Frankfort-on-the-Main, September, 1577, which in vain attempted to hinder the adoption of the Formula Concordiae, and only resulted in inducing the Elector Palatine to propose the canceling of several of the hard expressions of the document.28

habet, nobiscum esse, in nobis habitare, operari, et efficacem esse valle. Baur's Dreiein-

igkeits, iii. 415.

27 The strictest Augustinianism is brought forward in the 1st and 2d sections. E. g., p. 656: Credimus, quod hominis non renati intellectus, cor, et voluntas in rebus spiritu-

alibus—ex propriis naturalibus viribus prorsus nihil intelligere, credere,—velle,—ope-

rari aut cooperari possint,—ita ut in hominis natura post iusum ante regenerationem

ne scintillula quidem spiritualium virium reliqua manserit, aut restet, quibus ille ex se

ad gratiam Dei praeparare se, aut oblatam gratiam apprehendere,—aut se ad gratiam

applicare aut accommodare—possit. Thus, p. 680, it is taught, with Luther, hominem in

conversation sua pure passive esse habere. On the other hand, in the eleventh arti-
cle, the absolute predestination, which results necessarily from that doctrine, is rejected; and it is maintained, p. 804, quod non tantum praedictatio poenitentiae, verum etiam

promissio Evangelii sit universalis, h. e. ad omnes homines pertinent. P. 808: Ut Deus

in aeterno suo consilio ordinavit, ut Spiritus sanctus electos per verbum vocet, illuminet

ateque convertat, atque omnes illos, qui Christum vera et amplexuntur, justifit, at-

que in eis aeternam salutem conferat: ita in eodem suo consilio decrevit, quod eos, qui

per verbum vocati, illud repudiant, et Spiritui sancto (qui in ipsis per verbum efficaci-
ter operari et efficac esse vult) resistunt, et obstinat in ea contumacia perseverant, in-
durare, repробare, et aeternae damnationi devovere velit. It is clear that in the will,

which lays hold of grace, there must be something good. If this comes from the influence of the Holy Spirit, which works it in some, and not in others, then the doctrine of unconditional predestination follows; but if this belongs to the natural man, then it was wrong to say before, quod homo non renatus ad gratiam applicare non possit. We here find contradictory positions, and not truths standing over against each other, as Thomasius maintains (Bekenntniss d. evang. Luther. Kirche, Nürnberg, 1848, s. 225); nor can we concede that it does not belong to the formula Concordiae as a confession, but to theology, to reconcile so; for that formula throughout contains only too much of theology. But a Confession ought not to contentation any, even seeming, contradic-
tions, for if it does it can not be received.

28 The Acta Conventus Francof. in D. Blondel Actes Authentiques des Eglises Reform-
ées touchant la Paix, à Amsterdam, 1655. 4., p. 59. Planck, vi. 691. Des Churf. v.
1577, in Struve's Pfälz. Kirchenhist., s. 313. He wishes, 1. That the appeal to the first,
altered Augsburg Confession should be changed into the Augsburg Conf. simpliciter;
2. That the name of Synergists be excluded, and also that the Osiandristes and Fascian-
ists should not be named; and that the formulas—Deus trahit, sed volentem, item homi-
nis voluntas non est otiosa, item tres sunt causae conversionis—should either be entirely
Meanwhile the formula was subscribed, in the year 1577, in Saxony, Brandenburg, Anspach, Brunswick, Grubenhagen, Lüneberg, Mecklenburg, Württemberg, Zweibrücken, Baden, Henneberg, and Mömpelgard; and also in Hamburg, Lübeck, Lüneberg, and several of the imperial cities of the Oberland. This prevented the new Assembly, convened at Tangermünde, March, 1578, from considering the changes desired by the Elector of the Palatinate. At the convention held in Smalcald, October, 1578, the authors of the Bergen Book came to an understanding with the representatives of the Palatinate so far as this, that the demand of the Elector should be met in a preface. This preface was then sketched in two conventions in Jüterbock, January and June, 1579, sanctioned by the Elector Palatine, July 31, 1579, and, after the consideration of some suggestions, entirely confirmed in the cloister of Bergen, February, 1580, so that the

omitted, or admitted with the candida interpretatio of the Torgau Book; 3. That the doctrine of the Lord's Supper should be based upon the Word of God alone, without introducing subtle disputations about ubiquity; 4. Some phrases about the majesty of Christ, where it concerns the matter in abstracto, should be omitted; 5. The expression damnamus, in respect to the Calvinists, should either be wholly avoided, or made milder.—The proposal of the English ambassador to the Elector of Saxony to give up the Formula Concordiae altogether, out of regard to the common interests of all the Reformed churches, see in Hospinianus, f. 92: from a Weimar MS. in Schneider's Biblioth. d. Kirchengesch., i. 207.


21 Instructions of the Elector August for this synod, in Hutterus, c. 21, f. 155. Memorial of the theologians, ibid., f. 168.

22 On this, see Huppe, in Niedner's Zeitschr., 1852, ii. 283. Schmalcaldischer Abschied in Struve's Pfälzische Kirchenkhist., s. 819.

23 The strict Lutherans especially criticised it, because the Frankfort Recess of 1558 ($§ 37, Note 33) is called a Christian judgment. Planck, vi. 665.

24 The rulers, in whose name the preface is prepared, confess—solam primam illam Augustanam Confessionem, Imp. Carolo V.—exhibitam.—Quod ad alteram Aug. Conf. editionem—atinet, animadverterimus,—quodam sub praetexto verborum posterioris illius editionis corruptelas in negotio Coenae, et alios errores contegere et occultare voluisse.—Nos sane nunquam posteriorum editionem in ea sententia acceptum, quae a priore illa, quae exhibita fuit,ulla ex parte disideraret. Nec etiam alia scripta utilia D. Philippo Melantheonis, neque Brentii, Urbani Regil, Pomerani et similium repudianda ac damnanda esse judicamus, quatenus cum ea norma, quae Concordiae libro expressa est, per omnia consentiunt. Quanquam autem nonnulli theologi, et in his ipse Luthe-
Elector August was able to publish the Concordia in Dresden, June 25, 1580, on the fiftieth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession. All attempts to induce Holstein, Hesse, Pomerania, Anhalt, 

rus, cum de Coena Domini agerent, invitit etiam ab adversariis ad disputationes de personali unione duarum in Christo naturarum prætracti sint; tamen theologi nostri in Concordiae libro—diserte testantur, et nostram et hujus libri sententiam constantem et perpetuam esse, pios homines in negotio Coenae dominicæ ad nulla alia fundamenta, quam verborum institutionis testamenti Domini nostri J. Chr., deducendos esse. —At vero, illa assertio nostra, et simplex verborum testamenti Christi sensus ab adversariis impugnatur—denique articulis Symboli apostolici, praestatim de Filii Dei incarnatune, ascensione in coelum, et sessione ad dexteram Omnipotentis,—contrarius et praefde etiam falsus esse contenditur, vera solidaque articulorum illorum interpretatione demonstrandum est, nostram illam sententiam nec a verbis Christi, neque ab articulis illis disidere. —Ad condemnationes—impiorum dogmatum, et cujus praestatim, quod de sacra Coena exitit, quod attinct,—non solum eam ob causam, ut universi sibi ab his damnatis dogmatibus caverent, omnino proponenda fuerant, sed ob alias etiam quasdam rationes nullo modo praetermitti potuerunt. Sic ut nequaquam consilium et institutum nostrum sit, eos homines, qui ex quadam animis implicitate errant, nec tamen blasphemi in veritatem doctrinæ coelestis sunt, multo vero minus totas Ecclesias, quae vel sub Romano Imperio nationis Germanicæ, vel alibi sunt, damnare.

"Concordia, christliche, wiederholte, einmütige Bekenntniss nach benannter Churfürsten und Stande augspurgischer Confession, etc.; Dresden, 1580." Fol., contains all the new Corpus Doctrinae: the three ecumenical creeds, the unaltered Augsburg Confession, the two Catechisms of Luther (with Luther's little book on Marriage and Baptism), and the Formula Concordiae. The Elector Palatine took offense at the book on baptism, on account of the formula for Exorcism, which had been abolished in the Palatinate; and hence this work on Baptism and Marriage was omitted in the second edition of 1580, and the following editions (Anton, ii. 19). The first Latin version of the Formula was by Lucas Osiander, and published in the Concordia (Latin); Lips., 1580. 4. It was revised by Nic. Seinecker, 1582, and still further improved in the edition of 1584; the text of the latter is retained in the later editions; see Balthasar, i. 37.

Johannsen, in Niedner's Zeitschr., 1850, s. 656.

The Upper Hessians, especially the theologians of Marburg, declared themselves ready to accept it unconditionally and at once; see Hepp's Gesch. d. Hess. Generalasynoden, i. 238; but the Landgrave William of Lower Hesse, and his Superintendent, Meier, presented a very unfavorable criticism (ibid., p. 244); and at the Convention of Treissa (Nov. 11—24, 1577), after violent discussion, the Lower Hessians carried through a decree to delay subscription for the present, and, awaiting the decision of a synod, to forbid the use of the new phrases about the two natures of Christ, the doctrine of the communicatio idiomatum, and all polemics (p. 248). This was followed by the letter of the four Landgraves to the Elector of Saxony, drawn up by the Landgrave William, declining the Formula (p. 263; App., p. 115).

The acts of the General Synods convened upon the matter in Greifswald (February, 1578) and Stettin (May, 1578), see in J. H. Balthasar's Erste Sammlung einiger zur Pommer. Kirchengesch. gehörrigen Schriften (Greifswald, 1723. 4.), s. 346. The Memorial, composed by the Superintendent Jac. Range, and adopted by the Stettin synod, are in Balthasar's Andere Sammlung, s. 116. The correspondence between Range and Chemnitz; ibid., p. 172. The consultation of the General Synod in Stettin on the preliminary matter (December, 1579), see in Erste Samml., s. 402; for the criticism of it, see Zweite Samml., s. 202.

Their judgment, Aug. 81, 1577, in Beckmann's Hist. d. Fürstenth., Append. vi. 110; see Johannsen, in Niedner's Zeitschr., 1846, s. 288.
and Zweibrücken to subscribe the Bergen Book were unsuccessful. Silesia, on account of its relation to the Emperor, had never taken any part in the negotiations about the Formula of Concord. Several of the free cities, particularly Nuremberg, Strasburg, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Spires, Worms, Magdeburg, and Nordhausen, declined to accede. And one of the most zealous promoters of the Formula, Duke Julius of Brunswick, abandoned it, upon being severely blamed by the friends of that instrument, because, from political interests, he had allowed three sons (Nov. 27, 1578) to receive Catholic consecration. After this even the

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40 Hospinianus, f. 186, 188.
42 Nuremberg, together with the Margrave of Anspach and Baireuth, in 1573 adopted as the norma doctrinae twelve documents (viz., the three ecumenical symbols, the Confessions of Luther, Augsburg Confession, Apology, Smalcald Articles, Conf. Saxoniae, Melancthon’s Loci Comm., Examen theologorum, Responsiones ad impios art. Bavariacos, Responsio de controversia Stancari, and the church order of 1533); and this declaration was to be subscribed by the clergy (Negotiations about it in Strobel’s Beiträge zur Literatur, i. 261. The declaration subscribed by the Nuremberg clergy is in Strobel’s Literargesch. v. Mel. Locis Theol., s. 288). Melancthon was highly honored in Nuremberg and in the University of Altdorf, founded by that city 1573 (Strobel’s Literargesch., s. 299); and consequently the Formula did not have many friends there. Nuremberg also resisted it, because the Bergen Book was sent to them by the Margrave of Baireuth, October, 1577, to be subscribed simpler, and thought it unseemly that, after the norma doctrinae established in 1573, they should so soon be called upon to adopt another (Altdorf. Literar. Mus., i. 213). The Nuremberg divines also urged many objections to the Bergen Book (their criticism of it, Dec. 10, 1577, see ibid., p. 229); likewise to the preliminary address (Dec. 14, 1579, in Strobel’s Literargesch., p. 297); and Nuremberg delayed its assent.

43 The Strasburg clergy, with John Pappus at their head, wished to subscribe; the Council forbade it, out of regard to their Swiss confederates. When Pappus brought the matter forward in a disputation, he became involved in a controversy with Jo. Sturmius, rector of the University, in which theologians of other places soon took part (Luc. Osandor, Steph. Gerlach, and Jac. Andreae for Pappus; Lamb. Danaeus for Sturm); see Hospinianus, f. 144; the numerous controversial writings in Feuerlini Biblioth. Symb., p. 199.

44 But the clergy of the archbishopric were obliged to subscribe; Hospinianus, f. 129.
46 C. G. H. Lentz de Causis non receptae in terris Brunsvicensibus Formulae Concordiae (Göttingische Doctordissert.) Brunsvigae, 1837. 4. Ibid.: Die Concordienformel im Herzogthum Braunschweig, in Niedner’s Zeitschr. für die histor. Theol., 1848, ii. 265.
47 The eldest, Henry Julius, was also presented, in connection therewith, as the proposed Bishop of Halberstadt; see die Univ. Helmstädter im 16ten Jahrh. v. E. L. Th. Henke, Halle, 1838, s. 15. Lentz, in Niedner’s Zeitschr., 1848, ii. 289. Many Evangelical princes and divines wrote to the Duke in very severe terms about the matter. Chemnitz, among other things, said to him (p. 292)— [...] that it conflicted with the Formula Conc. where, treating of the adiaphora, it is said that in such cases, even in what is externally indifferent, there should be no doings with public, hardened papists, etc.] —“So streitet auch das Factum wider die Formulam Concordiae, denn Titulo de adiaphora aus Gottes Wort erwieset wird, dass den öffentlichen verstockten Papisten in solchem
Helmstadt divines came to a rupture with the authors of the Formula Concordiae,\(^48\) being especially incensed about the Apology\(^49\) which the latter drew up in Erfurt (1581–82), because it declared openly in favor of absolute ubiquity;\(^50\) whereupon this

Fälle auch in äusserlichen Mitteldingen Nichts solle, noch mit gutem Gewissen können nachgeben und eingewilligt werden, und werden diese wichtigen Ursachen angezeigt, warum die Papisten den Gebrauch der Ceremonien nennen die Religion.\(^9\) And so the Duke came into conflict with those enrolled in the work of the Concordia, and was not invited to the assembly at Jüterbok, which he took much to heart. Instead of Chemnitz, the two first Helmstadt divines now became his theological advisers; Daniel Hofmann had even justified those Catholic consecrations, and Tilemann Hesshusius had at least kept silent.

\(^{48}\) The Helmstadt divines found in the Formula, now printed and sent to them, (unimportant) deviations from the copy before subscribed by them, and asked of Chemnitz explanations about them, and about the leaving out of Luther's book on Marriage and Baptism, Oct. 23, 1580; see Hutterus, p. 558.

\(^{49}\) Violent works were at once published against the Formula Concordiae, viz.: Historia der Augspurg. Confess. durch M. Ambrosium Wolfium, Neustadt a. d. Hardt, 1580. 4.; Theologorum et Ministrorum ecclesiarum in ditione Jo. Casimir Palatini Admonitio Christ. de libro Concordiae, ibid., 1581. 4. (also in German: Christl. Erinnerung vom Concordi-Buch—der Theol. und Kirchendieener in der Förstl. Pfalz bei Rhein, ibid., 1581. 4.); Der Anhaltinischen Theologen Bedenken über die Präfation des Concordienbuchs, ibid., 1581. 4.; Warhafte und christl. Verantwortung der Prediger zu Bremen—v. d. Person Christi, h. Tauf, h. Abendmal, göttl. Wahl, Ceremonien, Bremen, 1581. 4.; Chr. Irenaei (a Flacianist) Examen des ersten Artikels u. des Wirbelgeistes im neuen Concordienbuche v. d. Erbstünde, 1581. 4. On this account the Electors of the Palatinate, of Saxony, and of Brandenburg called the theologians Tim. Kirchner, Nic. Selnecker, and Mart. Chemnitz to Erfurt, near the close of the year 1581, to consult about refuting these works. Their works were sent to several of the estates to be examined, and, after their hints, were finally revised by the same divines in Brunswick, May and June, 1582. They were published under the titles: Apologia, oder Verantwortung des christl. Concordienbuchs wider der Neustädter und Anhaltischen Theologen Erinnerung, Heidelberg, 1588, fol.; Widerlegung der vermeinten Entschuldigung der Prediger zu Bremen, Heidelb., 1588, fol.; Refutatio Irenaei, gründlicher Bericht auf das Examen M. Christ. Irenki, Heidelb., 1588, fol. These three works were written by Kirchner, and the first two reprinted, with others, at Dresden, 1584, fol. To these were added the work written by Selnecker and Chemnitz: "Gründliche, wahrhaftige Historie v. d. Augab. Confession wider Ambrosii Woflf gefalschte Historiam," Leipzig, 1584, fol.

\(^{50}\) Duke Julius was aggrieved anew because the three Electors had the Apology drawn up without his aid; see the letters to the Electors of the Palatinate and of Saxony, May and August, 1582, in Hospinianus, f. 248. The conference at Quedlinburg, January, 1583, between the authors of the Apology and the Helmstadt divines, was very violent, and led to no union (Hospin., f. 247, v.). The ubiquity was a special subject of altercation. Hesshusius declared that he agreed with the Form. Conc., quod Christus omnipotentia sua divina corpore suo praesens esse posuit, ubiqueque vult (l. c., f. 250, v.), but rejected the absolute ubiquity. In the same sense the Helmstadt divines expressed themselves to Duke Julius (see the letter of June, 1584, in Chr. v. Schmidt-Phiseldeck's Repertorium der Gesch. u. Staatsverfassung v. Teutschland, Abth. 8., Halle, 1794, s. 280). They concede [that the Formula contains expressions which the advocates of ubiquity interpret in their sense, but claim that this interpretation is counter to the plain intent of the document] (s. 285): "dass in der Form. Conc. solche Reden stehen, welche die, so die ubiquitatem statuiren, vor sich deuten, wir aber vermeine des kundbaren vor-sätzlichen und eigenlichen Intents der Form. Conc. denselben Verstand vor fremd halten." Then they remark upon what is found in a letter of the Duke [that some of his
Formula was dropped in Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (although it had been previously subscribed there), and the Corpus Doctrinae Julium alone retained.\(^{51}\)

Outside of Germany the Formula Concordiae was adopted in Prussia,\(^{52}\) though not in the cities of Danzig and Elbingen;\(^{53}\) but it was decisively rejected by the King of Denmark.\(^{64}\)

§ 41.

GERMAN REFORMED CHURCHES.


The Philippists, repulsed as Calvinists by the Formula of Concord, and incensed by the new doctrine about the ubiquity of Christ's body, would naturally feel attracted to fellowship with councilors are trying to persuade him to give up the Form. Conc. sub prætextu ubiquitätis, and also to entice them to do the same] (s. 289): "wie etliche E. F. G. Rathe, politici und theologi, am Hof mit aller Macht dahin arbeiten, wie sie E. F. G. von der einmal angenommenen u. neben Chur. u. Fürsten unterschriebenen Formula Concordiae sub prætextu ubiquitätis mogen wenig u. abfällig machen, und hierzu unsern consens gern herauslocken wollten;" but they will hold fast to the Formula, and advise the Duke to do the same. [Comp. C. A. Wilkens, Hesshusius, Leips., 1869.]

\(^{81}\) In his Church Service of 1569 Duke Julius had already declared the three Oecumenical Symbols—the Augsburg Confession and Apology, the Smalcald Articles, and the Catechisms and other works of Luther—to be the Corpus Doctrinae (Rehtmeyer's Braunsch. Kirchengist, iii. 387). This Corpus doctrinae Julium (to which was added Urbani Regli Tract. de Formuliscauteloquendi) was printed anew in 1576 with the Church Service (Rehtmeyer, iii. 423), and alone remained valid (Lentz, in Niedner’s Zeitschr., 1848, s. 804). In this the ubiquity was set aside; see § 55, Note 24.—That this separation from the Concordia was chiefly the work of Hesshusius, see Henke's Univ., Helmstädt, s. 48.

\(^{82}\) By all the clergy, but not by the Königsberg professors; Hartknoch’s Preuss. Kirchengist, s. 487.

\(^{83}\) On Danzig, Hartknoch, s. 728; on Elbing, s. 1010.

\(^{84}\) Letter of Queen Elizabeth of England to King Frederick II. of Denmark, touching the Formula Concordiae, October 24, 1577 (in Hutter, f. 140, v., and from a Weimar MS. in Schneider’s Biblioth. d. Kirchengesch., i. 220). Letters sent by the King, with the above, to his brother-in-law, the Elector of Saxony, and his reply (in Hutter, f. 140, v. f. 141, v.). The King wrote to the Landgrave, William of Hesse, February 8, 1581, with strong animadversions upon the Form. Conc. (in Gerdesii Hist. Ref., T. iii. praef., and in Schneider, i. 225), and stating that he had forbidden it in his estates: "And that, since it was only just that rulers should live according to their laws, we took the two printed Exemplaria, beautifully and nobly bound as they were, which our dear and friendly sister, the Electress of Saxony, not long since sent to us, as soon as we got them, and threw them into a good chimney-fire and burned them up."
the Calvinistic churches, which were opened to them without the demand of any change in doctrine. The destiny of these churches in the different countries where they were established was, however, dependent upon the personal views, relations, and inclinations of their rulers. In the Palatinate, after the death of Louis VI., in 1583, the Calvinistic order was re-established by his brother, John Casimir, the guardian of the youthful Frederick IV.; and, as the two communions could not live together in peace, the Lutheran Church was obliged to yield. In Nassau, Melanthonianism was firmly established by the theologians Widebram and Pezel, expelled from Wittenberg in 1574; and a decided Confession of Faith was set forth, in opposition to the Formula of Concord, in 1578. The alliance of the reigning family with


2 See § 38, Note 41. To them were added, from 1576, several preachers driven from the Palatinate by Louis VI.; see J. H. Steubing's Kirchen- u. Reformationsgesch. d. Oranien-Nassauischen Lande, Hadamar, 1804, s. 105.

3 At a synod at Dillenburg; see Steubing, p. 107. Among other things, p. 111 [The ubiquity is a monster unknown to the old Church and the Word of God. Though in the first Confession handed in to Charles V., Art. X., papal transubstantiation was contained, yet it was afterward rejected by all the teachers and the author of the Confession, etc.]: "Die Ubiquität oder Allenthalbenheit des Leibes Christi ist als ein Ungeheuer der alten Kirche und Gottes Wort unbekannt.—Obwohl in der ersten Confession, dem Kaiser Carl. V. überreicht, im 10ten Artikel die päpstische Transubstantiation stehen geblieben (see § 36, Note 32)—so ist sie doch nachmals von allen Lehrern der Augeb. Confession verworfen, und vom Authore Confess. aus gutem Bedachtnic nicht allein verändert im 10ten Artikel, wo päpstischer Weis geredet worden war, sondern auch aus der Apologie der Canon Missae und Bulgarii Spruch, quod pane mutato ipsum corpus Christi fiat, etc., ganz ausgelassen worden. Diese recognita exemplaria sind nachher auf allen colloquis und Reichtagen von den Evangel. Ständen übergeben worden." P. 118, the ceremonies are enumerated which were to be done away with. At Baptism, 1. The sign of the cross; 2. Questions are not to be addressed to the children, but to the sponsors; 3. Baptism in emergency and by women. At the Lord's Supper: 1. Lights and candles; 2. Robes worn at mass, the alba and cope; 3. Altars to be exchanged for tables; 4. The face of the minister to be turned to the congregation; 5. No napkins to be held under the communicants. 6. It is not wrong to receive the consecrated bread with the hand; 7. The host done away; bread is to be broken. Besides this: 1. Confirmation was abolished, but examination in the Catechism, and making confession of faith before the first communion, were retained; 2. Auricular confession was abolished, but special preparation for the Lord's Supper enjoined; 8. Abuses in respect to rites at marriages, to the blessing of women in childbirth, and to burials, were done away with; 4. So, too, Latin hymns and organs; 5. Preachers are no longer to be restricted to the Sunday's Gospels and Epistles; 6. The bowing of the knee at the name of Jesus is left to Christian freedom; and, 7. The same with kneeling and other external forms in prayer. Abolished were: 8. Apostles' and Saints' days; 9. Pictures and images; and, 10. Crucifixes to be taken from the churches. At the end it is said that "the Hessian Emendation has also given an example to the princes of this land." [This Emendation was now so much the more needed on account of the intrigues of papists and Jesuits, and because for some years foreign envoys have come and gone from France and Holland;
the Netherlands helped in making an entire transition to Calvinism, by the adoption of the Heidelberg Catechism, 1582, and the Church Service of Holland in 1586. The neighboring counties, Wittgenstein, Solms-Braunfels, Sayn, Isenburg, and Wied, united with them. In Bremen, where the Philippist party had the upper hand in the Council, the new excitement aroused by the efforts to introduce the Formula of Concord led to the calling of Widebram and Pezel, and ended in the adoption of Calvinistic usages, and the deposition of the strict Lutheran clergy, 1581. And so Bremen, in hostility with the Lutheran archbishops, whose jurisdiction was disputed, and in conflict with its Lutheran neighbors, after the Hanse league in 1613 had become allied with the United Netherlands, became openly connected with the Calvinistic communion. The numerous citizens who remained Lu-

because the Evangelicals stumbled at the superstitions that remained; and every church has Christian freedom about external ordinances, as was allowed in the Frankfort Re
cess, and used in the Palatinate and Hesse. And yet they would not separate wholly from the Augsburg Confession, etc.] "Diese Emendation war itzt um so nöthiger, weil
die Papisten und besonders die Jesuiten gar versteckt unsere Leute an sich zu ziehen
suchten, und weil etliche Jahre her ein gross Auf- und Abziehen von fremden Gesand-
ten u. andern Gästen aus Frankreich und Niederlanden gewesen, so dass Evangelische
sich an den noch hier übriggewesenen abergläubischen Ceremonien ärgerten.— und hat
ejede Kirche christliche Freiheit, die äusserlichen Satzungen nach Gelegenheit anzuoord-
nen.— Diese christliche Freiheit wird auch im Frankfurtschen Abschied (§ 37, Note 33)
den Evangelischen Ständen belassen, und schon haben sich ihrer Pfalz und Hessen be-
dient. — Derewogen folgt auch nicht, dass man sich von der Augsb. Confession gänzlich
trennen wolle, ob man wol etliche Ceremonien, so bei etlichen andern Ständen der
Augsb. Confession gehalten werden, geändert hat." The Reformed Academy of Her-
born was founded by Count John the Elder, of Nassau-Dillenburg, in 1584.

6 Steubing, s. 155, 171, 189.
7 Steubing, s. 170. J. St. Reck, Gesch. d. grafl. u. forstl. Häuser Isenburg, Runkel,
Wied, Weimar, 1825, 4, s. 187. On the other hand, Nassau-Weilburg, -Usingen, -Sear-
8 Up to this time no controversy about the faith had been tolerated. The Philippist
preacher, Franz Franke, and his strict Lutheran colleague, Stephen Ziegenhagen, when
they got into a controversy about the Lord's Supper in 1565, were both of them de-
posed (J. H. Duntze's Gesch. d. freien Stadt Bremen, Bd. 3, Bremen, 1848, s. 359).—
Jod. Glanaeus, pastor of St. Anschar, was zealous for the Formula of Concord; Pezel
and Widebram were invited to oppose him; and he, with two preachers of kindred sen-
timents, was deposed (Duntze, iii. 412). Pezel became pastor of St. Anschar in 1568,
and superintendent in 1599 (Duntze, iii. 410). In 1580 the altars, and 1586 pictures,
were removed from the churches (Duntze, iii. 497 sq.). But the theologians of Bremen,
in their controversial writings with the strict Lutherans, constantly disavowed the name
of Calvinists. As late as 1590 was published: "Ausführliche, wahrhafte und bestän-
dige Erzählung, was von dem heil. Nachtmal Jesu die Lehre derjenigen eigentl. sey,
die man unbefugt Calvinisch nennen."
therean were for a long time obliged to frequent the neighboring 

churches, until Archbishop Frederick, Prince of Denmark, re-

opened for Lutheran worship, in 1638, the cathedral church, 

which had remained closed since the deposal of Hardenberg.9

Electoral Saxony, too, was on the point of being carried over to 

Calvinism10 by the Chancellor, Nicholas Krell, under Christian I., 

the brother-in-law of the Palgrave John Casimir, and the suc-

cessor of the Elector August, who died in 1586; but this second 

Saxon Crypto-Calvinism was again and at once rooted out with 

the greatest strictness, after the death of Christian I., in 1581, 

under the regency of Duke Frederick William of Saxon Alten-

burg.11 Equally transient was the introduction of Calvinism into 

Baden by the Margrave Ernst Frederick, the brother of the 

Margrave Jacobus (1509-1604),12 who became a Catholic.

In spite of all the violent attacks of Philippism, Anhalt remain-
ed steadfast; and the marriage of Prince John George with a 

daughter of the Palgrave John Casimir was soon followed (1596) 

by the adoption of the Church Service of the Palatinate.13 In
Hesse-Cassel the Landgrave Maurice, after the death of his uncle, Louis IV., obtained half of Upper Hessa, in addition to Lower Hessa; and he then showed his intention of going over to Calvinism by his three points for the improvement of the Church.\(^{14}\)

Calvinism; and John Arndt, who was deposed from his ministry in Badenborn because he would not give up exorcism, considered himself as driven off by the Calvinists; Scharff, Supplementum Historiae Litigis Arndianae, Wittenb., 1727, p. 21. Joh. Arndt, ein biograph. Versuch von F. Arndt, Berlin, 1838, s. 28. In the “Taufbßchle für die Kirchen im Fürstenth. Anhalt,” 1690. 4., more proof of this was detected, and many works were issued against it, and against the Amlingites (the Anhaltines being so called from their leader, the Superintendent Wolfgang Amling of Zerbst). In 1596, pictures, Latin hymns, priestly vestments at mass, and surplices, lights at the Lord’s Supper and altars, were abolished; bread was substituted for the wafer; and the Heidelberg Catechism introduced instead of Luther’s; see Beckmann, vi. 134. On the numerous controversial writings between the Anhaltines and the Wittenbergers, see ibid., 140.\(^{16}\)

Dr. H. Heppe, die Einführung der Verbesserungspuncte in Hessen von 1004-1610, Kassel, 1849. The three points are there given, p. 15 \[1. No disputation about the person of Christ; say, in concrete, “Christ is everywhere,” and not, in abstracto, “the humanity of Christ is everywhere;” 2. The Ten Commandments to be learned, as God himself wrote them down; pictures to be taken down; 3. In the Supper, the bread to be broken\]: 1. Dass die gefährlichen und unerbaulichen Disputationes und Streit von der Person Christi eingezogen, und von der Allenthalbenheit Christi und was derselben anhängig in concrete, als: “Christus ist allenthalben,” und nicht in abstracto: “die Menschheit Christi ist allenthalben,” gelehr; 2. Dass die zehn Gebote Gottes, wie sie der Herr selbst geredet, mit seinen eigenen Fingern auf die steinernen Tafeln, und von Möse in der Bibel geschrieben, gelehr und gelernt; und die noch vom Papstthum an etlichen Orten überbliebenen Bilder abgethan; 3. Dass in der Administration und Gebräuch des heil. Abendmahls, das gesegnete Brot nach der Einsetzung des Herrn soll gebrochen werden.” Maurice asserted that he did not propose any changes in religious matters (p. 22), and particularly not to introduce Calvinism (p. 96); the Augsburg Confession and Apology, the Hessian Church Service, and the Concordia Buceri (Conc. Vitsebergense, 1536, see Div. I., § 7, Note 29), were to be retained; images were to be forbidden, as God himself had enjoined, and he, as ruler of the land, must do this (p. 69); he must seek to promote the weal of the Church in every way (p. 70), in virtue of the jus episcopale, which L. Philip had obtained by peaceful agreement with the Elector of Mayence (1528, see Kopp, Nachr. v. d. Verf. d. geistl. und Civilgerichte in Hessen, i. 107. App., No. 46, renewed 1552; Joannis Rer. Mogunt., i. 858). The General Synod in Cassel, April, 1607, drew up a corresponding Confession of Faith (p. 71), which was essentially Philippistic, but went beyond Melancthon in denying that the body of Christ was received by unbelievers (p. 77). It is very characteristic of the Philippist divines, who came to Marburg in place of the dismissed Lutherans, that in a memorial addressed to the Landgrave in 1568, while declaring the Heidelberg Catechism to be the best, they advised against its introduction into the Paedagogium of Marburg. For [the reform has been most hindered by the fact that the Giessnem divers have led the people to believe that it was intended to lead to the introduction of this very Catechism, which they had always denied] es habe “das christliche Verbesserungswerk bisher nichts so sehr aufgehalten, dann die von den Giessnern dem Volk tief eingebildete Opinion, es stecke was Anders dahinter, nemlich der Heidelberghische Katechismus, u. werd also dann es bei diesen Verbesserungspuncten nicht bleiben. Dawider man gleichwohl allzeit protestirt, und zu Ableinung dessen unsere Confession und Katechismum edirt hat. Sollte man nun den Heidelberghischen Katechismum allhier im Paedagogio einführen, würd dadurch unsere vielfältige Protestation und Ableinung geschwächt, und der schwere und hinderliche Verdacht im Volk mächtig gestärkt.” (See Heppe’s Beiträge zur Gesch. u. Statistik des Hess. Schulwesens im 17. Jahrh., Kassel, 1860, s. 108.)
Lower Hessia readily adopted the change; but in Upper Hessia and the other parts of the land Lutheranism could not be suppressed.\textsuperscript{15}

The change of the Elector of Brandenburg, John Sigismund, to Calvinism, in 1614, was at first only a personal matter;\textsuperscript{16} but the example of the prince was not without its influence,\textsuperscript{17} and he endeavored to introduce his principles into the whole church of his land.\textsuperscript{18} Although he and his successors did not make any

\textsuperscript{15} The testament of the Landgrave of Upper Hessia, Louis IV., who died 1604, in Rommel's Neuere Gesch. v. Hessen, i., 72, divided Upper Hessia between Hesse-Cassel and Hesse-Darmstadt, but declared [that his subjects, preachers, etc., must be left in the enjoyment of their religion, as held at the time of his decease]: "Wir—wollen ihnen auch hiermit bei Verlust desjenigen, so ihnen hierin verordnet, und sie von Uns zu erben haben, unerlegt und anbevohlen haben, dass sie Unsere gehorsame Unterthänigen bei unserer wahren Religion,—und dan Unsere Superintendenten, Pfarrher und Prediger, so zu Zeit Unsers Absterben sein werden, in ihrem Beruf und Lehr bleiben, und darvon nicht abweisen oder verdringen lassen." Louis Maurice, after the division of the land, took possession of his half. L. Louis V. of Hesse-Darmstadt protested at first against the testament, but afterward declared that L. Maurice had forfeited his part, according to the terms of the will, by his ecclesiastical innovations, took the part of the theologians expelled from Marburg, and in 1607 founded the University of Giessen (Rommel, ii. 147). Attaching himself to the Emperor, he procured, in 1623, a judgment from the Imperial Council declaring that L. Maurice had forfeited his half of Upper Hesse by his innovations (Rommel, ii. 219); the country was attacked by Tilly, and taken possession of by Darmstadt. From this time Cassel fought for Sweden, and Darmstadt for the Emperor. The heroic Landgravine, Amelia, in the treaty of union made at Cassel, April 14, 1648, received at least the smaller half of Upper Hesse, instead of Hesse-Cassel (Rommel, iv. 764). Lutheranism, again established there under the Darmstadt rule, remained un molested, according to the principles declared in the Peace of Westphalia.

\textsuperscript{16} See D. H. Hering's Hist. Nachricht v. d. ersten Anfang der Evang. Ref. Kirche in Brandenburg unter Joh. Sigismund, Halle, 1778. The Elector issued an edict, 24th February, 1614 (in Mylius, Corp. Const. March., i. 853), in which he forbade "unnecessary strife and disputations in the pulpit," especially against other churches; and enjoined upon the preachers "to declare God's Word simply and purely, according to the apostolic and prophetical Scriptures, the five chief symbols, the Catechism, and the Apologies for the same, without any falsification, and without any invented glosses and new formulas of doctrine of idle, hair-splitting, and proud theologians." In May, 1614, followed the Confessio Fidei Joh. Sigismundi, in Hering, Append., s. 1, and in Niemeyer, Coll. Conf. Ref., p. 642.

\textsuperscript{17} Comp. the letter of some of the nobles (who at once joined him) to the Elector, in Fortges. Sammlung v. alten u. neuen theolog. Sachen, 1746, s. 826.

\textsuperscript{18} To the statutes of the theological faculty in Frankfort-on-the-Oder, he added, 1616 (Hering, s. 825): Notum facimus, Nos, posteaquam Ubiquitatis dogmate Ecclesiae Dei misere imponi, et veteres revocari haereseis, pridem in Synodis Chalcedonensi et Ephesina damnatas, inprimis pigmentis realis communicationis idiomatum divinorum carni assumptae factae, Aril, veterem et novorum Photinianorum forver cansam reprehendi mus,—dogma illud toto pectore destastri. Offici itaque Nostri duximus, illud a Scholis et Ecclesiae Nostri prohibere.—Mandamus vero severe, orthodoxam de Filio Dei doctrinam juxta oraculam sacra et symbola, Patrumque scripta puriora, a Lutheru puriore et orthodoxo, et a Phil. Melanchthono nervose et solide traditam summo studio addisci, atque in scholis et Ecclesiae doceri: sentinam etiam Pontificium de orali manudicatione
changes in it, yet a deeply-rooted mistrust on the part of the Lutherans, as to the ecclesiastical measures adopted by their princes of the Reformed faith, could not be extirpated. The Duke of Mecklenburg Güstrow, Hans Albrecht II., who went over to the Calvinists in 1618, encountered such opposition from his brother and the estates that he could hardly succeed in having church service according to the Reformed ritual even for himself. After his death, in 1636, his son Gustavus Adolphus, then three years of age, was taken from his mother by force to be educated in the Lutheran faith.

All these German churches, which came into fellowship with the Calvinists, professed that they did not wish to separate themselves from the Augsburg Confession, nor to be Calvinistic. In

carnis Christi omni plane Scripturae testimonio destitutam aversamur, atque ex scholis atque Ecclesiae Nostris eliminatum volumus una cum libro illo, quem vocant Concordiae formulam, qui horribilia ista dogmata contra Scripturam sacram canonisare voluit, et Ecclesiae atque scholis obtrusit. Sufficiat scholis atque Ecclesiae Nostris juxta Bibliam sacra et Symbols, atque Confessionem Augustanam Corpus doctrinae a Philippo traditum, ad cuius normam Ecclesiaram atque scholarum Professores et Ministri esse component non sine fructu publico. The theological Faculty, then consisting only of the Philippist, Christopher Pelargus, General Superintendent of the electoral Mark (on him, see Hering, p. 188), and John Heidenreich, accepted this at once, but were henceforth regarded as Reformed, and the clergy of the Mark were now educated in Wittenberg.

Several of the Lutheran clergy were at once deposed on account of their violent calumnies against Calvinism; but the prohibition of the Elenchus nominalis was generally considered as a violation of the freedom of the Church; comp. Hering, p. 241. No less excitement was aroused by the ordinance of 1624, under the Elector George William, that the pastors "should in no wise refuse, in case any one desired his child to be baptized without exorcism" (Hering's Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Evang. Ref. Kirche in d. Preussisch Brandenb. Ländern, i. 123). That the Reformed theologians had it in mind to make the Lutheran Church of the land like their own doctrines and ceremonies, appears from a memorial of the Frankfort theological Faculty to the Elector George William, 1633, on a projected church visitation; Fortges. Sammlung von alten u. neuen theol. Sachen, 1728, s. 27; Hering's Beitr., i. 132.

Franck's Altes u. Neues Mecklenburg, xii. 176, xiii. 188. J. Wigger's Kirchengesch. Mecklenburgs (Parchim u. Ludwigslust, 1840), s. 175, 180.

Comp. the Heidelburg Catechism on Election, § 35, Note 67. The Anhalt Confession of 1579 (see Note 18) adduces, after Melanchthon, tres causa concurrentes in conversion, and emphatically maintains that "Christ did not come to save only some, but the whole human race, which was corrupt." The Cassel Confession, 1607 (Hepp's Einführung der Verbesserungspuncte, s. 74): "Gleichergestalt von dem hohen Geheimnis der ewigen Gnadenwahl glauben und lehren wir Alles, was davon in der Bibel geschrieben, und ausserdem glauben und lehren wir nichts davon; enthalten uns auch der harten Reden, so etwa von Andern geführt, und den Einfältigen zur Verzweiflung oder fleischlichen Sicherheit Anlass geben möchten." [We teach on election all that is in the Bible, and nothing else; and avoid all harsh speeches, which lead the simple to despair or carnal security.] Their confession is [the same with that of Luther in the preface to the Epistle to the Romans, where he says that Paul, in the 9th, 10th, and 11th chapters, teaches that it depends upon the eternal purpose of God who shall believe and who not, and so it is taken out of our hands and put in God's hand alone. And this is in the highest degree needful; for we are so weak that, if it depended on us, no man would be
their doctrine they were Philippistic, and were generally called Reformed churches. This ecclesiastical division was also, with the princes, followed by political separations; for the unlicensed polemics of their divines aroused among the Lutheran people a bitter hatred against the other party; and this, too, was trans-

saved. But, as God's purpose can not fail, nor any one escape it, we have hope against sin], "dasjenige, was Herr Lutherus in der—Vorrede über die Episteln an die Römer—gathan, und—welches also lautet: Am 9. 10. u. 11. Capitel lehrt er (Paulus) von der ewigen Vorsehung Gottes, daher er ursprünglich fleisset, wer glauben oder nicht glau-

ben soll, von Sünden los oder nicht los werden kann, damit es ja gar aus unsern Hän-

den genommen, und allein in Gottes Hand gestellt sei, dass wir fromm werden. Und 

das ist auch aufs Allerhöchste nöthig. Denn wir sind so schwach und ungewiss, dass, 

wenn es bei uns stünde, würde freilich kein Mensch selig, der Teufel würde sie gewiss 

alle überwältigen. Aber nun Gott gewiss ist, dass ihm sein Vorsorgen nicht fehlet, noch 

Jemand ihm wehren kann, haben wir noch Hoffnung wider die Sünde." Confessio Joh. 

Sigismundi, 1614 (Hering's hist. Nachricht, App., s. 14): "Dass Gott der Allmächtige 

aus pur lauter Gnaden u. Barmherzigkeit—zum ewigen Leben verordnet und auserwäh-

let hat alle so an Christum beständig glauben, wisse auch und erkenne gar wohl die 

Seinen, und wie er sie von Ewigkeit gelliebet, also schenkt er auch ihnen aus lauter Gnade 

den rechenschaften wahren Glauben, u. kräftige Beständigkeit bis ans Ende.—So 

hab auch Gott nach seiner strengen Gerechtigkeit alle, die an Christum nicht glauben, 

von Ewigkeit übersehen, denselben das ewige höllische Feuer bereitet.—Nicht dass er 

nicht alle wolle selig haben, denn das Widerspiel durchaus in d. heil. Schrift zu finden 

ist, sondern dass die Ursach der Sünde und des Verderbens allein bei dem Satan und in 

den Gottlosen zu suchen, welche wegen ihres Unglaubens und Ungehorsams von Gott 

zum Verdammniss verstossen. Item, dass an niemands Seligkeit zu zweifeln, so lang 

die Mittel zur Seligkeit gebrauchet werden, weil allen Menschen unwissend, zu welcher 

Zelt Gott die Seinen kräftiglich berufe, wer künstig glauben werde oder nicht." [In 

substance: God ordained and elected all who believe in Christ to eternal life, and knows 

them that are his, and loved them from eternity, and of pure grace gives to them true 

faith and perseverance.—So, too, in his strict justice, he passed by from eternity those 

who do not believe.—Not that he would not have all to be saved; for the cause of sin 
is in Satan and the godless alone. Item, we are not to despair of any one's salvation so 

long as the means can be used, since no one knows when God may call his own, etc.— 

Among the opinions were these [that God elects on account of foreseen faith—which is 

Pelagian; also, that he condemns absolutely, and not on account of sin]: "Dass Gott 

propter fidem praevisam, wegen des Glaubens, so Er zuvor ersehen, etliche auserwähl-

habe, welches Pelagianisch; dass er dem meisten Theil die Selligkeit nicht gönne, wel-

chen er absolute, bloehin, ohne eine Ursach, auch nicht wegen der Sünde, verdammet, 
da doch der gerechte Gott niemand zur Verdammniss beschlossen, denn wegen der Sünde, 

und derwegen der Rathschluss der Verwerfung zur Verdammniss nicht ein absolutum de-

cretum, ein freier lediger Rathschluss, zu achten." Among the Reformed of the Mark 

it was disputed, 1712 sq., whether this Confession taught gratis universalis or particu-

laris (Hering's Hist. Nachricht, p. 129); but it is obviously opposed to Calvin's modes 
of statement.

22 Thus it was objected to the Calvinists, in the controversial work of the time (He-

ring, p. 39), that their God was more like the devil than the true God; that they agreed 

with the Arians, Nestorians, the Turks, etc.; that their doctrine was worse than the 
papists', yes, than the devil's doctrine. Comp. the memorial of the divines of Electoral 

Saxony, 1694, Div. I., § 11, Note 39; Polycarp Leyser's (court preacher in Dresden, 
† 1610) Calvinismus, d. i. eine Erklärung des Catechismi M. Lutheri in 8 Predigten also 
gefasset, dass darinnen einfältig geweiset wird, in welchen Stücken desselben die Cal-

vinisten mit uns streitig seyn, und denselben verfälschen wollen, Leipzig, 1695. There
PART II.—CHAP. I.—LUTHERANISM. § 42. DOCTRINAL RESULTS. 501

ferred to their external differences, even when these were conceded to be unessential. The political imbecility of the German Protestants was the inevitable consequence of this state of things.

§ 42.

FINAL STATEMENTS OF THE LUTHERAN DOCTRINE.

The two dogmas, that had not been completely settled even in the Formula Concordiae, soon received a more definite shape in the course of the controversial discussions. Since, as against the Calvinists, the universality of divine grace was always insisted upon with special emphasis,1 Samuel Huber, professor in Witten-

it is preached to the people, fol. 235: "Welches gottseliges Herz kann doch mit einem solchen Lastermaul, das mit so vielfältiger falscher Lehr beschmutzt ist, wie wir bisher von den Calvinisten gehört haben, Fried und Freundschaft halten? Es wäre noch ja so bald mit den Papisten eine Einigkeit zu treffen, als mit den Calvinisten, dann dieselben kaum mehr unsern Catechismum haben, als die Calvinisten, wie solches in ander Wege geweiset worden." Dav. Parei (professor in Heidelberg) Irenicum, Heidelberg, 1614. 4., p. 126: Tanta est quorumdam adversa partis Theologorum, necio κακοφθεία dicam, an ἀδικωτηρia hoc tempore, ut potiuscum Papistis, capitallibus Evangelii hostibus, contra reformatas Ecclesias, quam cum his adversus Papistas syncretismum faciendum, familiariter conversandum, societatem condendum, plusque Papistis, quam Calvinistis, quos vocare solent, palam scribere, suisque suadere non erubescant. He then cites sixteen articles in which the doctrine of the Calvinists is most grossly perverted by the Lutherans.

1 Thus in the colloquy set on foot by Duke Frederick of Württemberg, 1586, in Mompelgard, between Jac. Andreae and Theod. Beza, see Acta Colloqui Montisbellgardensis, Tubing., 1567, and Witteberg., 1613. 4. Here it was maintained by Andreae, p. 413: Quod Deus salvandos non modo praesciverit, sed etiam ab aeternoelegerit, et ad vitam aeternam praedestinaverit; and, quod salvandorum apud Deum certussitnumerus. On the other hand, he rejects as an error the doctrine, p. 414: Deum reprobos nondum natos nullo indignitatis respectu exitio destinasse, et quosdam ad justum judicium a Deo conditos esse. This is still the illogical stand-point of the Formula Concordiae, as is clearly shown by Beza ad Acta Colloqui Montisbellgardensis Tubingae edita Responsio (Partes ii., Genev., 1588), ii. 158. In the Electoral Visitations Articles of 1592, Art. 4 (comp. § 41, Note 11), the pure and true doctrine is thus set forth [1. Christ died for all; — 2. God created no one to damnation,—commands all to hear Christ in the Gospel, and thus promises power and grace for salvation; 3. That many men are condemned by their own fault, who either will not hear Christ, or fall from grace through error as to what is fundamental, or by sin against conscience; 4. That all sinners who repent are accepted:] "1. Dass Christus vor alle Menschen gestorben;— 2. Dass Gott niemand zur Verdammniss geschaffen,—befehliget allen, dass sie seinen Sohn Christum in dem Evangelio hören sollen, und verheisset dadurch Kraft und Wirkung der hell. Geistes zur Bekehrung u. Seligkeit; 3. Dass viel Menschen durch ihre eigene Schuld verdammten werden, die entweder das Evangelium von Christo nicht hören wollen, oder aus der Gnade wieder ausfallen durch Irthum wider das Fundament, oder durch Sünde wider das Gewissen; 4. Dass alle Stunden, so Busse thun, zu Gnaden angenommen werden." On the other hand, the false and erroneous doctrine of the Calvinists is thus given [1. Christ
berg, 1592–94, thought that this position could be reconciled with the Augustinian doctrine of original sin only by the assumption that God had elected all men to salvation. Thus he gave the occasion, made use of by his colleague, Aegidius Hunnius, for that development of the doctrine, afterward generally accepted, according to which the decisive factor in election or rejection remained on the side of the unrenewed man.

died only for the elect; 2. That God created the larger part of men for damnation, and will not that they be converted and saved; 3. That the elect can not lose faith and the Holy Ghost and be condemned, however many and great crimes they may commit; 4. That the non-elect must be damned, and can not be saved though they be baptized a thousand times, and daily go to the Supper, and live as holy as possible: "1. Dass Christus nicht für alle Menschen, sondern allein vor die Auserwählten gestorben sey; 2. Dass Gott den meisten Theil derer Menschen zum ewigen Verdammniss geschaffen, und wolle nicht haben, dass sie bekehret und selig werden; 3. Dass die Auserwählten und Neugeborenen nicht können den Glauben und heil. Geist verlieren und verdammt werden, wenn sie gleich allerlei grosse Sünde und Laster begehen; 4. Die, so nicht erwähnet sind, müssen verdammt werden, und können nicht zur Selligkeit kommen, wenn sie gleich tausendmal getauft werden, u. täglich zum Abendmal gingen, auch so heilig u. unstraflich lebten, als es immer möglich." 3

Comp., on this controversy, J. A. Schmidli Diss. de Sam. Huberi Vita, Fatis et Doctrina, Helmst., 1708. 4.; J. G. Walch's Religionsstreitigkeiten der Evang. Luth. Kirche, i. 176. The literature is in Walchii Biblioth. Theol., ii. 646. Huber, when a preacher in the Canton of Berne, was already a decided opponent of Calvinism, and developed his peculiar views. He was deposed in Berne (1588) in consequence of a disputation with Beza, and then became a Lutheran preacher in Württemberg, where he also aroused distrust, though he did not openly avow his opinions till he came to Wittenberg. After his deposition (1594) he lived in different places, and died in Osterwieck in 1624.

3. Beständige Bekanntsuss Dr. Sam. Huber's, Ursel, 1595. 4. [God, through his Son, not only elected some, but, as he is a common Saviour, he elected and ordained all men to salvation.—When this general grace is offered to men they divide themselves into two classes. The one follow the call, and receive through faith that to which they were elected; the other and larger class will not hear the Gospel, or despise it. All impenitent sinners belong to this class, and they are all eternally condemned]: "So bekenn ich, dass Gott durch diesen seinen Sohn nicht nur einen Ausschluss auserlesen und erwählt habe, sondern wie Christus ein gemeiner Heiland ist,—also habe auch Gott alle Sünden, nämlich alle Menschen durch diesen seinen Sohn erwählt und verordnet zum Leben, Heil u. Selligkeit.—Derbei so glaube und bekenn ich, dass wenn nun solches allgemein Gnadenwerk Gottes über alle Menschen an den Menschen kommt, gelebret, verkündigt und gepredigt wird, dass sich allida die Menschen durch Glaube und Unglaube theilen in zwen Haufen. Der eine Haufen folget,—und bekommt also durch den Glauben dasjenig, darzu er erwählt ist in Christo.—Der ander Hauf, u. leider der gro estate Hauf, will das Evangelium nicht hören, oder wenn er es gleich höret, so verachtet er es.—Derhalben dieser Haufe, darunter alle unbussfertige Sünden stehen,—die weil sie nicht annehmen, was ihnen durch Christum erworben und geordnet war, so werden sie alle zu Hauf mit einander verlohren und verdammt, und wie sie im Unglau ben sterben, also werden sie auch ewiglich verdammt und verlohren." His error consisted in teaching universal election instead of universal grace. Comp. Beschelleichtliche Antwort auf das kurze—Bekenntniss Dr. Sam. Huber's—gestellet durch die theol. Facultät zu Wittenberg, Frankf. a. M., 1596. 4.; Actorum Huberianorum P. i. ii., published by the Württemberg divines, Tübingen, 1597. 4.

* Aeg. Hunnii Tract. de Providentia Dei et aeterna Praedestinatione, s. Electione.
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The theologians of Giessen adopted the view that there was in Christ, in his state of humiliation, and as to his human nature, a ἐκνωσίς ἰδιότατον δινυρον (an emptying of, or parting with the divine properties—the advocates of this doctrine were called Kenotists). The divines of Tübingen maintained, in opposition,
orum Dei ad salutem, Francof., 1597 (Opp., i. 653). See his Opp., i. 809: Duplex est auditus, alter externus, alter internus. Prior potest esse cum studio cognoscendi, discendi et aliquo modo meditandi. Internus autem auditus definitur assensu cordis et obsequio voluntatis, ut audire idem sit quod assentiri in doctrina, quod obedire in vita.—Hic auditus internus—nequaquam in nostra potentia situs est, sed a Deo per exteriores illum auditum in nobis excusatitetur. Externus autem ille est adhuc in nostrarum virium arbitrio. Potest enim homo non renatus ilam pedagogicam disciplinan seu ministerii obedientiam externum adhuc servare, i. e. accedere concionem verbi vel non accedere, audire vel non audire. Potest etiam cum quodam studio audire, meditari aliquo modo, potest ut commodere ita etiam non contemnere, si actualem contentum respicias. P. 812: Quis autem est hujus quaestionis: unus? Ut appareat manifeste, etiam conversio, fides, agnatio veritatis, extera salus, etc., ne minima quidem ex parte in nostro sunt arbitrio posit, esse tamen in aliquibus nondum conversis hominibus longa plura obstacul, quae fructificationem verbi validius impediant, quam in alis: esse quosdam etiam ex non conversis regno Dei propinquorums, sicut de scriba seu legisperito Christum pronunciantum audivimus (Marc. xii. 34). Other instances before adduced: Matth. xxi. 31, xix. 23, etc.): Non quod his quicquam insit facultatem aut virium applicandi se ad gratiam, aut in spiritualibus cooperandi Deo (haec enim omnia soli Deo et operationi ejus in solidum sunt ascribenda: converta me Domine, et convertar); sed quod in caeteris plura sint et fortiora impedimenta, quae aditum Spiritui sancto praecedunt, quo minus in eis perinde velit esse per praecipac datum verbum efficax.—Idcirco et Scriptura bortatur homines etiam non conversos, ut obstacul illa removant, et viam complanent, h. e. peccata et studia perversa, quarum pleraque etiam a non renatis (ut saniorum Ethniciorum exempla testant) caveri aut abjici possunt, deponunt et abjicant; quae alias non sub mota obstent, quo minus Dominus apud ilium ingenti. That they had come back to the Helancthonian theory (see § 36, Note 12, § 37, Note 39), although they rejected the word synergism, is shown at length by Chytraeus in a letter of the Rostock to the Wittenberg divines, dd. 20. Maji, 1595 (Dav. Chytr. Epistolae, Hanov., 1614, p. 1271): Scitis initio emendationis doctrinae ecclesiasticae in vestra illa Ecclesiarum et scholare metropolit per Lutherum ante 70 annos institutae, dum liberum homin is arbitrium fortiter oppugnabatur, multa de hoc ipso doctrinae praedestinationis capite horridius disputata et asserita suisse, videlicet, praedestinationem divinam omni voluntat: hominum, tum in externis operibus tum internis cogitationibus, libertatem adimere, omnia necessario et quidem absoluta necessitate evenire.—Haece, inquam, et multa his similia horridiora (qua tunc in vestra cathedra velut oracula docebantur, nunc nasquam nisi in Calvinianorum scholis retinentur) Philippus, communis praeceptor noster, postea paulatim lenit ac sustulit, dum in omnibus libellis—has de necessitate Stoica et Manichaean, ut vocat, opiniones absurdas refutat, et de liberli arbitri viribus quid possint sine lae, quid non possint nisi Spiritus sancto conversae et adjunctae, distinctius explicat, et Scripture testimonias, pro divina praedestinatione seu necessitate Manichaean et Stoica stabilenda initio causae Lutheri allegata, longo alter explicat, et argumenta praecipua ubique refutat, idque vivo adhuc Luther, etc.

The points in controversy are given by the Saxon theologians, as follows, in the Solida Decisio (see Note 7): 1. Cum in Scriptura sacra de θεοσυνια Dei apud creaturas modificata agitur, an—nuda Dei adessentia, an vero simul efficax operatio innatur? Adeoque num ad accuratam definitionem praesentiae Dei apud creaturas semper etiam operatio efficax divina, cend pars essentialis, necessario requiritur? Ubi pars una (Gies-  
sen) affirmat vivam, altera (Tübingen) negat vivam magna contentione tue tur. 2. An praesentia Dei modificata apud creaturas, prout in sacris Bibliis describitur, a sola immensi-  
tate et infinitate Dei (Tübingen), an vero etiam a liberrima ejus voluntate (Giessen) ori-  
atur.—Postea de hoc etiam controvertitur, quod sit omnipraesentiae Christi Jesu juxta  
carnem fundamentum proprium et proximum? An voluntas et beneplacitum Dei (Gies-  
sen)? an personalia unio (Tübingen)? an ad dexteram Dei sessio? 3. An commode de  
Christo Jesu dici possit, quod secundum carnem, in ipsae statu humilitationis, quin et in  
ipsae morte semper et incessanter coeleum ac terram, ut Rex, gubernaris, et potenter qui-  
dem, occulta tamen, dominatis sit. Ubi quidem in affirmativam (Tüb.), quidam in ne-  
gativam sententiam (Gieas.) descendentur. 4. An Christus Jesus secundum unamque  
naturam (Tüb.), an vero tantum secundum humanam (Gieas.) se exinaniverit? Adeo-  
uce an omne illud quod in statu exinanitionis fecit et sustinuit, juxta unamque naturam  
ille coercerit, et perpeusus fuerit? Ista quidem, ut et recte affirmari queat, divinassit esse  
passam, et humanitatem coeleum et terram gubernasse et conservasse (Tüb.).? Deinde  
acerrima quoque est disceptatio, quid sit propriae exinanitio? an per eam innatur, quod  
Christus Jesu secundum assumptam carnem, quod pleniarum et incessante um umum divi- 
nae majestatis, realiter et διανοω, voluntarie tamen et tantumque adeo ad status exi- 
inanitionis, se exinaniverit (Gieas.)? vel an exinanitio illa hoc solum intendant, Christum in  
statu καινωσιων acque ad jam ad dexteram Dei, quae homo fuit, inhabitantem suam pleni- 
tudinem totam Deitas plenarie ac incessanter, sed tamen occulte et latenter in regi- 
me totius universi usu fastisse et exercuisse (Tüb.)? Mentzer, in his Necessaria et justa  
Defensio (Opp., ii. 1819), presents the question in controversy, thus: An J. Chr. θεο- 
θεωρων in statu exinanitionis juxta humanitatem fuerit omnipraesens creatoris, et totum  
universum gubernari? Affirmat D. Osiander cum suis, nos negamus. Afirmationis  
sue rationem petit Osiander ex unione hypostatica. Ques cum semper codem modo se  
habeat, et mutationem nullam admittat, putat, Christum, ut hominem, acque in status  
exinanitionis suisse omnipraesentem creatoris, et coeleum et terram gubernasse, ut jam  
in statu gloriae ad dextram Dei sedens est omnibus rebus praesens, et coeleum et terram  
gubernat: hoc duntaxat discrimine, quod in exinanitioni omnipraesentiam illam  
et universalem gubernationem humanitatis teat sexerit et occultarit subjiciisse formam servili; nunc autem deposita servilia illa conditione eadem glorioso et majestatis decretat et mani- 
festet. Negationis nostrae rationem nos petimus ex status exinanitionis: in quo J. Chr.  
θεοθρωτως, juxta naturam humanam, divinam omniscientiam, et omnipotenti ae, et om- 
nipraesentiam majestatem, per unionem personalem vere et realiter sibi communicatam,  
semper habuii, verum, ut peccatum protoplastorum atque adeo omnia nostra peccata ex- 
plareat, et pro nobis pati et mori posset, eam non semper et ubique, sed libere, ubi et  
quando et quando voluit, pro officii sui ratione, salva semper permanente unionem perso- 
nam, usurpavit. The Gieasen divines maintained the constant αγιος (possession), but  
denied the uninterrupted χριστοι (use of the attributes). During this dispute a work was  
published (chiefly devoted to showing the uselessness and recklessness of the dispute)  
under the title Ruperti Meldenii (G. Calixti?) Paraenesis Votivae pro Pace Ecclesiæ ad  
thelogos Augustanae Confessionis (also by F. Lücke, as a comment on the peaceful  
maxim: In necessaria unitas, etc., Göttingen, 1850, s. 87). See in Lücke, a. 108: Vi- 
des multos dispute de praesentia carnis Christi in profundissimo humilitatis status,  
quo tamem ipsos Christum habere praesentem in cordibus suis per idem habitantem,  
eso adduci vix possam ut credam, quia video illos de humilitate Christi multa garrire  
sine humilitate, de praesentia ejus, qui est charitas ipsa, sine charitate, etc. That other  
divines, especially the Saxon, lamented this controversy, is shown in Tholuck's Geist d.  
Luth. Theologen Wittenberga im 17ten Jahrh. (Hamburg u. Gotha, 1852), a. 64.
tists. This controversy, carried on from 1619, led, according to the declaration of the Saxon theologians, 1624, to the general abandonment of the absolute *communicatio idiomatum realis*.

§ 43.

**CALVINISM IN THE NETHERLANDS. ARMINIAN CONTROVERSY.**


In the Reformed churches of the Netherlands different types of doctrine were developed, according to the chief sources from which the opinions were derived, whether from the writings of Emausmus, or those of the Saxon or of the Swiss Reformers; but as

7 The Elector John George, in 1623, convened the Leipzig and Wittenberg divines in Dresden, under the presidency of the upper court preacher, Hoe van Hoenegg; and the latter drew up, in accordance with the results of this assemblage, the Solida Decisio quattuor superrimae controversorum capitum, which was published in Leipzig, 1624, 4to, preceded by the Electoral order that public teaching should accord with it. In all essential points this was a decision in favor of the Giessen divines; and it was declared by the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, Louis V., to be a binding formula in his possessions (Rommel’s neuere Gesch. v. Hessen, ii. 192). The Tübingen divines, in reply, drew up the Amica Admonitio super Decisione, etc. (written by Thummins), Tübing., 1624, which was followed by the Saxons with their Necessaria et inevitabilia Apologia, s. adversio decisionis solidae (drawn up by Hoe v. Hoenegg), Lips., 1625. After this the controversy died out, in the midst of the distractions of the Thirty Years’ War.
these agreed in the main points, so their advocates continued for a long time to live at peace in the same church-fellowship. The first ecclesiastical arrangements were made by the church itself, quite independently of the civil authority; but as the new republic was more firmly established it endeavored to bring the church under its superintendence. At the same time, the strict Calvinism, which had first penetrated from France into the Walloon Church, began to be more widely diffused, and to demand unity


2 Ep. Ord. Holl. (see Note 1), p. 498: Quo primum tempore hisce in regionibus Erasmii Lutherique scriptis accensa lux est,—Pastores, qui passim pios coetus collegarent, cum leges publicas sibi adversas haberent, atque id eo urum praesidio uti non possent, necessitate compulsi, ad Galliae exemplum, regimen quoddam constituerunt ecclesiasticum, quod ex Pastoris et delectis e fidelium multitudo Senioribus constans, et consentissibus minoribus in magores, quasi per gradus quosdam, assegerent. Postquam vero nos primi omnium cum Zelandiae Ordinibus—ad vindicandum—avita libertarianem, simul —ad sublevandam Ecclesiam animum adjectum, templi, imaginibus purgata, emendationis doctrinae magistris tradidimus, eosdem liberabimus e publico serario stipendiis sustentavimus: statim inter Pastores quodam et Magistratum plerisque ortae contentiones: cum illi quidem id, quod persecutionum necessitate invenerat, regimen sine ulla mutatione retentum vellet, sibique ac Senioribus potestatem omnem ferendarum legum ecclesiasticarum, conferendiique manera ecclesiastica vindicarent: hi contra, mutatis temporibus, manente functionum discrimine, mutandam nonnulli censerant formam gubernationis: quippe cum, ut ex verbo divino docet Belgica confessio, non id modo mutus sit Magistratum, ut de civili polita conservanda sint solliciti; sed et ut operam dent tendendis adulatorinis cultibus, praedicando Evangelio, propagando Christi regno: quod cum officium faciunt Magistratus, eosdem esse supremos et civilium et ecclesiasticarum rerum gubernatores, ac proinde nullum esse regimen externum, quod non supremo in Republica imperio subordinetur. First church service of the churches under the cross in Wesel, 1568, and Emden, 1571; then the church service of Dort, 1578. The first state order for church service (edited by Royaards, in Nederl. Archief voor kerk. Geschiedenis, iii. 305; comp. his Introduction) was not carried out. The National Synod in the Hague, convened by Lord Leicester, published a strictly Calvinistic liturgy, 1586; then followed, 1591, the church service of the states of Holland, which, however, was not carried out (Ypey en Dermout, i. 858).
of doctrine by the adoption of the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism, the acceptance of the *Decretum absolutum*, and also to insist upon the independence of the Church in relation to the state. This led to several controversies, which at last came together in the great Arminian discussion.

James Arminius, preacher in Amsterdam, who had been led by his earnest studies to abandon strict Calvinism, became, in 1603, professor of theology in Leyden, and was soon involved in such an animated conflict with his colleague, Francis Gomarus, that parties of Gomarists and Arminians were speedily formed throughout the whole republic. The point raised was, indeed, only the doctrine of predestination; but the difference of the parties was much deeper. The Arminians wished for biblical sim-

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4 Dirik Volckaets zoon Koonhert († 1590) is to be regarded as the forerunner of the Remonstrants; in a large number of books (Works, Amst., 1630, 3 fol.) he was a zealous advocate of freedom of conscience, and of the reduction of theology to a few essential points. He was involved in a controversy in Leyden, 1578, for assailing Calvin's and Beza's views on predestination, and on the execution of heretics (Uttenbogaert, p. 198). In 1583 he wrote against the Dutch Catechism; reply by A. Saravia, professor of theology in Leyden (Brand, Hist. de la Réf., i. 202). Casp. Coolhaas, preacher in Leyden, defended the rights of the magistracy over the Church, denied Calvinistic predestination, and would receive all those as brethren who would accept the fundamental truths of Christianity. He was deposed by the Synod of Middelburg in 1581 (Brand, i. 282, 289, 389. Ypey en Dormout, ii., Aant., p. 68).


6 The preachers in Deift, A. C. van der Linden and Reinier Donteclock, wrote, 1589: *Responsio ad Argumenta qusadem Bezae et Calvini ex tractatu de Praedestinione in cap. ix. ad Rom., in order as Sublapsarian to refute the Supralapsarians. Martin Lydius, professor in Franeker, called out Arminius to defend Calvin and Beza; and the investigations to which he was thus led brought Arminius to entirely opposite convictions. C. Brantill Hist. Vitae J. Arminii ed. Mosheim, p. 22.
plicity in doctrines, and a peaceful spirit in the Church, and also for the subjection of the Church to the state. The Gomarists, on the contrary, demanded the adoption of strict Calvinism, not only in doctrine, but also as to the independence of the Church in relation to the state. In vain did the States favorable to the Arminians, led by John van Oldenbarneveld and Hugo Grotius, use all their efforts to maintain the peace of the Church; the Gomarists became more and more violent and stiff-necked.

After the death of Arminius (1609), his successor, Simon Episcopus, and John Uytenbogaert, preacher at the Hague, became the leaders of the party. To refute false accusations, they set forth their doctrinal views in a Remonstrance (Remonstrantie, hence called Remonstrants), addressed, in 1610, to the States.

1 Uytenbogaert, in 1610, wrote an account of a remarkable conversation which he had with Is. Casaubon, in which the latter openly avowed his objections to Calvinism (Præstantia fæt ac erud. Virorum Epist. Eccl., p. 250): Quae visit (Casaubonius) de Arminio, in quo se habet etiam de quo conquereretur. Respondi, habere, sed praecipuum esse, quod aeger, ut posset uniri Christianismus: modum autem hunc esse, ut discrimen fieret inter fundamentalia et non fundamentalia; ut de ills certe esse possemus, de his libere prophetare. Ad hoc ille: o sancta cogitationes! Arminius himself says in his Testament (Vita, p. 199): coram Deo testor, me bona conscientia in munere meo et vocatione simpliciter et sincere ambulasse; sollicito admodum et curioso hoc caverne, ne quid proponerem aut docerem, quod non adhibita ante diligentia ex sua. Scripturis discundere comperiam cum illeam Scripturis ad amissim convenire: quaecunque ad propagationem amplificationemque veritatis, religionis christiæ, veri Dei cultus, communis pietatis, et sanctae inter homines conversationis, denique ad conveniuntem christianum nominem tranquillitatem et pacem secundum verbum Dei possent conferræ, excludens Papatum, cum quo nulla unitas sibi, nullum pietatis aut christiæ pacem vinculum servari potest.


8 Hist. vitae Sim. Episcopii scripta a Phil. a Limborch, Amstel., 1701.

9 J. Uytenbogaert leven, kerkelijke Bedieninge ende zedige verandwoording, 1646.

10 (also at the end of an edition of his kerk. Historie).

11 They agreed upon a declaration, January, 1610 (Uytenbogaert, kerk. Historie, p. 524), which, with the necessary changes in the form of it, was afterward submitted to the states as the Remonstrantia (in the Schriftelijke Conferentie gehouden in 's Gravenhage, 1611, tusschen sommige Kerkendienaren, 1612. 4., p. 1). The five articles in which the Remonstrants declare their doctrine, Latin in Benthem's Holl. Kirk u. Schollenstaat, i. 685. Walch's Religionsstreit, ausser d. Luth. Kirche, i. 540: I. Deum asterno immutabili decreto in Jesu Christo filio suo ante jactum mundi fundamentum statuisse, ex lupo—humano genere, illos in Christo, propter Christum, et per Christum servare, qui Spiritus s. gratia in eundem ejus Filium credend—contra vero eos, qui non conventuntr,—in peccato et irae subjectos relinqueret et condemnaret, as in Joh. iii. 36. II. Proinde J. Chr.—pro omnibus et singulis mortuum esse,—ea tamen conditione, ut nemo illa remissione peccatorum re ipsa fruatur, praeter hominem sibi, as in Joh. iii. 16; 1 Joh. ii. 2. III. Hominem vero salutarem sibi a se ipsa non habere,—sed necessarium esse eum in Christo per Spiritum ejus sanctum regigni et renovari,—ut aliquid boni
of Holland and West Friesland; but these States attempted in vain to bring their opponents, the Contra-Remonstrants, to tolerate these doctrines. The strife became more bitter by assuming a political character. The States wished for peace, and in 1609 had carried through an agreement for a twelve years' truce with Spain, under the influence of Oldenbarneveld and Grotius, and in opposition to the wishes of the Stadtholder, Prince Maurice of Orange. The accusation against these statesmen, that they were bribed by Spain, was all the more readily welcomed by the Contra-Remonstrants, since the Arminians, who supported the States, were implicated in the charge of treachery. The States of Seeland, Friesland, Groningen, and Geldern, carried away by this impulse, demanded a national synod to condemn the Remonstrants. The States of Holland, Utrecht, and Upper Yssel were opposed to this; but six of their cities, and

possit intelligere, cogitare, velle et perfoere nach Joh. xv. 5. IV. Hanc Dei gratiam esse initium, progressum ac perfectionem omnis boni;—adeo quidem, ut omnia bona opera, quae excogitare possimus, Dei gratiae in Christo tribuenda sint. Quod vero medium operationis illius gratiae attinet, illa non est irresistibils. De multis enim dicitur, eos Spiritui s. restituisse, Act. 7. et alibi multis locis. V. Qui Jesu Christo per veram fidem sunt in seatis, ac proinde Spiritus ejus vivificantis participes, eos absque salute, facultatum, quibus contra Satanam—and propriam suam carnem pugnet, et victoriam obtineat, verumtane per gratiae Spiritus s. subsidium; Jesum Christum vero ills Spiritus suo in omnibus tentationibus adesse, manum porrigere, et, modo sint ad certamen promit, et ejus auxilium petant, neque officio suo desint, eos confirmare.—Sed an illi ipse negliget sua initium sui esse in Christo deserere non possint,—conscientiae nafus praeceper, a gratia excidere, penitus ex s. Scriptura esse expendendum, antequam illud cum plena animi tranquillitate et αληθοφορία docere possent.

13 The states, upon receiving this Remonstrance, ordered (Uytebogaert, p. 529), dat de Predicanten van 't gevoelen in dese Remonstrantie nytgedruckt, zijnde in actueelen dienst, van de Cenuren der andere Predicanten desen orgaen souden blijven bewijdt, ende dat men d'aenkomende Kerckendienaren in dat exameneren vorder niet en soude beswaren, als van ouds is gebryskelyck geweest, ende zonderling in 't stuck van de Preaestacatie, hooger noch swaeder niet als in de vijf Artijckelen wordt verklaart. The clergy took the ground that this order was an interference of the secular power in spiritual matters, and hence invalid. The states endeavored, fruitlessly, to bring about conferences between the two parties in the Hague, 1611 (Tpey en Demourt, ii. 198), and in Delft, 1618 (1. c., p. 201). So, too, their decree of January, 1614 (Grotii Opp. Theol., iii. 141), by which the clergy were exhorted to peace, remained unsuccessful.

among them the powerful Amsterdam, held with the opponents; so that the states of Holland at last remained alone, and were themselves obliged to assent, after their chief men, Oldenbarneveld, Grotius, and Hogerbeets, had been put in prison by order of the Estates-General. Thus the National Synod of Dort was convened (November, 1618, to May, 1619); and invitations to it were sent to the other Reformed national churches. Its decisions could be anticipated. Not only these statesmen, but also the Remonstrants, were condemned; the Calvinist doctrine recte per nationalem Synodum id possit expediri. Ad prius quod attinet, rogatur Majestas tuae examinare, an credibile sit, in his controversiis, de quibus manifesta est veterum Patrum dissensio, de quibus inter religionis instauratores convenire non potuit, ac ne inter Pontificios quidem convenit, praestari posse a nostris saeculi ingeniis, quod hac tenus nulla saecula praestitunt. — Alterum quod ad Majestatis tuae perspicax judicium deferimus, hoc est, an tum satis sit, et concordiae omnium Ecclesiarum conveniens, controversiis, quae omnes ferme Ecclesias sunt pervagatas, uniis nostrae nationis Synodo determinari. — Habemus et recens in Germania exemplum, ubi cum Saxonum Theologia et Pastores librum confecissent, quem concordiae vocabant; — placuit Regine Elisabethae et pis Germaniae Principibus, Frankenfurti conventum instituere, in quo legati— epistolam ad Germaniae Principes scripsisse, in qua ostendisse, recte ipsos facturos suae, si consilia sua contulisset cum alia gentibus, quae eundem, quem ipsi, Deum invocarent. — Tam pis moderatissime consilia cum non auscultarent doctores Saxonici, sed paucarum provinciarum consensum subscriptionibus firmanter, secuta inde est illa lux-tuosa nobis, lucrosa hostibus, evangeliarum Ecclesiarum divulsio. Quod ipsum satis grave nobis exemplum esse debet, ne tale quid iterum committamus. Eo autem magis ad communem evangeliarum Ecclesiarum statum pertinebit quidnam de praedestinatione et adhaerentibus quaeestionibus statuerit, quod Augustanæa confessionis theologi in his controversiis nunc maxime pedem fingat (see § 42). — Et quamquam hoc anno provinciae quasdam iterum nationalem Synodum urgere coeperunt, atque eam indicere sunt aggressae; illas tamen provinciae, quae veteribus illis controversiis magis implicatae praecipites condemnationes perhorrescunt, assensum suum negant: neque arbitrantur id juris concessum esse aliosis provinciis, ut vel una invita, sedmum pluribus, communis foderatorum nomine aliquid imperii circa ecclesiastica usurpant; cum id imperium minima ambiguus stipulatione provinciae singulae integrum illibatumque sibi servaverint, connexae quidem religiosi vinculo cum vicinis provinciis idtem, ut cum Majestatis tuae regnis, aliisque per Europam candel veritatem sequentibus, sed sine illa mutua subjectione.

10 Decree of the Estates-General for convening the synod, 11th November, 1617, in Benthem's Holl. Kirchen- u. Schulenstaat, i. 371.
17 That addressed to the Swiss, see Miscellanea Tigur., ii. 273. Brandenburg was invited, but did not send any theologians; see Hering's hist. Nachricht v. d. ersten Anfang der Ref. Kirche in Brandenburg, s. 388. Anhalt alone was not invited. The French Reformed were forbidden by Louis XIII. to send delegates. A list of all the members is in Benthem, i. 379. The foreign churches represented were the English Episcopal, the Scotch, the Palatinate, Hesse, Switzerland, Wetterau, Geneva, Bremen, and Emden.
18 Oldenbarneveld was executed 13th May, 1619; Regenboog, i. 299.
of predestination was formally confirmed; and the Remonstrant clergy banished, in case they did not renounce all exercise of bassy, present as a spectator) Hist. Concilii Dordraceni (reports to the English ambassador at the Hague); J. L. Mosheimus, lat. vertit, varis Observationibus et Vita Halesii auxit, Hamb., 1724. Many letters in the Praestantium et Erud. Virorum Epistolae, especially the reports to the English ambassador at the Hague of the Scotch theologian, Gualth. Balcanquallus, p. 527, 540, etc. Favorable to the synod were the reports sent to Zurich by H. J. Breitinger (Miscellanea Tigur., ii. 377). Balcanquallus, 8. Cal. Apr., 1619 (l. c., p. 565), made three remarks upon the synod: 1. Praesidem (Joh. Bogermann, preacher at Leeuwaarden) plus sibi, quam ullus ante eum Praeses, arrogasse in consciencia canonibus, quos a religiis volebat approbari per nudum placet, vel rejici per solum non placet.—2. Videtur mihi multo minus turbarium in Synodo futurum fuisse, si duo viri abuisissent, quibus praestentibus nunquam turbae Synodo deerunt; Sibrandum (Sibr. Lubbertum, professor in Franeker) et Gomarum (professor in Groningen) intelligo, qui alternas habent vices foresendi ac tumultuandi. Proxima ante hodernam procella a parte Gomari detonuit: hodie Sibrandus invectus est in nostrum Collegium (the foreign divines) tanta cum iracundia et impotentia, tantaque cum acerbitate verborum, ut nulla re magis de ipso ulio sumatur, quam nuda relatione verborum, quae protulit. (How these two at first calumniated the Bremen divines; and how Gomarus blamed the Bishop of Landaff; see p. 547 ss.) 3. Nisi Tu, Vir ill., magna diligenter provides, ut bonum consilium hue afferatur, prout comparatum esse video, Synodus erit res omnibus saeculis deridenda. Praeses et Provinciales nullo modo consulant dignitati aut honori extorquem, neque flocci faciunt rationem, quam reversi tenebimur reddere emam potestitum. Volunt canones suos ita currure speculationibus ex catechismo petitis, ut praes crepare ac disumpere videantur; satasque video, nullum esse in Synodo ministrum Contraremnonstans, ut totam canonibus infarcire, ut ostentare possit a se dicta.

20 Gomarus came out as a Supralapsarian (Acta Syn. Nationalis, p. 272: Non tantum hominem lapsum, sed etiam ante lapsum in praedestinatione a Deo considerat; cf. Balcanquallus, Praest. Vir. Epist., p. 556). According to Breitinger (Misc. Tigur., ii. 419) he was the only Supralapsarian. The English wished to throw out some (Supralapsarian) duriores locutiones; particularly this: Deum movere hominum linguas ad blasphemandum, et hominem non posse plus boni facere quam facit. The divines of Hesse and Bremen joined with them in this, but without success (Acta Syn. Nat., p. 277: ne calumniar possent adversarii, rejections phrasium incommodarum etiam doctrinam orthodoxam, quam profess essent illi, qui in ejus explicatone ejusmodi phrasibus durius aut imprudentius usi videntur, pariter damnari. Cf. Balcanquallus, Praest. vir. epist., p. 569. Mosheim in edit. Halesii, p. 569). Yet still Professor John Macco- vius, in Franeker, who was complained of for similar opinions (e. g. Deus destinat alios quit ad poemam et ad ea, propter quae justo religiosus mortuarum), after a private hearing, was warned to avoid such positions as would give rise to scandal, and scholastic phrases which might be misunderstood (see J. Herings, twistzaak van Maccovin i. d. Archief voor kerk. Geschiedenis, iii. 503). The Canones Synodi de V. Remonstr. Articulis, see Acta Syn. Nation., p. 279; also a special, official edition: judicium Syn. Nat. habitarium Dordrechti ann. 1618 et 1619 de quinque Doctrinarum Capitibus in Ecclesie Belgicis controversia promulgatum, 6. Maj., 1619. 4; also in Niemeyer, Coll. Conf. Reform., p. 690. They are divided into five chapters: 1. De divina praedestinatione; 2. De morte Christi et hominum per eam redemptione; 3 et 4. De hominis corruptione et conversione ad Deum ejusque modo; 5. De perseverantia Sanctorum. Every chapter ends with a Re- jectio errorum. Cf. i. 7: Est autem electo immutabile Del propositum, quae ante jacta mundi fundamenta ex univereso genere humano, ex primaeve integritate in peccatum et exitium sua culpa prolapsos, secundum libertimum voluntatis suae beneplacitum, ex mera gratia, certam quorumdam hominum mutandinum, alii nec meliorum nec digniorum, sed in communi miseria cum aliis jacentum, ad saluetem elegit in Christo, quem
their ecclesiastical functions. In fact, the condemnation of the Lutheran doctrine was involved; and so the separation from the Lutherans on the part of the Reformed was fully carried out.

§ 44.

HISTORY OF THE REMONSTRANTS—CONTINUED.


Many of the Remonstrants were welcomed, in 1621, by Frederick II., Duke of Holstein, where they founded Friedrichstadt, in Sleswick. Those left behind in the Netherlands, being deprived of their clergy, formed, in consequence, the sect of Rhynshurgers or Collegiants, led by three brothers of the name of Van der
Kodde, who from principle rejected all clergy. After the death of Prince Maurice, 1625, under the Stadtholder, Henry Frederick, the banished clergy returned to their fatherland. At first they were only silently permitted to exercise the right of worship; until, in 1630, Amsterdam permitted them to build a church. Amsterdam and Rotterdam were their chief seats; in Amsterdam they established a gymnasium for the education of teachers.

The Remonstrants now came out with a more open avowal of their doctrinal peculiarities. In proportion to their conviction, that speculation had led the Calvinistic dogmas to erroneous conclusions, was the decision with which they set aside all human confessions of faith, and took the Holy Scripture alone as their guiding star in doctrine, ascribing special value to those parts of it which are of practical importance. They denied not only the

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2 Brandt, ii. 218. Ypey en Dermout, ii. 284. In the 18th century they were absorbed among the Mennonites ; Ypey en Dermout kerk. geschiedenis der 18 eeuw, ix. 239-271.


4 Though Episcopius wrote the Confessio s. Declaratio SententiaePastorum, qui in foederato Belgioe Remonstrantes vocantur, Herderwijck, 1622. 4. (Opp., ii., ii. 69), yet in it he expressly guarded against the opinion that it was to have a binding authority. In respect to confessions of faith, he demanded in the Preface (Opp., ii., ii. 71) : 1. Nemo ad formulas illas confugiet, ut ex iis certa fide, veluti ex fontibus hauriat ac depremat ea, quae credenda sunt.—2. Nemo ad eum sensus adstringetur, aut adstringi se patiatur alia leges, quam quatenus et quamdiu ipsa certo deprehendit atque in conscientia sua convictur, eas cum Scripturam sensibus convenire. 3. In disputationibus, collationibus, examinibus ad illas nunquam provocabit, neque ad illarum incudem revocabuntur fidei controversiae; sed ad solum verbum divinum, quamquam ad regularia unicae omnes—exigunt aut expenduntur.—Hoc itaque fundamento semel recto—semper in Ecclesia J. Chr. statam et tectam manebit libertas, qua sine periculolo formas inter se inscribere, ipsas sine scrupulo contrarice; sed ad solum verbum divinum, tanquam ad regulam unicam—omnes—exigere et expendere.—Hoc itaque fundamento semel recto—semper in Ecclesia J. Chr. statam et tectam manebit libertas, qua sine periculolo formas inter se inscribere, ipsas sine scrupulo contrarice; sed ad solum verbum divinum, tanquam ad regulam unicam—omnes—exigere et expendere.—Hoc itaque fundamento semel recto—semper in Ecclesia J. Chr. statam et tectam manebit libertas, qua sine periculolo formas inter se inscribere, ipsas sine scrupulo contrarice; sed ad solum verbum divinum, tanquam ad regulam unicam—omnes—exigere et expendere.

5 Episcopius, l. c., p. 73: Ad praxim autem christianissimis pietatis omnibus diecimem. Quippe veram theologiam credimus mere practicam esse, non autem vel simpliciter, vel maxima et potioe sul parte speculativum, et proinde quacentunque in ea traduntur, eo unice referenda, ut ad officium suum sedulo faciandum, et mandata J. Chr. observandum acrius aptius etae humano inflammetur atque animetur. Arida enim, effossa, sterlis, et proinde spuria est theologia, quae intra inanem speculationum et contemplationem meram consistit, quaeque, postquam diu multumque vigilantissimi cujusque industriae fatigavit, atque ingenium solum operose exercuit, ad voluntatem tamen non penetrat, et debuit Deo obsequium in ea non gignit; eoque nec veram nec salutiferam Dei Christi interpretat to nobis efficit.—Caetera omnia, nisi ad hunc scopum dirigantur, coram Deo vana sunt ac frivola, et per se minimi pretii, adeoque paene nihilu ducenda (cf. Institut. Theol., lib. i., c. 2. Opp., i. 4), p. 72: Potest salva manere pax et concordia Christiana, imo debet etiam, inter coetus opinionum diuivos distinctosque, si modo per nos non stet, quoniam omnes ipsi, qui necessaria omnia ad salutem adhuc retinent, et dogmata pietati noxia praefractae non urgent, in unum coacto, et mutus caritate atque amore fraterno sese invicem in Domino Jesu complectantur. At si per nos stet, quo mi-
ordinary doctrine of original sin, but also the speculative construction of the doctrine of the Trinity. Hence the charge of Socinianism was more easily brought against them; and, in point of fact, they came into more friendly relations with the Socinians than the other churches thought to be advisable.

514 FOURTH PERIOD.—DIV. I.—A.D. 1517-1648.

nus Ecclesiae illae coalescet et in unum corpus consolidentur, quae coalescere ac consolidari possunt et debent, aut si unitas conjunctasque sine necessitate discindamus, ac in partes dividamus, tum vero schismatis res nos facimus, et turbatae pacis ac concordiae apud Deum postulari meremur: quod adeo verum est, ut Apostolus non minus etiam schismatis reos agere videatur, qui Christi esse gloriantur, non minus certe, quam qui, qui se Pauli, aut Apollo, aut Cephae esse dicebant. In his Apologia pro Confessioni (I. c., p. 114) he expressly defends the Remonstrant position, pauca admodum esse, quae praeceps ad aeternam salutem obtinendam scitum et creditum necessaria sunt. Comp. § 43, Note 7. See G. G. Zeltner Breviarium Controversiarum cum Remonstrantibus agitatarum, Norib. et Altorfi, 1719, p. 1, 50.


Sim. Episcopalii Institut. Theol., iv. 32 (Opp., i. 333): Sed vero addo, certum esse ex iisdem Scripturis, personis his tribus divinitatem, divinasque perfectionibus tribui non collateraliter aut coordinate, sed subordinate: ita ut Pater solus naturans istam divinam et perfectiones istas divinas a se habeat, — Filius autem et Spiritus sanctus a Patre; ac proinde Pater divinitatis omnis, quae in Filio et Spiritu S. est, fons ac principium sit. P. 334: Subordinatio haec diligentius attendenda est. Per magna enim est utilitarian: quia per eam non tantum funditus tollitur θρησκίας, quae collateralitas paene necessario secum trahit, sed et Patri sua gloria sarta tecta conservatur. Etinvero subordinationem hanc positam certum est, Patri soli propriam istam divinitatiam et perfectionem sive deωμον competere, quod eam a se ipso i. e. a nullo alicuius habeat. — Unde consequitur, Patrem sese primum, ut etiam summus sit, tum ordine, tum dignitate, tum potestate. — Certa ego nullus dubito, quin Filius ipse Patrem suum ob eandam praerogativam et δικαιοσύνη se majorem vocare potuisset, Jo. xiv. 28, et Scriptura passim Patrem vocet nunc Deum absolutum, nunc unum Deum, 1 Cor. viii. 4; nunc unum Deum et Patrem omnium, Eph. iv. 6; nunc unum et solum verum illum Deum, Jo. xviii. 8; nunc Deum ac Patrem Domini nostri J. Chr., uti passim in epistolarum initia. — Cap. 84, p. 338: Restat ut videamus, — utrum praecise ad salutem scitum ac creditum necessarium sit, Jesum peculii Isto, quem adstruximus, modo Filiun Dei esse, ilisque qui id negant, aut in dubium vocant, ac proinde id confitteri non audent, anathema sit dicendum. Rep. Argumenta pro parte negante mihi videntur praeponderare, et quidem haec. Primum, quia nusplam in Scriptura id necessarium credit esse adseritur, nec per bonam nedum necessarium consequi et ex ea elicitur. — Secundum argumentum nostrum hoc est. Quis honor Christi debitus, i. e., fides et obedientia, quam Deus Pater Jesu Christo attributam vult, sarta tecta constare, i. e., Christo tribui potest absque eo, quod cognoscat isto peculii modo ex Patre suo genitus esse. — Ter tum argumentum: In primitivis Ecclesiis, quae ab ipsis usque Apostolorum temporibus, saltem per tria integra saecula fuerunt, fides ac professio specialis hujusmodi filiationis ad salutem scitum ac creditum necessaria judicata non fuit: ergo cur jam necessaria credatur, causa non est. Zeltner, p. 71, 87.

THE DOCTRINE OF PREDESTINATION AFTER THE SYNOD OF DORT.

Although the decrees of Dort were subscribed by representatives of most of the Reformed national churches, yet they were not by any means able to gain a victory for strict Calvinism in the whole of the Reformed Church. In the Reformed churches of Brandenburg,\(^1\) Anhalt, Hesse, and Bremen\(^2\) they were not at all received. King James I., though he sent deputies of the Episcopal Church to the Synod of Dort, still, in 1622, forbade Calvinism;\(^3\) and the principles of the Remonstrants gained ground in the Episcopal Church,\(^4\) and formed the numerous party of Latitudinarians.\(^5\) The French Reformed Church, in the progress of the controversy, showed itself more favorable to the Remonstrants than to their opponents.\(^6\)

\(^1\) Bering's Hist. Nachricht v. d. ersten Anfang der Ref. Kirche in Brandenburg, s. 391.
\(^2\) Ludov. Crocius (pastor of St. Martini, and one of the Bremen divines at Dort) declared himself, in his Syntagma Theologiae, Brem., 1636, to be a disciple of Melancthon on the doctrine of predestination. Hence the strict adherents of Dort zealously insisted (see Crocii Dyodecas Dissertat. apologeticarum et exegeticarum Syntagmatis Theol., Bremae, 1642, in praef.), Bremam versam in speluncam horrendarum damnatarumque haeresium, Atheismi ac Libertinismi; et inibinunc temporisomnia indubitatapietatis mysteria, quibus nostrasalusalibitatem,ab ipsisfundamentisconrelli.—Suspicantur,nosmonstralaere,et nescioquam tertiam Ecclesiama Lutheranaet Reformatadiversamtemere moli.

\(^3\) See above, § 29, Note 10.

\(^4\) As early as 1622 Doubletius writes to G. J. Vossius, in the letter cited above, § 29, Note 6, about the University of Cambridge: Videbar ego in Cantabrigiensis Senatusconsulti videre plusculum bills in rigidos istos Genevensis reformationis professores; sive ea causa sit, quod Puritanorum onne nomen exosum habent, sive quod plerique ibi Remonstrantium sententiae sunt addicitissimi. Fui istic tempore comitorem in convivio publico splendidissimo, cui plusquam triginta Doctores theologiae, aliquequeeosque nobles intererant, ubi acerrime de praedestinatione, libero arbitrio, et reliquis ad Dei beneficiis controversiae captibus disputabatur, quibusdam Remonstrantium sententiam obnixae defendentibus adversus Doctrinam Balcaniullum:— quo nomine cum ego valde mirarer, disebant mihi Doctorum unus et alter,— dubium sibi esse, ute paras plures in Academia haberet saeutores, Remonstrantiumve, an Contraremonstrantium. Quod in privatia colloquitis ipse postea verum comperit in quam plurimis. Comp. above, § 28, Note 22.

\(^5\) See above, § 29, Note 11.

\(^6\) The Synod of Tonnelsa, 1014 (Tous les Synodes nationaux des églises reformées de
the Reformed churches, it did, indeed, at the Synod of Alais, 1620, accept the decrees of Dort; but that it still maintained the same opinions upon the contested points was soon evinced by its declaration that the Lutherans were orthodox on all the leading articles of the faith. Thereupon, too, the system of Moses Amyraldus (Amyraut), professor of theology at Saumur, called the scheme of Universalismus hypotheticus, became very widely

France par M. Aymon, à la Haye, T. ii., 1710. 4., ii. 57), determined, in the first instance, to effect a union of the Reformed churches, to which the Lutherans were then to be invited. To attain the first object, from all the Reformed Confessions a common one was to be drawn up for all the churches—dans laquelle on pourroit omettre plusieurs points, qui ne sont pas nécessaires à notre salut éternel: parmi lesquels on peut compter ces controverses, qui ont été agitées touchant le françois arbitre, la persévérance des Saints, et la prédetermination : étant une chose très-certaine, que toutes les erreurs en fait de religion proviennent de ce que l’on veut ou trop savoir, ou trop avoir; c’est-à-dire, que la curiosité et l’avarice en sont les sources. C’est ce dernier péché, qui a corrompu et ruiné l’église de Rome. Mais Satan fait encore tous ses efforts pour nous corrompre par le premier. Quoqu’il en soit, si nous pouvions seulement gagner cela sur nous, que nous ignorassions volontiers plusieurs matières, et que nous fussions contens savoir uniquement ce qui regarde le salut de notre âme, et la gloire de Dieu; nous serions un grand pas, et on peut dire, que nous aurions déjà bien avancé notre ouvrage d’union.

7 Aymon, ii. 182. The Articles of Dort were read and approved, and the form of an oath adopted by which the members of the synod bound themselves to the same, which was also to be required of all the clergy. In this, the doctrine of the Arminians is rejected—parcequ’elle fait dependre l’élection du fidèle de la volonté de l’homme, et attribue tant de pouvoir à son franc arbitre, qu’elle aneantit la grâce de Dieu, et parce qu’elle deguisse le Papisme pour établir le Pelagianisme, et renverser toute la certitude du salut. However, the clergy were exhorted, qu’ils s’abstiennent des questions vaines et curieuses, qu’ils ne fouillent point dans le conseil secret de Dieu au de-là des termes de sa parole; qu’ils ignorent plutôt les choses cachées que de s’ingérer dans celles qui sont illicites, et qu’ils fassent servir toute la doctrine de la prédestination à la pratique des vertus, à la consolation des âmes, au repos des consciences, et à l’étude de la piété, afin que par ce moyen toute occasion de contestation soit levée.

8 Synode National de Charenton, 1631 (Aymon, ii. 501): Ce Synode declare, que parce que les Églises de la confession d’Augsbourg convenoient avec les autres Églises Reformées dans les points fondamentaux de la véritable religion, et qu’il n’y avoir ni superstition, ni idolatrie dans leur culte, les fidèles de ladite Confession, qui par un esprit d’amitié et de paix se joindroient à la communion de nos Églises dans ce royaume, pourroient, sans faire aucune abjuration, être reçus avec nous à la table du Seigneur, et qu’en qualité de parains ils pourroient présenter des enfants au bâtême, pourvu qu’ils promissent au Consistoire de ne les solliciter jamais, ni directement, ni indirectement, de transgresser la doctrine reçue et professée dans nos Églises; mais qu’ils les instruiront et élèveront dans les points et articles qui leur sont communs avec nous, et touchant lesquels les Lutheriens et nous sommes d’accord. Wholly in Calvin’s sense; see § 35, Note 45, at the end.

9 A further development of the doctrine of the Scotchman, John Cameron, successively professor at Saumur, Glasgow, and Montauban, died 1625. Amyraut unfolded his system in his Traité de la Prédestination et de ses principes différents, Saumur, 1684.

10 God has determined to save all men through Christ, on condition that they believe in him (a manifest concession to the Lutherans): by this general call to salvation the physical power of believing is given them, but not the moral power; the latter is imparted only in the special call to the elect. The heathen, too, in consequence of the re-
diffused among the Reformed, in spite of all the opposition of the Dutch theologians. 10


10 The opposition came from Dumoulin, professor in Sedan, who stirred up the theological faculties of Geneva, Leyden, Franeker, and Groningen against Amyraut, and Paul Testard, preacher in Blois, who agreed with him. See their letters to the National Synod in Aymon's Synodes Nationaux, ii. 604. Pierre Dumoulin, in his letter, enumerated as errors the following positions of Amyraut (l.c., p. 618): Qu'il n'est pas absolument nécessaire à salut d'avoir une connaissance claire de Jesus Christ, que Jesus Christ est mort également et indifferemment pour tous les hommes, que les reprouvés peuvent être sauvés s'ils veulent, que Dieu a des conseils et des décrets qui ne produisent jamais leur effet, que Dieu a ôté aux hommes leur impuissance naturelle pour croire, et qu'il les a convertis a soi, qu'il fasse dependre l'efficace de l'esprit qui regenera d'un conseil, qui peut changer. The National Synod held at Alençon, 1637, dismissed the accused with honor, after he had more fully declared his opinions; forbidding him, however, to make use of some of the formulas liable to be misunderstood (Aymon, ii. 571). So, too, the Synod of Charenton, 1644, acquitted him of the charge that he had not observed these limitations, and allowed him to reply to the attacks from foreign parts (loc. cit., p. 603). These attacks came particularly from Fred. Spanheim, professor in Leyden, and Samuel Maresius, professor in Groningen. In reply, in defense of Amyraut, appeared: Actes Authentiques des églises reformées touchant la paix et charité fraternelle, par D. Blondel, Amst., 1655. 4. Jo. Dallaei Apologia pro duabus Ecclesiarum in Gallia protestantium synodis nationalibus adv. F. Spanheimii exercitationes de gratia universalis, Amst., 1655.
SECOND CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF THE EXTERNAL ORDER AND WORSHIP OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES.

§ 46.

CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENT OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES.

Luther and Zwingli were agreed upon the point that all ecclesiastical rights have their roots in the Church as a congregation. They rejected all hierarchy, and insisted upon the universal priesthood of all Christians, so that the clergy were only commissioned by the churches, and ordination was only a formal call to

1 Luth. Resolutio super propositione XIII. de potestate Papae, 1519 (Löschers Reformationssacta, iii. 156): Ubieunque praedicatur verbum Dei et creditur, ibi est vera fides, petra ista immobilia; ubi autem fides, ibi Ecclesia; ubi Ecclesia, ibi sponsa Christi; ubi sponsa Christi, ibi omnia quae sunt sponsi. Ita fides omnia secum habet, quae ad fidem sequuntur, claves, sacramenta, potestatem et omnia alia. Zwinglii Archeteles, 1522 (Opp., iii. 73): Non unius esse videtis aut alterius de Scripturae locis pronunciare, sed omium quipr Christo credunt. Second Disputation at Zürich, 1523 (Werke, i. 532) [All is in the control of the Church that is not clearly expressed in God's Word, provided naught essential is changed]: "Es stat alls an der Kilchhore, was mit dem hel- len Wort Gottes nit ist druckt, sofer dass das Wesenlich nienn geändret werde." Zwingli of Preacher's Office, 1525 (Werke, i., i. 382): "So das Urtheil des Bannes, auch der Lehr, überall der Gmeind ist; vil mer das Erkiesen um einen Lehrer nit eines frömden Pochbischofs oder Abts syn soll sund der Kilchen, die Raths wyser christen- licher Propheten und Evangelisten pfligt." [Ban, doctrine, and much more the choice of a teacher, is with the Church.]

2 Luther an d. christl. Adel deutscher Nation, 1520, against the first Wall (see Div. I., § 1, Note 60). Luther de Captivitate Babylon., 1520, de Ordine (Tom. Jen., ii. 283 verso): Esto itaque certus, et esse agnoscat quicunque se Christianum esse cognoverit, om- nes nos aequaliter esse sacerdotes, b. e. eandem in verbo et sacramento quocunque ha- bere potestatem. Verum non licere quenquam hac ipsa uti, nisi consensu comunitatis aut vocationis majoris. Quod enim omnium est communitur, nullus singulariter potest sibi arrogare, donec vocetur. Ac per hoc Ordinis sacramentum, si quidquam est, esse nihil alium, quam ritum quendam vocandis alicujus in ministerium ecclesiasticum. Lu- ther, Auslegung des 110 Psalms, 1539 (Walch, v. 1509, in proof that he did not afterward change his views, as Schenkel assumes in his Wesen des Protest., iii. 277) [Every Chris- tian has and exercises the priestly work; above this is the common office of teacher]
office. The office of preaching, it was held, was indeed instituted by Christ for the proclamation and preservation of pure doctrine; but the preachers must be elected and called by the congregation; and the congregation, too, has the chief supervision of the soundness of doctrine; it is also to determine all eccle-

— for in a church all have office, nor can the sacraments be fitly celebrated in every house—hence there must be special persons for this; but this is not to make an order of priests]: "Siehe, also hat und übert ein jeglicher Christ solche Priesterwerke. Aber über das ist nun das gemeine Amt, so die Lehre öffentlich führet und treibt, darzu gehoren Pfarrherren und Prediger. Denn in der Gemeinde können sie nicht alle des Amts gewarten: so schicket sichs auch nicht, in einem jeglichen Hause zu taufen, und das Sacrament zu rechen. Darum muss man etliche darzu erwählen und ordnen, so zu predigen geschickt, und darzu in der Schrift sich üben, die das Lehramt führen, und dieselbe vertheidigen können; iem, also die Sacramente von wegen der Gemeinde handeln, damit man wisse, wer da getauft worden sey, und alles ordentlich zugehe.— Solches ist aber nicht der Priesterstand an ihm selbst, sondern ein gemein öffentlich Amt für die, so da alle Priester, d. i. Christen sind." Comp. Smalcald Articles, 1537, Anhang v. d. Bischöfe Gewalt; Christl. Concordienbuch v. Baumgarten, s. 604.

3 Luther de Capt. Babyl., see Note 2. Thus Luther counseled the Bohemians, De instituendis ministeris Ecclesiae ad clariss. Senatum Fragensem, 1523 (Tom. Jen., ii. 554 verso): Ubi oraveritis, nihil dubiteatis fidelem esse, quem rogatis, ut quod petitis.—Tum convocatis et convenientibus libere, quorum corda Deum tetigerit, ut vobiscum idem sentiant et sapient, procedatis in nomine Domini, et eligite quem et quos volueritis, qui digni et idonei visi fuerint. Tum impositis super eos manibus illorum, qui potiores inter vos fuerint, confirmetis et commendetis eos populo et Ecclesiae seu universitati, sintque hoc ipso vestri Episcopi, Ministri seu Pastores, Amen. See below, § 47, Note 1C.

4 Augsb. Confession, Art. 28. Of the Power of Bishops [The office of bishop is to preach, forgive sin, judge about doctrine, and exclude the godless from the Church; and pastors and churches are to obey them (Luke x.). But if they teach aught against the Gospel, we have God's command not to obey them (Matth. vii.; Gal. i. 8; 2 Cor. xiii., etc.). The bishops' power about marriage and tithes is from man]: "Derhalben ist das bisho fiscalche Amt nach gottlichen Rechten, das Evangelium predigen, Sünde vergeben, Lehre urtheilen, und die Lehre, so dem Evangelio entgegen, verwerfen, und die Gottlosen, dero gottlosen Wesen offenbar ist, aus christlicher Gemein ausschliessen, ohne menschliche Gewalt, sondern allein durch Gottes Wort; und disfalls sind die Pfarrleute und Kirchen schuldig, den Bischöfen gehorsam zu seyn, laut dieses Spruchs Christi Luc. am 10: 'Wer euch höret, der höret mich.' Wo sie aber etwas dem Evangelio entgegen lehren, setzen oder aufrichten, haben wir Gottes Befehl in solchem Fall, dass wir nicht solen gehorsam seyn, Matth. am 7: 'Sehet euch vor vor den falschen Propheten' (ferner Gal. i. 8; 2 Cor. xiii. 18, 10). Dass aber die Bischöfe sonst Gewalt u. Gerichtszwang haben in etlichen Sachen, als nennlich Ehesachen oder Zehnten, dieselben haben sie aus Kraft menschlicher Rechte." But that "there is no difference, by divine right, between bishops and pastors" is shown, after Jerome, in the Smalcald Articles, Anhang v. d. Bischöfe Gewalt (Baumgarten's Concordienbuch, s. 604).
siastical arrangements, and to pass sentence of excommunication.\(^6\)

But to carry these rights into practice presupposed a thorough Christian education of the Churches, which was to be attained only with great efforts, and without which the attempt to exercise these rights would lead to incalculable disorders and divisions.\(^7\) Strongly as Luther insisted upon the separation of the ec-

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\(^6\) Luther's Sermon vom Bann, 1519 (Walch, xix. 1111): "The power of the ban is given by Christ to the holy mother, the Christian Church, i.e., the congregation of all Christians." Luther of the Keys, 1530 (Walch, xix. 1182) [The Church, in the matter of the ban, must be certain that it is deserved; for in the ban it is Christ who speaks; and the Church is not bound to believe the official's indictment or the bishop's letters; it is even bound not to believe them, for men are not to be believed in God's matters. It is a Christian Church, and not the official's handmaid, nor the bishop's jailer, so that he might say to it, Greta, Hans, put this person in ban for me. This might do in secular affairs, but not where souls are at stake—there the Church is to be judge and wife]:

"Die Gemeine, so solchen soll bannisch halten, soll wissen und gewiss seyn, wie der den Bann verdienten und drein kommen ist:—denn sie gehörct auch darzu, wenn jemand bei ihr soll verbannet werden, spricht hie Christus und ist nicht schuldig des Officials Zeddel, noch des Bischofes Briefe zu glauben, ja sie ist schuldig hie nicht zu glauben; denn Menschen soll man nicht glauben in Gottes Sachen. So ist eine christliche Gemeine nicht des Officials Dienstmagd, noch des Bischofes Stockmeister, dass er möge zu ihr sagen: da Greta, da Hans, halt mir den oder den im Bann.—In weltlicher Obrigkeit hätte solches wol eine Meynung: aber hie, da es die Seelen betrifft, soll die Gemeine auch mit Richter und Frau seyn." Zwingli Uslegung des 31. Artikels, 1523 (Werke, i. 338): "Dass also der Bann allein einer jeden Kilchhöre eyc, die den Verärgerden soll bannen, und gheines besaduren Menschen, lehrend die Wort und That Pauli, 1 Cor. v. 1-6."

\(^7\) Luther's deutsche Messe, 1526, Preface (Richter's Evangel. Kirchenordnungen des 16. Jahrh., i. 86) [Rules and orders could soon be made if we only had the right sort of persons; but the churches can not be organized for lack of materials.—We must hold fast to the two methods of training the youth, and preaching and calling to faith, until we can find or make the right sort; else we become bankrupt. For we Germans are a wild, rude, noisy people, with which much can not be done excepting in the greatest need]:

"Kurzlich, wenn man die Leute und Personen hätte, die mit Ernst Christen zu seyn begehren, die Ordnung und Weisen wären balde gemacht. Aber ich kann und mag noch nicht eine solche Gemeine oder Versammlung ordnen oder anrichten; denn ich habe noch nicht Leute und Personen dazu, so sehe ich auch nicht viel, die dazu dringen.—Indes will ichs bei den gesagten zwei Weisen lassen bleiben, und öffentlich unter dem Volk solchen Gottsdienst, die Jugend zu uben und die andern zum Glauben zu ruffen und zu reizen, neben der Predigt, helfen sodern, bis dass die Christen, so mit Ernst das Wort meinen, sich selbst finden und anhalten, auf dass nicht eine Rotterei draus werde, so ichs aus meinem Kopf treiben wollte. Denn wir Deutschen sind ein wild, roh, toben Volk, mit dem nicht leichtlich ist etwas anzufachen, es treibe denn die
clesiastical and secular powers, yet, after the hierarchy was set aside, he had to invoke the aid of the State authorities (whose office, in fact, it is to preserve order in all spheres) to take care of

hohiste Noth." So, too, Luther advised the Landgrave Philip against the introduction of the church service drawn up on the basis of these principles by the Synod of Homburg: see his letter of January, 1527, in Richter's Gesch. d. Evangel. Kirchenverfassung, s. 41 [He could not be so bold as to introduce such a crow of laws with such strong words; laws imposed too soon are ill-advised; and experience shows that in this service much must be changed, and some things left to the authorities alone. We must go to work with fear and courage before God, be moderate, wait till some things take root, and then additions will come as a matter of course when needed—as was the case with Moses, Christ, the Romans, the Pope, and all lawgivers]: "Denn ich bisher und kann auch noch nicht so kühne sein, so ein Haufen Gesetze mit so mächtigen Worten bei uns furzunehmen. Dann ich wol weiss, aber auch wol erfahren, dass wenn Gesetze zu frue fur den Brauch und Uebung gestellt werden, selten wol gerathen, die Leute sind nicht darnach geschicket. Und die Erfahrung wird geben, dass diese Ordnung viel Stuck würden sich anders müssen, etliche der Oberkeit alleine bleiben. Darumb ist mit Furcht u. Demuth fur Gott zu tun, und diese Maas zu halten, kurz und gut, wenig und wol, solche und immer an, dann wenn sie einwurzeln, wird des Zuthuns selbs mehr folgen, denn von Nothen ist, wie Mosi, Christo, den Romern, dem Bapst und allen Gesetzgebern gangen ist."

Luther's Schrift v. weltl. Obrigkeit, wie weit man ihr Gehorsam schuldig sey, 1529, Walch, x. 437 [We must carefully separate these two regiments, and keep both; the one is for piety, the other for external peace, keeping off evil works. Neither is enough in the world without the other. P. 452: The secular laws are for the body and goods; over the soul God will let no one rule but himself; and when the secular power gives laws to the soul, it trespasses on God's rule, and destroys the soul]: "Darum muss man diese beide Regimtente mit Fleiss scheiden, und beides bleiben lassen. Eins, das fromm macht, das andere, das äusserlich Friede schafft, und bösen Werken wehret: keine ist ohn das andere guug in der Welt." S. 452: "Das weltliche Regiment hat Gesetze, die sich nicht weiter erstrecken, denn über Leib und Gut, und was äusserlich ist auf Erden. Denn über die Seele kann und will Gott niemand lassen regieren, denn sich selbst allein. Darum wo weltliche Gewalt sich vermittet, der Seelen Gesetz zu geben, da greift sie Gott in sein Regiment, und verführt und verdéret nur die Seelen." Augsb. Conf., Art. 29, of the Power of Bishops [The two regiments, the spiritual and secular, are not to be confounded; the former is for preaching and the sacraments, but is not to set up to depose kings, or annul the laws of the State, or obedience to the authorities, etc.]: "Darum soll man die zwei Regiment, das geistlich und weltliche, nicht in einander mengen und werfen. Denn der geistlich Gewalt hat seinen Befehl das Evangelium zu predigen und die Sacrament zu reichen, soll auch nicht in ein fremd Amt fallen, soll nicht Könige setzen oder entsetzen, soll weltlich Gewalt und Gehorsam der Obrigkeit nicht aufheben oder zerrüttten, soll weltlicher Gewalt nicht Gesetz machen und stellen von weltlichen Händeln."

Luther to the Elector John, 22d November, 1526 (de Wette, iii. 136) [All papal rule being at an end, and cloisters, etc., fallen into his hands, it was now his duty, and his alone, to arrange all matters. Villages and cities should be obliged to have schools, preachers, etc.; they must be obliged to do this, even if unwilling—just as to construct bridges, highways, and the like]: "Nu aber in E. K. F. G. Fürstenthum péstlich und geistlicher Zwang und Ordnung aus ist, und alle Kloster und Stift E. K. F. G. als dem obersten Haupt in die Hände fallen, kommen zugleich mit auch die Pflicht und Bewernde, solches Ding zu ordnen; denn sichs sonst niemand annimmt, noch annehmen kann noch soll. —Wo eine Stadt oder Dorf ist, die des Vermögens sind, hat E. K. F. G. Macht, sie zu zwingen, dass sie Schulen, Predigtstühle, Pfarren halten. Wollen sie es nicht zu ihrer Seligkeit thun noch bedenken, so ist E. K. F. G. da, als oberster Vormund.
the Church, now deprived of superintendence. The State, too, had always had certain rights in the Church; and the secular

der Jugend und aller, die es bedürfen, und soll sie mit Gewalt dazu halten, dass sie es thun müssen; gleich als wenn man sie mit Gewalt zwingt, dass sie zur Brücken, Steg und Weg, oder sonst zufälliger Landsnuth, geben und dienen müssen." Instructions to the Visitors, 1528, in Richter's Kirchenordnung, i. 83 [Having received the Gospel through God's great grace, we would gladly have arranged the affairs episcopally—with the office of visiting. But as no one of us had been called to this office—and yet it was one which is common to all Christians—we humbly asked our prince, ordained by God as such, for the sake of the Gospel and the welfare of the Christians in his land, to appoint fitting persons to this office. Some, who opposed, we separated from. Though his royal grace was not appointed to teach and administer in spiritual matters, yet it was his duty to prevent divisions and disasters among his subjects; as the Emperor Constantine had to aid the bishops at Nice, since he could not permit the dissensions which Arius had stirred up]: "Demnach so uns itzt das Evangelion durch unaussprechliche Gnade Gottes barmherziglich wieder kommen,—hätten wir auch dasselbige recht bischöflich und Bauscheam, als aufs hohe=st von Nöthen, gerne wieder angericht gesehen. Aber weil unser keiner dazu berufen, oder gewissen Befehl hatte, und S. Petrus nicht will in der Christenheit etwas schaffen lassen, man sey denn gewiss, dass Gottes Geschaft sey, hat sichs keincm fur dem Andern thuren (mogen) unterwinden. Da haben wir des wissen wollen spielen, und zur Liebe Amt (welches allen Christen gemein und geboten) uns gehalten, und demütiglich mit Bitten angelangt den durchleuchtigsten hochgeborenen Fürsten und Herren, Herren Johans, Herzog zu Sachsen,—als den Landesfürsten, und unser gewisse weltliche Oberkeit, von Gott verordnet; dass S. K. F. G. aus christlicher Liebe (denn sie nach weltlicher Oberkeit nicht schuldig sind) und um Gottes Willen, dem Evangelio zu gut und den elenden Christen in S. K. F. G. Landen zu Nutz und Heil, gnadiglich wollten etliche tüchtige Personen zu solchem Amt sodern und ordnen.—Wo aber etliche sich muthwilliglich davinder setzen würden,—müssen wir dieselbigen sich lassen von uns—sön dern. —Wiewol wir auch hierin unserm gnadiigesten Herren Hläf und Rath nicht wollen unbesucht lassen. Denn obwol S. K. F. G zu lehren und geistlich zu regieren nicht befohlen ist; so sind sie doch schuldig, als weltliche Oberkeit darob zu halten, dass nicht Zwiertacht, Rotten und Aufruhr sich unter den Unterthanen erheben, wie auch der Kaiser Constantinus die Bischove gen Nicae foddert, da er nicht leiden wollt noch soll die Zwiertacht, so Arrius hatte unter den Christen im Kaiserthum angereicht." Hence Luther says of the Elector, in his letter to the Visitors, March 25, 1539 (de Wette, v. 173), that he "was our one only bishop in extremities, because no other bishop would help us."

10 Luther's Verlegung der 12 Artikel der Bauerschaft, 1555, Walch, xvi. 84 [On the first Article—viz., a Church has the right to elect and depose its pastor; right, if done in a Christian way. But if the property of the parish is from the lords, and not the Church, the Church can not use it for him whom they elect—this were robbery—but must ask the rulers first for a pastor. If this is refused, the Church may choose its own, and support him, and leave to the rulers their property. If the latter will not let them have such a pastor, then they must let him go to another city, and they flee with him, as Christ teaches]: "Auf den ersten Artikel: Eine ganze Gemeinde soll Macht haben, einen Pfarrherrn zu wählen und entsetzen. Dieser Artikel ist recht, wenn er nur auch christlich würde vorgenommen.—Wenn nun die Güter der Pfarr von der Oberkeit kommen, und nicht von der Gemeinde, so mag die Gemeinde nicht dieselben Güter zuwenden dem, den sie erwählt, denn was dureh geraubt und genommen; sondern, will sie einen Pfarrherrn haben, dass sie zuerst solchen demütiglich bitte von der Oberkeit. Will die Oberkeit nicht, so wolle sich einen eigenen, und nähere denselben von ihren eigne nen Gütern, und lasse der Oberkeit ihre Güter, oder erlange sie mit Recht von ihnen. Will aber die Oberkeit solchen ihren erwählten und ernährten Pfarrherrn nicht leiden, so lasse man ihn fliehen in eine andere Stadt, und flehe mit ihm, wer da will, wie Christus lehret. Das heisset christlich und evangelisch eigenen Pfarrherrn wählen und ha-
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authorities formed likewise the most important and prominent members of the Church.11 Biblical examples, also, not only justified this course, but made it a sacred duty12 of princes to preserve

ben. Wer anders that, der handelt unchristlich, als ein Räuber und Freveler." Judicium Theol., Viteberg., 1536 (Corp. Ref., iii. 224), declares on the question: Quatenus ad Magistratus civilis officium pertinet ablere impios cultus? quod Magistratus in Ecclesia, pertinentibus ad suum dominium aut jus patronatus, debeat prohibere impios cultus et restituiere pios. Nam secundum praeceptum decalogi jubet prohibere et punire blasphemias.—Et Magistratus custos esse debeat non solum secundae tabulae, sed etiam primae, quod ad externam disciplinam attinet. Constant autem impia dogmata, impios cultus, blasphemias esse. This is further carried out in a memorial of Melancthon, 1537, on the question: An Principes debeant mutare impios cultus, censandibus aut prohibentibus Episcopis aut superioribus Dominis? Corp. Ref., iii. 240.

11 See the Memorial, 1537, mentioned at the close of Note 10, C. R., iii. 244: Cessantibus Episcopis, aut si ipsi Episcopi falsa docent, reliqua Ecclesia debet malos pastores ab officio removere, et in quolibet coetu praeceptua membra caeteris praecipe decent, et juvare alios, ut emendet Ecclesia. Principes et caeteri Magistratus debent esse praeceptua membra Ecclesiae. Ergo necesse est, illos hanc emendationem inchoare et adjuvare. Smalcald Article, Appendix on the Power and Supremacy of the Pope, 1537, in Baumgarten's Concordienbuch, s. 601 [Chiefly must kings and princes, the leading members of the Church, help and see to the doing away of all error, and instructing the conscience; to this office God has exhorted them in Psalm ii.: their highest care should be to promote God's glory]: "Vornehmlich aber sollen Könige und Fürsten, als vornehmste Glieder der Kirchen, helfen und schauen, dass allerlei Irrthum weggethan, und die Gewissen recht unterrichtet werden, wie denn Gott zu solchem Amt die Könige und Fürsten sonderlich vermahnet im 2. Psalm: 'Ihr Könige, lasset euch weisen, und ihr Richter auf Erden, lasset euch zächtigen.' Denn diess soll bei den Königen und grossen Herren die vornehmste Sorge seyn, dass sie Gottes Ehr eheissig fördern." Melancthon's Memorial, De Impositione Manuum ad Vitum Theod., 1540, C. R., v. 210: Vide in probatisimis historiis, fuisse universalemorem primae Ecclesiae, eligi, i. e. vocari Episcopos per populum, i. e. honestissimos homines in singulis ordinibus.— Sic nunc vocantur ministri in nostris Ecclesiis vel per Principes, vel per Senatum in Rebus publicis. Et est pia et justa vocatio. Princeps et Senatores dupliciter habent jus vocandi: primum quia praesunt, et vult Deus gubernatores curare ministerium Evangelii: deinde quia sunt praeceptua membra Ecclesiae. 12 Luth. ad Spalatin., 12. Nov., 1525, de Wette, iii. 50: Debet enim Principes—blasphemias nominis Dei manifestas—cohibere, interim nihil cogentes, sive credant illi, sive non, qui prohibentur.—Exemplum credo satissimus esse, quod Christus flagellis factis vi expellit vendentes et ementes de templo, Luther to the Margrave George of Brandenburg, 1531, in de Wette, iv. 307 [As King Hezekiah did right in breaking in pieces the brazen serpent of Moses, because the people made of it an idol, although many were offended at him, so with your Grace in respect to masses]: "Darum gleichwie der König Ezechias recht that, dass er die heilige ebene Schlange Mose zerbrach, weil das Volk einen Götzen draus machte, unangesehen dass sich viel davon ärgerten und ihm feind wurden: also sey E. F. G. auch fest und getrost, dass sie solch lasterlich Massen haben abgethan." Mal. quaeestio de Bonifacio VIII., 1537, C. R., iii. 470: Magistratus servit gloriae Dei, et fit ejus functio cultus Dei, cum studet tueri, propagare, et ornare veram doctrinam, et contra prohibere impia dogmata. Quia igitur principale officium, quod proprue ad gloriam Dei pertinet, et quod proprue meretur illum titulum, quo ornantur Magistratus in Psalmo (Ixxxi. 6): Ego dixi, dii satis: scilicet quia et officium habent divinitus constitutum, et imperti debent res divinas, religionem, justitiam, disciplinam, pacem, etc. Et ob hanc causam vocantur ab Esaia (xlii. 28) nutritii Ecclesiae, quia nutrire et tueri debent pios doctores, et non debent saevitiam exercere in Christianos. In the Reformatio Ecclesiarum Hassiae of the Synod at Homberg, 1526 (Rich-
the truth in its purity. Thus the rulers of the land were induced to visit their churches and to set them in order.\textsuperscript{13} Afterward the highest authority in the management of the Church was conceded to them, even including the right of obliging their subjects to fulfill their external duties to the Church.\textsuperscript{14} It was only expected, on the other hand, that they would carry out the regimen of the Church by means of special courts kept distinct from the secular authorities,\textsuperscript{15} and in accordance with the counsels of the clergy.\textsuperscript{16}

ter's Kirchenordnungen, i. 66), reference is had to the example of King Jehoshaphat (2 Chron., xviii. 7). In the Memorial of the Wittenberg divines, De Jure Reformandi, 1537 (C. R., iii. 242), there is even an appeal to the case of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan., iii. 29), qui edictum proponit, ne quis dicat blasphemiam contra Deum Israel.

\textsuperscript{12} See Luther's Appeal to the Elector John, 22d November, 1526; de Wette, iii. 135.

\textsuperscript{13} See Luther to the Elector, above, Note 9. Thus the Elector commands the peasants, through the Visitors, 1529 (Richter's Kirchenordnungen, i. 108): 1. To truly hear the Word of God; 3. To give to the pastors their rents and tithes fully and punctually on an appointed day, etc. Luther to the Margrave George of Brandenburg, 14th Sept., 1531; de Wette, iv. 308 [It would be proper for the Elector to enjoin, with penalties, the use of the Catechism; for, if the people will be Christians, they ought to be obliged to learn what a Christian ought to know—whether he believe in it or not]: "Doch ware es fein, dass E. F. G. aus weltlicher Oberkeit gebote beide, Pfarrherrn und Pfarrkindern, dass sie alle bei einer Strafe mussten den Katechismum treiben und lernen, auf dass, weil sie Christen seyn und heissen wollen, auch gezwungen wurden zu lernen und wissen, was ein Christ wissen soll, Gott gebe, er glaube daran oder nicht." (That is, faith comes only from preaching through the working of the Holy Spirit: then the natural man is to be bound by the law to the outward hearing of the sermon; the civil powers have to administer the law.) In the Memorial of the Wittenberg divines, De Jure Reformandi, 1537 (C. R., iii. 246), it is declared, politias divinitus admirabilis apientia et bonitato constitutae esse, non tantum ad quasendra et fruenda ventria bona, sed multo magis, ut Deus in societate innoscat, ut aeterna bona quas'antur.


\textsuperscript{15} Melanchth. Quaestio de Bonifacio VIII., 1537, C. R., iii. 470: Nec debet esse (Ecclesia) δημοκρατία, qua promiscue concedatur omnibus licentia vociferandi, et movendi dogmata, sed δησποτουργία sit, in qua ordine hi, qui præsunt, Episcopi et Reges com-
For this object Superintendents were at first appointed, in order to fill up, as far as seemed necessary, the vacancies left by the retiring of the bishops.\textsuperscript{17} It was, however, soon seen that there was required for the ecclesiastical affairs some authority having judicial functions, and accordingly Consistories were established (the first in Wittenberg, in 1539) after the pattern of the earlier episcopal courts of the same name.\textsuperscript{18} The churches, instead of
the right of electing their clergy, retained only the right of opposing the appointments of patrons. Excommunication fell into disuse for a long time; and when it was revived, it at once fell in every consistory a commissarius, or highest iudex, who should have "complete jurisdiction, and power to cite and bring forward the parties, hear and adjudicate the case," since the usual officers were often neglectful. A Consistory was now established in Wittenberg, about which Luther wrote to Spalatin, 12th January, 1541 (de Wette, v. 329): Etsi hic Wittenbergae consistorium coeperit constitui, tamen ubi absolutum fuerit, nihil ad Visitatores pertinebit, sed ad causas matrimoniales (quas hic ferre amplius nec volumus nec possumus) et ad rusticos cogendos in ordinem aliquem disciplinae et ad persolvendos reditus pastoribus, quod forte et nobilitatem et magistratus passim necessario attinget. In 1542 Consistories were definitely appointed in Wittenberg, Zeitz, and Zwickau (the last sketch, the basis of the Constitution, in Richter's Kirchenordnung, i. 867. Mel. ad Camerar., 11. Oct., 1545, C. R., v. 865, says about the changes: Hic plura sunt duces, nos theologicapluram insereramus). The Consistory in Wittenberg was composed of two theologians, two doctors of law, an exchequer attorney, a notary (secretary), and two messengers. It had the oversight of purity of doctrine, the order of worship, the morals of the clergy and congregations; it was to protect the clergy in their rights and authority, and to decide in marriage affairs. It was to appoint visitations of the churches, and to see that remote places were visited by superintendents and functionaries. It alone had the power of excommunication (till then fallen into disuse), by which persons were excluded from all church matters excepting sermons, including civil punishments, suspension from office, and prohibition of labor for a time. After this precedent, Duke Maurice established Consistories in Leipzig, 1543 (Verordnung vom 22. Sept., 1543, in Mencken Scriptt. Repr. Germ., ii. 2171: it was united from 1544 to 1550 with the Merseburg), and in Meissen, 1545 (K. G. Weber's System. Darstellung des im Koenigreiche Sachsen geltenden Kirchenrechts, i. 489); his brother August as Administrator of Merseburg, 1544, in Merseburg (Franstädt's Einführung der Reform. in Merseburg, s. 156); Elector Joachim II. of Brandenburg, 1543, in Cologne, on the Spree (H. v. Mühlcr's Gesch. der Evangelischen Kirchenverfassung in Brandenburg, s. 59). The Wittenberg reformation, 1545 (C. R., v. 604), declared such church courts or Consistoria to be necessary.

19 Melanchthon's Memorial to Duke Henry, 1536 (C. R., iii. 184): "It is true that no man should assume the public office of preacher without a public call; and this call is to come chiefly from the civil authorities, with the assent of the churches of the place where the person is ordered to preach." Mel. de Reformatione Ecclesiae, 1541 (C. R., iv. 544): In eligendis pastoris etiamsi patronis nollamus adimiri, tamen nec patroni praeficient pastores non prius commendatos aliquo testimonio Ecclesiae, h. e. honestorum hominum in eo cocta, cui datur pastor. Et liceat Ecclesiis rejicere impios aut non idoneos, aut referre rem ad Episcopos, aut eos, qui loco Episcoporum sustinent gubernationem ecclesiasticam. The later ecclesiastical usage is first put forth in the Württemberg church service, 1559 (Richter, ii. 201). It provides that before any one is appointed preacher he must first preach several times in the church in the presence of the superintendent. If the congregation refuse to have him "for honorable causes," he shall not be forced upon them. But if the refusal be "frivolous, without honorable cause, from ignorance or caprice," the church council is to pay no heed to it. This provision was then adopted in the Brunswick church service, 1569; and in that of Electoral Saxony, 1580. Here and there the congregations had a more or less free choice, e. g. in Sleswick-Holstein; see Matthiae, Beschreib. der Kirchenverfassung in d. Herzogthümmern Schleswig u. Holstein; Flensburg, 1778, s. 84.

20 Memorial of the Wittenberg divinæ to those of Ansbach and Nuremberg, 1552 (de Wette, iv. 868) [No other ban than exclusion from the Lord's Supper; and this can be carried out, because no one is admitted to this sacrament without being previously instructed by the pastor or deacon.—Where the ban is public, the civil authorities must
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into the hands of the Consistories which had gradually sprung up.\(^{21}\)

As Luther had complained of the jurists for holding fast to the
enjoin the avoiding of the excommunicated—which in large places might lead to much
injustice. But our private ban does not disturb civil commerce:] "Wir haben keinen
ander Bann noch zur Zeit aufgerichtet, denn dass diejenige, so in öffentlichen Lästen sind
und nit ablassen, nit zu dem Sacrament des Leibs und Bluts Christi zugelassen werden;
und das kann man damit erhalten, dass man bei uns niemand das heil. Sacrament rei-
chet, er sey denn zuvor durch Pfarrer oder Diacon verhört.—Sollt auch der öffentliche
Bann angericht werden, so muss die weltlich Oberkeit dennoch auch dazu ein Ordnung
halten mit der Meldung des Verbannten, sollte anders der öffentliche Bann ein ernstlich
Exempel seyn: dass willt nu auch zu dieser Zeit sonderlich in grossen Städten und Re-
gimen teln viel Unrichtigkeit gebären. Aber dieser unser Bann, da privatimeinem das
Sacrament verboten wird, irret die burgerlich Bewohnung und Händel nichts."

Luther's Table-Talk. Warning to the Wittenbergers, 1539 (Walch, xxii. 958): "A cry
has gone out among you, about which many idle things have been said, that the ban is
again to be set up." P. 965: "This is the true and chief reason why the ban has every
where fallen into sheer disuse, that there are so few true Christians any where, a mere
little flock of small numbers." So, too, he writes to A. Lauterbach, April 2, 1543, in re-
spect to the dukedom of Saxony (de Wette, v. 551): Placet exemplo Hassiaeae ex-
communicationis: si idem poteritis statuere, optime facietis. Sed Centauri et Har-
pyiae isuicae aegre feren.

\(^{21}\) How Luther would have excommunication administered (after Matth. xviii. 15) is
seen in his Admonition to the Wittenbergers, 1539 (Walch, xxii. 960): "I would have ex-
communication begun, and, if God will, at once. When I have first warned the accused,
I then would send to him two persons, two chaplains or others. Next, I would have him
before me in the sacrist, or elsewhere in the presence of the chaplain, or of two members
of the council and corporation, and of two honorable persons of the congregation. If he
will not amend, but keep on in public sins with a stiff neck, I would then declare the
matter publicly to the Church in this wise: Dear friends, I proclaim to you that N. has
been warned, first by me, then by the chaplain, next by councilors and members of the
corporation, and also by members of the Church, and he will not turn from his evil ways.
Hence it is my friendly prayer to you, help with your counsel, kneel down, help to pray
against him and to give him over to the devil," etc. The pastor was here to proceed in
company with the Church, but to be the leader and executor in the matter. Smalcald
Articles, 1537, Appen., on the Power of Bishops (Baumgarten's Concordienbuch, s. 606):
"This is certain, that all pastors should have common jurisdiction, to excommunicate
those who live in public sin; and that the bishops have tyrannically assumed this." It
is here presupposed that the parties are to have the counsel of suitable members of the
Church; and this is often declared in other connections. Luther says in his Vermah-
nung, 1539 (Walch, xxii. 958): "Solchen Bann wollten wir gern anrichten, nicht dass
es ein Caplan oder Prediger allein thun sollte oder konnte, ihr müsst selbst mit helf-
en." Theologhi Viteb. ad Concionatores Norinberg, 1540, C. R., iii. 965: Restituetur et
excommunicatio,—adhibitis in hoc judicium senioribus in qualibet Ecclesia. Mel. de Abusibus Eccles. emendandis, 1541, C. R., iv. 548: "Nec liceat soli pastoris ferre sen-
tentiam excommunicationis sine ulla judicium decuria, aut nemino adhibito ex honesti-
orumibus viris suae Ecclesiae." The Wittenberg Reformation, 1545, C. R., v. 605, would
commit to the Consistories the sententiæ excommunicationis: "Doch sollen in alle Weg
die Sachen vorhin gehört und mit ordentlicher Weise geurtelt werden, zu welcher
Verhör nicht allein die Priester zu ziehen, sondern auch gottfürchtige gelehrte Perso-
nen aus den weltlichen Standen und förnnehme Gliedmass der Kirchen. Denn da unser
Heiland Christus spricht: saget es der Kirchen,—folget, dass nicht allein ein Stand,
nämlich die Bischofe, sondern auch andere gottfürchtige Gelahrte aus allen Ständen als
Richter zu setzen sind, und voces decisivas haben sollen."
canon law because it had not been legally abolished, and also because they adhered to statutes inconsistent with the Gospel, so too, he, as well as Melancthon, were opposed to the preponderance of the secular power in ecclesiastical affairs; and both were of


23 These differences are given, as follows, by Justus Jonas, in the Bedenken der Consistorien halber 1588 (in Richter's Gesch. d. Evangel. Kirchenverfassung, s. 89): 1. On secret vows of marriage (which the jurists declared to be valid, and Luther invalid). 2. On divorces and their grounds. 3. On the marriage of priests (which the jurists persistently declared invalid). 4. On the unlawful degrees (the jurists here held fast to the canon law; the Reformers went back to the Mosaic). 5. On the wives, children, heirs, sons and daughters of pastors and preachers—to protect them against the Colaterales, friends by birth, who might be papists and opposed priests' marriage. As to this article, it is of the first importance to have a provincial statute and law given by the royal authorities, that many thousand orphans and widows may not be molested. (Luther complains to the Count Albr. of Mansfeld, 5th October, 1536, de Wette, v. 26: "Sintemal ich noch bis daber nicht einen Juristen habe, der wider den Papst in solchen oder dergleichen Fallen mit mir und bei mir halten wolte, also dass sie auch meine Ehre und Beettelstücke nicht gedenken meinen Kindern zuzusprechen, noch keinen Priester."

Elector Joh. Friedrich in der Furhaltung vom 5. Mai, 1537, C. R., iii. 866: "Zudem vermerkten E. Ch. G., dass die Juristen zum Theil der Priester Ehe in ihren Lectionen, auch sonst öffentlich beredeten, davon den Leuten Ursach gegeben würde, wenn die weibten Priester vertäuben, dass ihre Freunde ihre Erbschaft forden thätten, und wollten ihre Kinder nicht Erbe seyn lassen. Nun wollten aber E. Ch. Gn. durch eine Landesordnung vermittelt göttlicher Hülf demselben Maass finden, wiewohl E. Ch. Gn. weiter vermerkten, als wollt man fürgeben, dass auch ein solch Ordnung kraftiglich nicht gemacht, noch aufgericht könnt werden.") In the project of the Wittenberg Consistorial Order, 1542, Richter's Kirchenordnung, l. 874, the marriage of priests was declared to be legal, and secret betrothals forbidden; however, these provisions, as well as the whole concluding part, were not adopted in the published Order: the Elector ordered, January 8, (?) 1544, the jurists to agree with the theologians, and accept the Lutheran views (Seckendorf Comm. de Lutheranismo, iii. 581). In the Consistory, particularly, the view of the jurists about private betrothals had got the upper hand; and Luther complained of this to the Elector, January 22, 1544 (de Wette, v. 615), and wrote very bitterly to the Consistory itself (p. 618), and spoke and preached against it (ad Spalatinum, 30. Jan., 1544, l. c., p. 626: Ego tibi fateor, in hoc anno novo sic esse me acceptum, ut in vita mea et in tota causa Evangelii nunquam fuerim perturbator. Oritur enim mihi cum Juristas negotium acerrimum de clandestinis sponsalibus). The jurists did not conform to the decision of the Elector, as they thought themselves bound by the law of the empire (Luther's Predigt gegen sie, Walch, xxii. 2175, 2178). They also declared the archdeacon a digamma, because he has had two wives, and would not recognize him as a preacher (p. 2179). From this period are the strongest sayings of Luther against the jurists; so too, (Walch, xxii. 2210), "Wo must pull down the Consistory, if we would not soon have the jurists and pope in it."

opinion that the restoration of the episcopal dignity as a merely human institution—if the bishops accepted the Evangelical faith—would be beneficial to the Church. After and by the Religious Peace, however, episcopal jurisdiction over Protestant countries being suspended, the princes having received the assent of the empire

relinquant his, qui ad eas vocati sunt, qui rationem Deo reddent.—Satan pergit esse Satan. Sub Papa miscuit Ecclesiæ politiae : sub nostro tempore vult miscere politiam Ecclesiæ. To Amsdorf, 21st July, 1544 (de Wette, v. 675): "The court isn't worth any thing. Its regiment is mere crabs or snails. It can't get away from the statuo quo, or else it comes right back to it. Christus optime Ecclesiae consultit, qui aulae non commisit Ecclesiæ administracionem. The devil had else nothing to do but devour vain Christian souls."

There was universal complaint about the slights and arbitrary treatment to which the clergy were subjected by the people and officers of government. Having got rid of the oppression of the clergy of the old Church, they were not ready to let the new clergy become so powerful. Thus in Luther's Exhortation to Prayer against the Turks, 1541, Walch, xx. 2744: "It has come to this—that we see young masters, cities, even small muddy towns and villages, that would prevent their pastors and preachers from inveighing against sin and crime in the pulpit, or else chase them away and starve them; and he that takes any thing from them is holy. If they complain to the officials, they are called so ambitious that nothing can satisfy them." Erasmus Sarcerius on the Annual Visitation; Eisleben, 1555. 4. Cf. Engelhardt, in Niedner's Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol., 1850, i. 86. It was seen that reputable and independent men must be put at the head of church affairs to insure favorable treatment and energetic measures, and to secure the requisite authority to the clergy. Comp. the Memorial of the Wittenberg and other divines to the diet at Smalcald, March 1, 1540, C. R., iii. 942 [Even if we had bishops sound in doctrine, etc., yet the large cities and princes may not be inclined to give them a jurisdiction, and allow visitations. But it is evident that the churches need to be visited by those high in office, else the churches will not be long honored, and pastors will be evil treated in villages.—If any bishops keep the true faith, it would be well for them to retain Ordinatio, Visitatio, and Jurisdiction in marriage matters]: "Wenn gleich die Bischofe die rechte Lehre annehmen, dieselbig ge zu fördern u. tüchtige Personen dazu zu halten sich erbieten, so werden doch vielleicht die grossen Stadte u. etliche Fürsten nicht gern leiden, dass ihnen wiederum eine Jurisdiction eingeräumt sollt werden, und dass sie umherziehen und visitiren. Dagegen ist aber auch zu gedenken, dass den Kirchen mit der Zeit vonnothenseyn v.inl,dass sie durch stattliche Personen visitirt werden. Denn die weltlichen Herren werden die Länge der Kirchen nicht gross achten, und werden jetz und die Priester auf den Dörfern übel gehalten, werden auch viel Pfarrer wüste. Nun wäre es nützlich, so sich etliche Prälaten der Kirchen treulich annehmen wollten, die weil sie doch die Güter haben, und könnten die Visitation erhalten, dass sie solches thät. Wo nun etliche etliche Bischofe und Stifte recht Lehre und die nothigen Stucken annehmen, u. der Kirche dienen wollten, wäre nachzugeben, dass sie in ihren Dignitaten blieben, und behielten die Ordinatio, Visitation, und Jurisdiction in Ehesachen."

FOURTH PERIOD.—DIV. I.—A.D. 1517-1618.

to their exercise of authority in the matter, Consistories were at once every where established, and became the organs of the rulers in their whole government of the Church. The opposition of the Flacianists, who wanted theologians to rule in the Church instead of princes, was fruitless. In the countries, too, in which

bit noble dissolve 

Seu 

it etiam sibi

30 Appeals to this in the Baden-Pforzheim Mandate, 1556, Richter's Kirchenordnung, ii. 178; in the Hessian Church Service, 1572, ibid., s. 849. But the princes frequently appealed to divine authority. Thus Duke Christopher of Württemberg, in the Preface to the Church Service, 1559 (ibid., p. 198): "Wie wir uns dann (ungeachtet dass etlicher Vermeinen nach der weltlichen Oberkeit allein das weltlich Regimt zustehen soll) vor Gott schuldig erkennen, und wissend unser Amts und Berufs sein, wie auch des Gott der Allmächtig in seinem gestrengen Urthcil von uns erfordern wird, vor allen Dingen unser untergebe Landchaft mit der reinen Lehre des h. Evangelii—versorgen, und also der Kirchen Christi mit Ernst und Eifer annehmen; dann erst und darnaben in zeitlicher Regierung nutzliche Ordnung und Regimt—anzustellen und zu erhal- ten." So, too, Duke Julius of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, in his Mandate prefixed to the Church Service, 1569 (cf. s. 819).

31 The divines assembled at Naumburg, May, 1554, insisted on this; see the Declaration, drawn up by Melancthon, C. R., viii. 290: "The Consistoria are already set on foot in some places, but the executio is weak." P. 291: All that rule are bound "to see to it that the true doctrine is preached, and that consistories are instituted for the punishment of vice and the maintenance of discipline and unity." So, too, Erasmus Sarco- rius, General Superintendent in Mansfeld: Von christlichen, nothigen, und nutzigen Consistorien oder geistl. Gerichten, Eisleben, 1554. 4.; see Engelhardt, in Niedner's Zeitschr. f. d. Hist. Theol., 1850, s. 116. Thus, in 1564, a Consistory was established at Celle (Schlegel's Kirchen- u. Reformationsgesch. von Norddeutschland, ii. 395; Richter's Kirchenordnung, ii. 265); 1568 one at Wolfenbüttel (Schlegel, ii. 263).

32 For this end there was appointed, first in Wittenberg, a central church commission, the Church Council, by the Service-Book of 1559 (see Richter, ii. 218); and, after this example, an Upper Consistory in Dresden, by the Church-Book of Electoral Saxony, 1580 (ibid., 421); comp. Richter's Gesch. d. Evang. Kirchenverfassung, s. 121.

33 Thus Hasnusius, 1559, in Heidelberg, § 87, Note 87; the theologians in Jena, 1560, § 38, Note 2; Mussius, in Bremen, 1561, § 38, Note 10.

34 The Weimar book against the Frankfort Recess had also declared against a super- vision of doctrine on the part of the Consistories; see Melancthon's Answer, in C. R., ix. 618. When the Consistory was established in Weimar, in 1561 (see § 38, Note 6), Flacius wrote to Max Mörlin, its first clerical assessor, and brought forward twelve rea- sons against the establishment of a Consistory (Unschuldige Nachr., 1716, s. 764): i. Politicus Magistratus sibi sumit jus condendii decretae de rebus religious et judicio gra- vissimo Ecclesiae de doctrina et clavibus. Sumit etiam sibi jus eligendi personas, et denique conclusendi sui judicium de sententiiis, cum Ecclesiae sit condere de cerneniis ac judicinis suis, non potentum ac sapientum mundi hujus. Videte iterum atque iterum vos Speculatores Israel, ne assuefaciatis aulas ac Achitophelis ad obtrudenda Ecclesiae sua mandata, per vos tanquam suos praecones proclamanda. Inde jus sibi...
the bishops accepted the Reformation, and at first retained the
government of the Church, in Brandenburg and Prussia, as
well as in those in which a synodal constitution was first intro-
duced, in Pomerania and Hesse, these arrangements were grad-

sument nunc impii Magistri et in omnem posteritatem, religionesque pro arbitrio for-
mabant et reformabunt, etique eun Kaiserlich Papstthum, sicut tu nostros affectare nup-
per pie monebas. II. Privantur Ecclesia omnesque alii pi Pastores ac Superintendentes (facultate) per synodos judicandi de doctrina, penes quam et quos rerum maximarum haec potestas, tum divino mandato, tum vteri perpetuoque more ac consuetudine tale 
judicium fuit. III. Praecipitatur religio et Ecclesia in extremum periculum tyrannidis 
pauorum Consorci um. Sicut Bedenken Illustr. Principis contra Francofurticum 
decretum monet. IV. Contra verbum Dei, Augustanam Confessionem, Apologiaim, 
Schmaltaudicos Articulos, et totius Ecclesiae consuetudinem auctoritatem prorsus clavis 
ligans a ministri J. Chr.—Talia laceratior ministerii an sine impietato fieri, aut a vols 
Superintendentibus promoveri queat, Vos fratres judicate. X. Simpliciter mandatur 
tantum executio poenae Superintendenti a Consitorio sine omni ipissim cognitione: qua 
consicentia eam ille praestare poterit? Nam Superintendentes erunt tantum licitores 
at carnifices, qui simpliciter ac sine omni cognitione mandata Magistratus exequi 
tenentur. XI. Ex praefatione satis appareat, quod etiam separatio a sacramento seu suspensio Ministri suaveraturs. Nemini ergo Pastores audebunt negare Sacramenta aut absolutionem nisi convicto pries ac condemnato a Consorio. Quanta hic profanatio Sacramentorum! XII. Prorsus tollitur processus Christi, Matth. xviii.: Si peccaveris in frater tuus, aut si quid habeas contra proximum, etc. Hic enim simpliciter mandatur, ut, si quis novit aliquud alicupus crimine etiam occultum, max accusationem coram Consistorio.— 
Abjeto ergo Christi praescrito sequamur hominum processum. Taceo, quod istis mun-
tuis cruantissque accusationibus horrenda dissidia inter Pastores et auditores excitabun-
tur. Nam Pastoris castigatio paterna est, ut accusatio coram Princeps cruentum quid 
sonet et continet. Multi Pastores maventum summam licentiam peccandi suis relinquere, 
quam tam molestas quin et sumtuoas litis sustinere.

31 Matthias of Jagow, Bishop of Brandenburg, conformed to the Reformation, assent-
ed to the church service appointed by the Elector (Richter, I. 323), and remained in pos-
session of his episcopal rights until his death, in 1545. General Superintendents and a 
Consistory were appointed, in Cologne-on-the-Spree, for the dioceses of the bishops of 
Havelburg and Lebus. After the death of Jagow the same arrangement was extended 
Mark Brandenburg, Weimar, 1846, s. 50; Richter's Gesch. d. Evang. Kirchenverfassung, 
s. 131.

32 Here both bishops conformed, the Bishop of Samland, and of Pomesania, and issued, 
in 1525, the first Evangelical Church Service Book (Richter, I. 28). This episcopal pow-
er afterward became inconvenient to the Duke, and he repeatedly left the posts unfilled, 
while the Estates were trying to keep them up. With the death of the Bishop of Pome-

sania and the administrator of Samland, Wigand (1587), the episcopal office came to an 
end, and Consistories were established; Jacobson's Gesch. der Quellen des Evang. Kir-
chenrechts der Provinzen Preussen und Posen, s. 21; Richter's Gesch. d. Evang. Kir-
chenverfassung, s. 129.

33 In Pomerania the General Superintendents had many episcopal rights; from 1541 
general synods of the city preachers were convened from time to time, which decided 
about all ecclesiastical matters under the presidency of the General Superintendent; 
Balthasar's zwei Sammlungen einigerzur Pommerschen Kirchenhistorie gehörigen 
Schriften, Greifswald, 1723. 25. 4. At the Greifswald Synod, 1556, it was determined 
to erect three Consistoria or church courts at Stettin, Colberg or Stolpe, and Greifswald, 
which should decide about excommunications, since the pastors often incurred peril in 
these cases (Balthasar, i. 138). The last General Synod was held in 1598; afterward
ually superseded by the consistorial constitution; in Jülich, Cleve, and Berg, however (and here alone), peculiar relations contributed to the building up and firm establishment of the synodal constitution.\(^3^5\) In theory, the government of the Church by princes was usually vindicated on the assumption that theepiscopal rightshad devolved upon them in consequence of the Religious Peace; and then, by an exact limitation of this authority, the Church was to be protected against arbitrary encroachments.\(^3^6\)

the power of the General Superintendents passed over to the Consistories (Balthasar Jus Eccl. Pastorale, i. 262, 541; Richter's Gesch. d. Evang. Kirchenverfassung, s. 123).

\(^{24}\) Against the Church Service, drawn up by Franz Lambert, and adopted by the Synod of Homberg, 1526 (Reformatio Ecclesiarum Hassiae, in Richter's Kirchenordn., i. 50), which established presbyteries and synods, but allowed the churches the right of appointing and deposing preachers, Luther uttered strong doubts (see Note 7, above), and it was never carried through. The Landgrave thereupon appointed six superintendents, with modified episcopal prerogatives (in Cassel, Rotenburg, Marburg, Alsfeld, Darmstadt, and St. Goar); see Hessische Visitationsordnung von 1557, in Richter's Kirchenordn., i. 281; they held annual synods in their dioceses, and then, in conjunction with some selected pastors, formed the General Synod, the highest ecclesiastical court. By the Order for Christian Church Discipline, 1559 (Richter, i. 290), elders were appointed for each church for purposes of discipline. The General Synods were kept up after Philip's death, under the separate governments of his sons, but came to an end in 1582, in consequence of the divisions that sprung up between the Calvinizing Lower Hessians and the strict Lutheran Upper Hessians (Dr. H. Happe's Gesch. d. Hess. Generalsynoden v. 1558–82, 2 Bde., Kassel, 1847). Upon the introduction of Calvinism, the Landgrave Maurice exercised more than episcopal rights; and then established a consistory in Marburg, 1610, as the highest ecclesiastical tribunal, i. e., the highest organ of his ecclesiastical authority (Happe's Einführung der Verbesserungspuncte in Hessen, Kassel, 1849, s. 174). W. Bach's Gesch. d. kurhess. Kirchenverfassung, Marburg, 1832.

\(^{25}\) As the ducal house of these lands remained Catholic until its extinction in 1609, the Evangelical churches were obliged to have an independent constitution, in the formation of which the refugees from Holland had an important influence, especially those driven from London in 1564 (see § 87, Note 17), a part of whom settled in Wesel and Duisburg, with their church government drawn up by John a Lasco; and then there were synods of the refugees, in Wesel, 1568, and Emden, 1571 (§ 43, Note 2). The church government being already established, it was confirmed by Brandenburg and the Palatinate Neuburg, and remained afterward unaltered; because Brandenburg, in order to prevent the oppression of Evangelical churches in the Catholic Palatinate of Neuburg, obliged it to hold fast the status quo, and hence was itself obliged to do the same. Gründlicher Bericht über d. Kirchen- und Religionswesen in den Fürstenthümmern Jülich, Cleve, und Berg, auch zugehörigen Grafschaften Mark u. Ravensberg, Düsseldorf, 1735. 4. Von Oven die Presbyterial- und Synodalverfassung in Berg, Jülich, Cleve, u. Mark, Essen, 1829. Jacobson's Gesch. d. Quellen des Evang. Kirchenrechts der Provinzen Rheinland und Westphalen, Königsberg, 1844. M. Goebel's Gesch. d. christl. Lebens in der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Evangel. Kirche, Bd. 2, Abth. 1. (Coblenz, 1852), s. 70. [Stahl, Kirchenzucht, 1845; C. H. Sack, Observationes ad disciplinam eccles., in Niederer Zeitsschrift, January, 1854.]

\(^{35}\) Jo. Gerhardi, Theologi Jenensis, Loc. Theologici (Jenae, 1610–22, 9 voll., 4.). Loc. XXIV., de Ministerio Ecclesiastico, § 112 (ed. Cotta, xii. 116): Quamvis ex constitutione pacis religiosae anno 1552, Passavii sancta, et anno 1555, Augustae confirmata Electores, Principes ac Status Imperii Augustanæ confessioni addiciti jura episcopalia in suis territoriis sibi vindicent; tamen exercitium eorum ita temperant, ut quaedam capi-
PART. II.—CH. II.—REFORMED CHURCH. § 46. ITS CONSTITUTION. 533

In Denmark and Sweden the Episcopal Constitution remained; but in Denmark all judicial authority was taken from the bishops, who were to be only superintendents: in Sweden it was retained, with restrictions, and in conjunction with a co-ordinate Consistory. In both countries the King had the highest ecclesiastical power.

In the Reformed churches the constitution was developed in a different manner.

In the Swiss cantons the great councils were not only the highest tribunals, but also the organs of the people; and hence their ecclesiastical decisions might be considered as the voice of the people. But Zwingli saw, no less than Luther, that the people were not yet ripe for a church government, realizing the ideal; and it was also evident that it was impolitic to have in the same town two republican constitutions alongside of each other—one for the Church, and another for the State. Consequently he had no scruples about transferring the government of the Church to the great Council of Zürich, as representing the congregation. The clergy, especially those of the principal city, were only invited to consultations; but they retained the right of protest in case any thing was done against the Word of God. The clergy, whose equalita ipsam met non adiungat, sed Ecclesiae ministris relinquant, utpote prædicationem verbi et sacramentorum administrationem, potestatem clavium, examen eligenorum ministeriorum, eorum ordinacionem, etc., quaedam per Consistoriales et Superintendentes peragant, utpote Ecclesiasticum visitationem, causarum ecclesiasticarum, ad quas etiam matrimoniales spectant, judicacionem, etc., quaedam sibi solis immediate reservant, utpote constitutionem ecclesiasticarum promulgationem, synodorum convocationem, etc., quaedam denique consensu Ecclesiae administrat, utpote electionem et vocationem ministeriorum. Richter's Gesch. d. Evang. Kirchenverfassung, a. 192.


39 Zwingli Subsidium usurariæ, 1525 (Opp., iii. 339): Dicam hic est obiter de usu Senatus Diaconiorum, propter quern quidam nos calumniat, quod ea, quae totius Ecclesiae esse debent, nos per ducentos agi patiamur, quom totius urbis et vicinorum Ecclesiae sit plus minus septem millium. Sic ergo habeant isti: Qui verbo praebuumus Tigrh, olim jam libere monimus Diaconios, quod ea, quae judicio Ecclesiae totius fieri debent, ad ipsos non alia legi regici patiamur, quam si vero duce consulunt et decernant; deinde quod ipsi non sint aliter Ecclesiae vice, quam quod ipsa Ecclesiae tacito consensu haecius benigne receperit eorum Senatus vel consulta vel decreta. Vulgavimus eandem sententiam apud universam Ecclesiam; admonimus etiam hac tempestate, qua nonnulli (Anabaptists) feruntur stupiddissimis affectibus, quo tamen spiritum internum, si Dilis placet, videri voluit, haud tuto multitudini committi posse quaedam.
ity was decisively insisted upon; it was the duty of the Christian magistracy to inflict punishments. In

Non quod vereamur, Deum Opt. Max. defuturum, quo minus dirigat Ecclesiam suam; sed rebus adhuc teneris non miscendam esse contentionis occasione. Susamus ergo, ut plebs judicii exemnerum rerum hac lego Diacosilis permittat, ut ad verbi regulam omnia comparantur, simul pollicentes, sicubi coeperist verbi auctoritatem contemnere, nos confestim prodituros esse ac vociferatos. Consentit ad hunc usque diem Ecclesia, tametsi decretem super ea re nullum promulgaverit, sed placiditate ac tranquillitate, quibus hactenus utitur, consensuum suum sic probat, ut ipsam segera laturum adipareat, si quis Evangelii successum arguta curiositate impedire conetur; simul non ignorans, ut rebus istis debeamus ad Christi nostrumque decorem sic uti, ut pax christianæ servetur. Quicquid ergo de immutandis ritibus occurrit, ad senatum Diacosiorum referetur, non absque exemplo: nam et Antiochia duos modo, Paulum et Barnabam, Hierosolymam militit, nec ipsa decernit, quod tamen jure potisset. Causa fuit, quod immoderata contentionem vereretur, quae quoque major est concio tantis magis crudescet. Quod antem Diacosii in his rebus, Ecclesiae non suo nomine, agant, hinc adpareat, quod quicquid apud nos statuitur, puta de imaginibus, de celebranda Eucharistia et similibus, id etsi Ecclesiæ quae in oppidis et agro esse librum relinquat: ubi nimirum, quod Ecclesiæ non sunt tantæ, contentio incendium non magnopere metuendum esse videt. Ces-sit consilium sic, ut ex Deo esse facile cognoscas. Sicigitur solitum sumus, quod omnia multitudinem de quaestione, qua Senatus judicium cognoscenda erat, probe docere. Ita enim factum est, ut quicquid Diacosii cum verbis ministris ordinarent, jam dandum in animis fidélium ordinatum esset. Denique Senatum Diacosiorum adivimus, ut Ecclesiae totius nomine, quod usus postularet, fieri jubecerint, quo tempore omnia et cum decoro agerentur. Factum est itaque, ut contentio malum ab Ecclesia prohiberetur. — Sic utimur Tiguri Diacosiorum Senatu, quae summa est potestas, Ecclesiae vice, Zwingle, on the other hand, conceded that the people have the right to depose rulers that govern in an unchristian way, Art. 42 (Werke, i. 156): "So sie aber untrüglich und usser der Schur Judi Christi fernen wirdin, mogend sie mit Gott entsetzt werden." Conf. the Uslegung, s. 369.


41 Zürcher Prädicantenordnung, 1532, in Richter's Kirchenordnung, i. 169: If a parish is vacated, the dean shall announce the fact to the magistracy, and the patron (Lehen Herr), if there be one. The candidates are to be examined, and testimonies about the result sent to the Council. The Council elects; and then the congregation is convened in presence of the dean by the authorized representative of the Council. The election "on the part of the church is to be open, and it is to be proclaimed, that if any one present knows any thing base or discreditable about the candidate he must openly declare it." If there is no complaint, the dean presents the new pastor to the church, and lays his hands upon him. Then "the prefect or representative of the Council is to commend the pastor to the church in the name of the Christian magistracy." Lavater, § 2, p. 6.

42 In the Order of the Zürich Cathedral Court (Richter, i. 22) it is also added that the pastor is to "communicate and exclude the adulterer, with the Christian congrega-
1525 a court was appointed, in connection with the cathedral, to take charge of matters pertaining to marriage. The deans and synods merely had supervision as to doctrine and life, and the Church Session as to violations of chastity; but all punishment

"In a law against adulterers, 1526 (Bullinger's Ref. Gesch., i. 278), the Burgomaster and Council decreed, that they "should be sundered and excluded from all Christian and honest converse and communion." So, too, they could not be chosen to any posts or offices of honor. However, these laws seem not to have been enforced; Hundershagen, Conflitze des Zwingianismus, 324.—Zwingle said, at the Synod of St. Gallen, December, 1530 (Simler's Sammlung alter und neuer Urkunden zur Kirchengesch. vornehmlich des Schweizerlandes, i. 432) [In the times of the apostles there was no Christian magistracy, and the Church had to administer excommunication, etc. Now the magistrates are Christian, and hold the sword; but in case they do not fulfill their office the churches must resume the exercise of discipline]: " Zu der Aposteln Zytwas die Kirche zerstreut, so was noch kein christliche Oberkeit, die in der Kirchen Gezet und Ordnung und Straf des Bösen und des Ergerlichen hielte. Da nun sene der Bann und das USschliessen ihnen nothwendig gyn, die Laster unter ihnen abzustellen. Sie aber christliche Oberkeiten worden, so Schwert und Straf von Gott habend, solidend jetzt die das usrichten.—Ob aber die Oberkeiten ihr Amt nit thun wullend, alsdann mogind die gemeinen Kilchen sich ihres Gwalts euch gebruchen mit dem Bann, damit die Kilchen rein und ungefärget bleibe." The decree is in Bullinger's Reformationsgesch., i. 287. Richter's Kirchenordnung, i. 21. The court consisted of two pastors, two members of the inferior, and two of the great Council. Lavater, § 29, p. 108.

In Zürich, 1528, semi-annual synods were appointed, at which all the clergy and deputies of the churches were to appear; and eight members of the Council were present (Bullinger's Reformationsgesch., ii. 8). It received a more fixed form by the Zürich Preachers' Order of 1532 (Richter, i. 168). Every pastor, on entering upon his office, had to take this oath [That he would preach the Gospel truly, the Old and New Testaments, according to the mandate of his Zürich rulers, and teach no doubtful dogma, none not before approved by the synod; be true to the Burgomaster and Council, promote the weal of Zürich, obey its laws, not reveal the secrets of synod, etc.]: "Dass ich das heilig Evangelium und Wort Gotts, darzu ich beruift bin, trüwil und nach recht christlichen Verstand, nach nach Vermog Alts und Nuws evangelischen Testaments, laut meiner Herren von Zürich vorsangangen Mandats, lehren und predgen, und darunter kein Dogma u. Lehr, die zwi fing und noch nit uf der Bahn und erhalten sye, nit inmischen, sy sy dann zevor gemeiner ordenlicher Versamlung, so jährlich zwei mal gehalten, angezeigt, und vor derselbigen erhalten. Darzu soll und will ich einem Burgermeister und Rath, och den Burgeren, als minen ordenlicher Oberkeit trüw und hold sin: gemeiner Stadt und Land Zürich Nutz und Frommen fördern, Ihre Schaden warnen und wenden, so ferr ich vermag: och ihren und ihren nachgesetzten Vogten und Amtluten Geboten und Verboten in ziemlichen billigen Sachen gehorsam und gewarig ein: Item die Heimlichkeiten des Synodis verschwygen und nit offenbaren." In this synod all the clergy, one after another, were subjected to examination; comp. the Censurae in the synods of 1533-35, in S. Hess, Sammlungen zur Beleuchtung der Kirchen- und Reformationsgesch. d. Schweiz., Heft 2 (Zürich, 1811), p. 118; p. 189 there is a judgment on Bullinger.

In 1528 there was a law against lewdness (Bullinger's Ref. Gesch., i. 369), in which the judges about marriage cases (members of the Cathedral Court) were enjoined to proceed against the guilty parties in the city. In the country districts, in every parish there were to be three or four men selected (p. 372), with the pastor, to watch over all marriage matters (called Ehegäumer); and to them all cases of unchastity were to be referred. They were to warn the offenders several times, and, if this was fruitless, to
was in the hands of the civil authorities. The other Reformed cantons imitated these arrangements. In Basle, Oecolampadius procured (1530) the introduction of excommunication, but was obliged to concede the participation of the civil authorities, and the infliction of civil penalties. In 1539 this arrangement was again abolished.

Calvin wished to have the Church wholly independent of the State. The State should only protect the Church in its operations, but must not intrude into its internal affairs; the clergy and synods were to have charge of doctrine and the sacraments refer the matter to the head magistrate for punishment. These guardians of marriage formed a church session (Kirchenstiftstande), so called because they remained in the church after service for consultation.

See particularly Herzog's Leben Joh. Oekolampads, ii. 192. Oecolampadius was always for church discipline: as early as the Reformation decree of 1529, pastors and deacons were authorized, after warning offenders without success, to exclude them from the Lord's Supper (Herzog, ii. 164). But this did not go into effect. Oecolampadius, in an address to the Council (Oec. Epistol., fol. 42), then pleaded for a complete restoration of church discipline, and the appointment of a college, consisting of the four city pastors, four members of the Council, and four of the congregation, to administer such discipline after the prescriptions of Christ in Matth. xviii. 15; cf. Epistol. Oecol. ad Zwingl., Sept. 17, 1530 (Zwingl. Opera, viii. 510). He endeavored to get other cantons to adopt the same, but in vain. At a diet in Aarau, Sept., 1530, Haller opposed him. In St. Gallen there was a division among the clergy on this point, and at a synod held at St. Gallen, Dec., 1530, even Zwingle declared against excommunication (Simpler, i. 432). However, the Council of Basle ordered, Dec. 14, 1530, that in each church two members of the Council, and two of the congregation, should be joined with the pastor and the deacons for this object, and that those who remained under sentence more than a month should be severely punished.

Oecolampadius himself was subjected to many vexations on account of his attempts to restore discipline: Herzog, ii. 207; Oswald Myconius, by Kirchhofer, s. 105. At last, in 1539, the Council ordered that the pastors should only warn, but not punish; and that after three fruitless warnings offenders should be complained of to the Council; Kirchhofer, s. 325.

Calvini Institut., lib. iv. c. 11. De Ecclesiæ Jurisdictione, § 3: Non animadver-tunt, quantum sit discrimen et quals dissimilitudo ecclesiasticæ et civilis potestas. Neque enim jus gladii habet Ecclesia quo punit vel coætate, non imperium ut cogat, non carcerem, non poenas alias quae solent infligi a magistratu. Deinde non hoc agit, ut qui peccavit, invitatus plectatur, sed ut voluntaria castigatione poenitentiam profestatur.—At quemadmodum magistratus punitendo et manu coæctando purgare debet Ecclesiæ officiunculis, ita verbi minister vicissim sublevare debet magistratum, ne tam multi peccent. Sic conjunctæ dei bene operæ, ut altera sit adjutum alteri, non impedimento. § 4: Non magistratus, si pius est, eximere se volet communi filiorum Dei subjectione, cujus non postrema pars est, Ecclesiae ex verbo Dei judicanti se subjiciere: tantum abest ut judicium illud tollere debeat.—Imperator bonus intra Ecclesiam, non supra Ecclesiam est. § 16: Neque (sancti viri) improbabant, si quando saum auctoritate interponerent Principes in rebus ecclesiasticis, modo conservando Ecclesiae ordinem, non turbando, disciplinaeque stabilendae, non dissolventae hoc fieret. Nam cum Ecclesia cogendi non habeat potestatem, neque expetere debeat (de civili coöbritione locutus); plurium Regum ac Principum partes sunt, legibus, edictis, judiciis religionem sustinere.
ments; church discipline belonged to the elders chosen by the congregation in conjunction with the clergy, who were, however, to impose only ecclesiastical penalties; the deacons had the care of the poor; the right to elect preachers, elders, and deacons be-

Calvinii Instit., iv. 8, 1: De spirituali tantum potestate loquor, quae propria est Ecclesiae. Ea autem consistit vel in doctrina, vel in jurisdictione, vel in legibus feren-
dis. Locus de doctrina duas habet partes, auctoritatem dogmatum tradendorum, et corum explicationem. iv. 3, 4: Qui Ecclesiae regimini secundum Christi institutionem praesunt, nominantur a Paulo primum Apostoli, dein Prophetae, tertio Evangelistae, quarto Pastores, postremo Doctores. Ex quibus duo tantum ulteriorium in Ec-

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longed to the church, under the guidance of the clergy. However, in the Genevese church constitution, Calvin conceded much that was less essential, in deference to the circumstances of the times. The Calvinistic church government was carried out much more strictly in France, where the civil power was outside of the Church. Here-the Consistories, Colloquies, Provincial

necessitate adhibetur. Illa porro nec vim, nec manum desiderat, sed verbi Dei potentia contenta est.

Calvini Instit., iv. 8, 12: Quales eligere Episcopos deceat, Paulus dubus locis coplose exequitur (Tit., i. 9; 1 Tim., iii. 1): Summa tamen huc reddit, non esse eligendos nisi qui sint sanæ doctrinae et sanctæ vitae, nec aliquo vitio notabiles, quod et illis admat auctoritatem et ministerio ignominiam afferat. De Diaconis et Senioribus similis prorsus ratios. § 14: Habemus ergo, esse hanc ex verbo Dei legitimam ministri vocationem, ubi ex populi sensum et approbatione creantur quorum fuerint idonei. Praeesse autem electionem debere alios Pastores, ne quid vel per levitatem, vel per mala studia, vel per tumultum a multitudine peccetur. On ecclesiastical legislation, iv. 10, 2: Hoc unum contendo, necessitatem imponi conscienti non debere in quibus rebus rebus Christo liberantur. § 29: Omnes ecclesiasticas constitutiones, quas pro sanctis et salutaribus recipimus, in duos capta referre licet: aliae enim ad ritus et ceremonias, aliae ad disciplinam et pacem respicient. § 30: Quia (Dominus) in externa disciplina et ceremoniis non voluit sigillatim praeacribere quidque deobatus (quod istud pendere a temporum conditio minus provideret, neque judicaret unam saeculis omnibus formam convivare), confugere hic opere ad genera omnes dedit regulas, ut ad eas exigantur que cunque ad ordinem et decorum praeceptar necessitas Ecclesiae postulabat. § 31: Jam vero Christiani populi officium est, quae secundum seum canonem fuerint instituta, libera quidem conscientia, nullaque superstitione, pia tamen et facil ad obsequendum propensione servare, non contemptim habere, non supina negligenter praeterire.

Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques de l'Eglise de Genève, 1541 (Richter's Kirchenorden, t. 842. Comp. Henry's Calvin, ii. 109; Richter's Gesch. d. Kirchenverfassung, s. 171), issued by the Syndics, the Less and Great Council. The choice of a pastor was by the other clergy, the smaller Council to confirm, the congregation to agree. All pastors to be annually visited by a commission, consisting of two deputies of the Council and two of the ministry. The Anciens were chosen, two from the Lesser Council, four from the Council of Sixty, and six from the Council of Two Hundred. They and the preachers formed the Consistory, which administered church discipline. P. 352: Et que tout cela se face en telle sorte, que les ministres n'aient aucune jurisdiction civile, et que par conséquent ne soit en rien derogé à l'autorité de la Seigneurie ni à la Justice ordinaire; ainsi que la puissance divine demeure en son entier: et même ou il sera besoin de faire quelque punition ou contraindre les parties, que les Ministres avec le Consistoire, ayes-oui les parties et faictes les remonstrances et admonitions telles que bon sera, ayent à rapporter le tout au Conseil, lequel sur leur relation advisera d'en ordonner et faire jugement selon l'exigence du cas (against this, Calvini Instit., iv. 11, 4: Neque enim conscientiam est, ut qui monitionibus nostris obtemerpare noluerint, eos ad magistratum deferamus). A short sketch of these orders is in Calvini Ep. ad Gasp. Olevianum, Non. Nov., 1560 (Epistl. ed. Gen., 1575, p. 228). [Comp. M. Goebel, Disciplin in d. Reformirten Kirche bei Calvin, in die Kirchliche Vierteljahresschrift, 1845. L. W. Hassenkamp, Anfänge d. Evangelischen Kirchenzucht, in die Deutsche Zeitschrift, 1856, on Duc, and on the Lutheran and Reformed churches generally.]

This Constitution was established at the first six National Synods (Paris, 1559; Poitiers, 1560; Orleans, 1562; Lyons, 1563; Paris, 1565; Verteuil, 1567); see the acts in Tous les Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformées de France, par Aymon, à la Haye, 2 T., 1710, 4. Ebrard, die Entstehung und erste Entwicklung der Presbyterianverfas-
PART II.—CH. II.—LUTHERAN CHURCH. § 47. PUBLIC WORSHIP.

Synods, National Synods, in an ascending series, were pure ecclesiastical tribunals; the National Synod had the highest authority. But the government was aristocratic: the Consistories appointed the lay elders, and the Provincial Synods the preachers; the congregations had only the right of declining to receive them. So, too, in essential points, was the church government constituted in Scotland—in Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and the General Assembly; and in the Netherlands—Kerkenraad, Classicale Vergaderinge, Particulier Synode, Nationaal Synode. In the German Reformed churches, however, the princes had the supreme direction of church affairs, with a consistorial constitution; although in some instances the presbyterial order was established. Only in Jülich, Cleve, and Berg did the Reformed Church receive a synodal constitution like that of Holland.

§ 47.

THE ORDER OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.


46 H. L. Benthem's Holland. Kirch- und Schulanstat, 2 Th., Frankf. u. Leipzig, 1698. M. Goebel's Gesch. d. christl. Lebens in d. Rheinisch-Westphal. Evangel. Kirche, ii, ii. 525. The church regulations of the Palatinate were here of great influence. By a decree of 1663 elders and deacons were appointed (Richter, ii. 265). The church council (Consistory) was established in Heidelberg as early as 1560; its rules were given 1564 (ibid., 276). Superintendents were continued, and held annual synods with the clergy and teachers of the schools, at which their doctrine and life and the state of the congregations were examined (p. 280).

47 See the Literature, above, Note 35.
In the order of Public Worship there is a thorough-going difference between Luther and Zwinge: the former retained, as a whole, the service of the ancient Church, and only excluded what in it was positively corrupt; while Zwingle shaped anew the whole cultus, according to the guidance of the Holy Scriptures.

Luther, from the first, made the sermon pre-eminent as the most important part of public worship; but in the ceremonies he did not wish to have any changes until the congregation had, through preaching, been made to feel the need of alterations. Accordingly, after Carlstadt's violent reformation, he restored the ancient service, removing, however, all coercion, even the obligation of private confession, and letting superstitious observances

1 Luther's acht Sermon von ihingepredigt zu Wittenberg in der Fasten, 1522, in two editions, in Walch, xx. 1 and 62.

2 In 1523 Luther and Pomeranus restored "Confessionem auricularem et privatam absolutionem," which had been abolished during the disturbances about the worship of images; see Froschel, Fortges. Sammlung von alten und neuen theol. Sachen, 1731, a. 696. Luther ubi supra achte Predigt b. Walch, xx. 60 [He who has remorse for sin, and would have peace, let him tell his sins in private to his brother, and pray for absolution and comfort; this private confession should not be prevented, nor yet forced on any one]: "Wer sich nun mit den Sünden beisst, und derer gern los ware, will er einen gewissen Trost und Spruch horen, damit er sein Herz stille; der gebe hin und klage seine Sünde in geheim seinem Bruder, bitte ihn um Absolution und um ein tröstlich Wort.— Darum habe ich gesagt, und sage es noch, dass ich mir diese heimliche Beichte nicht will nehmen lassen. Ich will auch niemand dazu zwingen, oder gezwungen haben, sondern einem jeglichen frei heimstellen."

3 Luther's Warningschrift an die zu Frankf. a. M., sich vor Zwinglischer Lehre zu hüten, 1533 (Walch, xvii. 2448) [In confession are two parts: 1. The telling of sins, as to which our consciences, through God's grace, have been delivered from the unsupportable papal rule, that all sins must be confessed. But with this freedom there is also the custom for penitents to tell of the sins which most weigh on him; but this, not in the case of those who know well what sin is, as pastors, and Master Philipps, etc., but for young people and common people, for their better instruction. And this, too, is in order to find out if they know the Lord's Prayer, Credo, and Commandments. 2. Absolution, spoken by the priest in God's place; and this is only God's word of comfort and peace.—In the first part we learn the law, in the second the Gospel]: "In der Beicht sind zwei Stück. Erstlich, die Sünde erzählen; in welchem Stück wir die Gewissens auch durch Gottes Gnade erlöset—von der unträchtigen Last und unmöglichen Gehorsam des päpstlichen Gesetzes, darin er gebeut, alle Sünde zu erzählen. Neben dieser Freiheit behalten wir die Weise, dass ein Beicht-kind erzählte etliche Sünde, die ihm am meisten drücken. Und das thun wir nicht um der Verständigen willen: denn unser Pfarrherr, Caplan, M. Philipps, und solche Leute, die wohl wissen was Sünde ist, von denen sodern wir der keines. Aber weil die liebe Jugend taglich daher wächst, und der gemeine Mann wenig versteht, um derselben halten wir solche Weise, auf dass sie zu christlicher Zucht und Verstand erzogen werden. Denn auch solch Beichten nicht allein darum geschieht, dass sie Sünde erzählen; sondern dass man sie verhöre, ob sie das Vater Unser, Glauben, zehn Gebot, und was der Catechismus mehr gibt, können.—Wo will man aber das besser thun, und wo ists
fall into disuse.\(^3\) First, in the year 1523, he began the reformation of the cultus. In his work on the *Order of Public Worship*\(^4\) he arranged for having Bible hours on week-days instead

nöthiger, denn so sie sollen zum Sacrament gehen?—Das andere Stück in der Beicht ist die Absolution, die der Priester spricht an Gottes Statt: und darum ist sie nichts anderes denn Gottes Wort, damit er unser Herz trostet und starket wider das bösse Gewissen, und wir sollen ihr glauben und trauen, als Gott selber.—So brauchen wir nun der Beicht, als einer christlichen Uebung. Im ersten Stücke üben wir uns am Gesetz, im andern am Evangelio. Denn im ersten Stück lernen wir das Gesetze recht brauchen (wie St. Paulus redet), nämlich die Sünde erkennen und hassen. Im andern Stück üben wir uns am Evangelio, lernen Gottes Verheissung und Trost recht fassen, und bringen also ins Werk, was man auf der Canzel predigt."

\(^3\) Sebast. Froschel, preacher in Wittenberg, in the preface to his Tractat vom Priestershume (Wittenberg, 1565, 4.), describes the condition of the Church at Wittenberg as he found it at his arrival, in 1522 (Fortg. Sammlung von alten und neuen theol. Sachen, 1781, s. 689). In the parish church there was only one mass in the week, besides this, on Sundays and festivals. The deacons "gave the sacrament of the Supper in full to whoever came, whether he had confessed or not." Nobody but Luther preached. On Sundays and festivals he preached first in his cloister church, and then communed with the other monks. Then he went to the parish church, and preached there after mass, and again at 12 o'clock. In fast times he preached daily at 4 o'clock on the Catechism.

\(^4\) In Walch, x. 262, after the original in Richter's Kirchenordnung, i. 1 [Three great abuses have come into public worship; 1. God's Word has been put to silence, only read and sung; 2. Instead of it, fables, lies, legends are told; 3. The notion that such service is a work for securing God's favor: and so faith has gone down, and everybody most given to churches, be a monk or nun.—To remedy these abuses, the congregation should never come together without hearing God's Word preached. So it was in the times of the apostles, even daily, one hour in the morning. The preacher or reader should also explain the word (in 1 Cor. xiv.); for if not it is of no use, as is seen in cloisters.—The Old Testament should thus be read through, chapter by chapter, each day half an hour or so; and then the Psalms should be used, and some good responsoria, to the end of the hour, not to weary the hearers. In the evening the New Testament should be taken up in the same way. If all the people can not do this, at least the preachers and scholars should. On Sundays let all the congregation come together, and read, and sing, and have preaching—in the morning usually from the Gospels, in the evening from the Epistles.—Saints' festivals should be abolished; but a good Christian legend may be introduced Sunday after the Gospel, by way of example. Yet the festivals of the Purification and Annunciation of Mary, the Assumption and Nativity, may be kept for a time; John Baptist's festival is also pure. None of the apostles' legends but St. Paul's is pure, etc.] "Drei grosse Missbruchs sind in den Gottesdienst gefallen: der erst, dass man Gottes Wort geschwiegen hat, und alleine gelesen und gesungen in den Kirchen, das ist der erstgste Missbruch: der ander, da Gottes Wort geschwiegen gewesen ist, sind neben einkommen so viel unchristlicher Fabeln und Lügen, beide in Legenden, Gesange und Predigen, das gräulich ist zu sehen: der dritte, dass man solchen Gottesdienst als ein Werk than hat, damit Gottis Gnade und Seligkeit zu erwerben, da ist der Glaub untergangen, und hat Jedermann zu Kirchen geben, stiftten, Pfaff, Munch und Nonnen werden wollen. Nu diese Missbruch abzuthun, ist aufs erst zu wissen, dass die christlich Gemeine nimmer soll zusammenkommen, es werde denn daselbe Gottes Wort gepredigt, u. gebett, es sey auch aufs kurtzist.—Also ists aber zugenommen unter den Christen zur Zeit der Apostel, und sollt auch noch so zu zugehen, dass man täglich des Morgens eine Stunde früh um vier oder fünfz zusammenkäme, und daselb lesen liese, es seyen Schüler oder Priester, oder wer es sey, gleichwie man itzt noch die Lection in der Metten liesset.—Darnach soll der Prediger oder welchem es befohlen wird, herfur treten, und dieselb Lection ein Stück auslegen, das die andern alle
of masses, and abolished saints' days. That baptism might be practiced intelligently, he translated the old ritual in his Little Book on Baptism (Taufbüchlein). For the Sunday service he wrote the Formula Missae et Communionis pro Ecclesia Wittenbergensi (December, 1523)—a revision of the old ritual of the mass. After he had begun to compose those German church

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In Richter's Kirchenordnung, i. 7. In the postscript Luther declares that he did not mean to change it so as to have "any thing peculiar," but so as to spare the weak consciences, "that they may not complain that I wanted to establish a new baptism."
songs, which laid such mighty hold upon the heart, and contributed so powerfully to the spread of the Reformation; he published in 1526 his Deutsche Messe und Ordnung Gottisdienst, which


7 Luther's first hymn was: "Nu freut euch, lieben Christen gmein," 1523 (Wackernagel's Deutsches Kirchenlied, s. 129). Then appeared: "Etlich christlich Lieder, Lobgesang und Psalm, Wittenberg, 1524. 4.," containing eight hymns: "Nu freut euch lieben Christen gmein," three by Paulus Speratus, court preacher of Duke Albert of Prussia: "Es ist das Heil uns kommen her; In Gott glaub ich, dass er hat; Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menchen Noth," by Luther: "Ach Gott vom Himmel sich darin (Ps. xii.); Es spricht der Unweisem Mund wol (Ps. xiv.); Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir (Ps. cxii.)." by an unknown writer: "In Jesus N amen heben wir an." Luther ad Spalatinum, 1524 (de Wette, ii. 590), also asks of him—aliquem psalmorum in cantilenam transfere, sicut hic habes meum exemplum: velin autem novas et aulicas voculas omittit, quo pro captu vulgi quam simplicissima vulgarissimaeque, tamem mundae simul et apta verba canentur, deinde sententia perspicua et psalms quam proxima redderetur. Libere itaque hic agendum, et accepto sensu, verbis relictis, per alia verba commoda vertendum. A. J. Rambach über Dr. M. Luther's Verdienst um den Kirchengesang, Hamburg, 1813. Luther's geist. Lieder mit den zu s. Lebzeiten gebräuchli. Singweisen, edited by Ph. Wackernagel, Stuttgart, 1848. At the burial of Frederick the Wise in the cathedral church of Wittenberg, May, 1525, German songs of Luther were sung in turn with the Latin: Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir; Mitten wir im Leben sind; Wir glauben an einen Gott; and Nu bitten wir den heiligen Geist; see G. Spalatin's Hist. Nachlass und Briefe, by Neudecker and Praller, Bd. i. (Jena, 1851) s. 70.

8 In Walch, x. 266, after the first edition in Richter's Kirchenordnung, i. 85. Preface: "Before all else, I would cordially ask, and for the sake of the Lord, that all who sec, or would follow this order of ours in the worship of God, would not impose it as a law, nor bind any body's conscience thereto, but use their Christian freedom at pleasure, as, where, and as long as, matters make it seemly." Weekly Service: In the morning the scholars sing some Latin hymns; thereupon one reads some chapters of the New Testament in Latin, another the same in German; then antiphonies and the sermon, Monday and Tuesday on the Catechism, Wednesday on the Gospel of Matthew, Saturday on John's Gospel, Thursday and Friday on the Epistles; then a German hymn, the Lord's Prayer privately, collects, Benedicamus Domino. In the evening the same, without the sermon, and reading in the Old Testament. Sunday Service: Three sermons, at five or six in the morning on the Epistles, at the mass service on the Gospels, at evening on the Old Testament. As to the principal service, the mass in German: "We let the parapheralia, altar, lights stay till we see reason to change them; whoever will do differently let him. But in the true mass, with real Christians, the altar should not stay thus, and the priest should turn his face to the congregation, as doubtless Christ did in the Supper. That waits its time." The order of service: the congregation sings a sacred song, then Kyrie eleison, Christe eleison, Kyrie eleison.—The priest reads a collect with his face to the altar, the Epistles face to the people.—Hymn by the congregation, "Nu bitten wir den heiligen Geist" (Now we pray the Holy Ghost), or some other.—The priest reads the Gospel.—The congregation sings "Wir glauben alle an einen Gott."—Sermon on the Gospel, paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, exhortation to those who wish to receive the sacrament, both the last—conceptissou praescriptis verbis, "so that one may not have it one way one day and another differently the next day."—Then follows the administration, thus (repeating the words of institution)—Our Lord Jesus Christ, etc., in
was also shaped after the old ritual, but simplified, giving, in the hymns, a part of the service to the congregation.

Along with this German service, the Latin was for a long time followed on the festival days. Luther's liturgical reformation was concluded by the issuing, at the same time, of the Baptism Book, in a simpler form, and afterward the Marriage Book. Before all things he endeavored to promote the spiritual growth of the people, especially by his Catechisms. In the Liturgy no further changes were made, excepting the omission of the elevation of the host in the Lord's Supper, January, 1543.

memory of me. But it seems to me to be in accordance with the right observance that the sacrament should be given right after the consecration of the bread, before the blessing of the cup. For thus it is in both Luke and Paul; in the same way with the cup, after they have eaten, etc. Meanwhile, sing the Sanctus in German (Jesus dem Propheten das geschah, etc.); or the hymn, Gott sei gelobt; or John Hüs's song, Jesus Christ our Lord. Then bless and give the cup, and sing what was not sung of the above hymns, or the Agnus in German.—The Elevation we do not abolish, but retain, because it agrees so finely with the German Sanctus, and means, that Christ has commanded us to remember him. For just as the sacrament is elevated bodily, and yet Christ's body and blood are not seen in it, so, too, by the preaching of the Word he is called to mind and elevated, and, in addition, confessed and highly honored in the receiving of the sacrament.” Then the collects and singing.

9 Richter’s Kirchenuordnung, i. 7. Here were omitted the breathing on the baptized person, the salt, spit, chrism; and the exorcism was made much shorter.

10 In Walch, x. 854. The year usually assigned is 1546, but it is already in the 2d edit. of the Shorter Catechism, Wittenberg, 1529; see Riederer’s Nachrichten zur Kirchen-, Gelehrten-, und Buecherschichte, ii. 100.


12 In Peuceri Tract. Hist. de Ph. Melanchth. Sententia de Controversia s. Coena, Amb., 1555. 4., p. 24, it is said that this Elevatio had until then been observed—pro destinedus ad sonitum tintinnabuli, et pectora mox pulsantibus ipsum gemitu et suspiri. Comp. above, Note 8. Luther to the Chancellor Brück, Jan. 6, 1543, to Duke Albert of Prussia, Feb. 17, 1543, ibid., p. 541: “We have done away with the Elevation in our churches, and I willingly allow it for this reason alone, that such ceremonies must not be our masters, as if it were a sin to do otherwise; for we Christians will and must be masters of such ceremonies, so that they may not grow over our heads as articles of faith.” Melanchthon wrote to the Landgrave Philip, Jan. 17, 1546 (in C. R., v. 20), “that many unlearned folks have made so much ado about Dr. Martin’s doing away with the Elevation, that there is much to write about it.” Comp. Luther’s kurzes Bekenntniss v. heil. Sacrament, 1544, Walch, xx. 2225 f. Melanchthon ad J. Schlaginhaufen, 18. Jun., 1544, C. R., v. 420: Etsi multa disputata sunt a multa de elevacione Sacramenti, tamen in Ecclesis nostris ideo placuit cum morem mutari, quod allegata hac elevatione aliqui confirmanabant morem circumferendi etadorandi panis. Hanc autem circumgestationem constat extra rationem Sacramentii esse, ut si aqua circumgestaretur sumpta ex ceremonia baptismi. Sunt enim Sacra menta actiones institutae a Deo. Aqua non est Sacramentum, sed ipse baptizatio sanae simul verbo Dei. Sic de Coena Dei sentiatur: panis, ordinatus non ad sumptio nem sed ad circumgestationem, nequaquam est Sacramentum. Non enim alligandum est Deus ad aliquam creaturam sine expresso verbo Dei, ut constat. At the end of 1548 Veit Dietrich also abolished the Elevation in Nuremberg; see Strobel’s Nachr. v. d. Leben und den Schriften Veit Dietrichs, Altorf und Nürnberg, 1772, s. 99.
Luther fully recognized the support which external usages derive, in part from habit, partly from their hold upon the sensuous nature of man; and consequently, he wished that they might be spared, until a change was demanded by the progressive culture of the people. On the other hand, he always insisted that, with exception of the sacramental acts, all the usages of public worship were of human origin, and urgently opposed the assumption that they could be considered as works in themselves well pleasing unto, and effectual with, God.

Thus he regarded the observance of the Lord’s day as only a human institution, and re-
tained the ordination of the clergy only as a testimony that they were regularly called to their office.16

Hence Luther was far from demanding an identity of ceremonies in the new church; and, though most of the German national churches adopted the Wittenberg Service Book as a model, yet many deviated from it. Particularly was exorcism in the rite of baptism, which Luther retained, excluded from several of them.17 On the other hand, Confirmation, though recommended in a purified form by the Reformers,18 was introduced into but a few of the churches.19

16 See above, § 46, Note 3. Luther Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe, 1533; Walch, xix. 1544: “Die Pfarren oder Predigtaf mit sind allezeit aasser und über den Chresem durch Fürsten, Herren, Städte, auch von Bischoßen—and andern Ständen verliehen, und durch solch Verleihen ist der Beruf und die rechte Weihe zum Ministerio oder Amt blieben. Daneben hat man solche berufene Pfarrherren, so solche Leben und Amt empfangen, auch präsentiret, d. i zu den Winkelbischofen gewiesen, und sie lassen investiren oder einweisen, wiewol solches nicht der Beruf noch Leben, sondern Bestätigung solches Berufs, und nicht vonnöthen gewesen ist. Denn der berufene Pfarrherr wohl ohne solche Bestätigung hätte konnen sein Pfarramt ausrichten.” Melanchthon ad Vitum Theodornm, Oct., 1543, C. R., v. 187: Lutherus προερχεσθαι χειρών admodum miratus est Collegae tui contentionem, ac affirmavit, si de ritu contenderet, multis saeculis eum ritum non servatum ab Episcopis.—Sed Ecclesia vocatio versus esse verna. Nec postea alius fuit impositio manuum, nisi publicum testimonium. In Hamburg, ordination by the laying on of hands was not practiced before 1549. When John Frederus, a disciple of Luther, after being in the sacred office, was called as Superintendent to Stralsund in 1546, he would not receive ordination anew by the laying on of hands, as was there the custom, alleging that the call on the part of the magistracy was sufficient; but he himself ordained others. He adhered to this position when called in 1551 as Superintendent to Rügen. Thereupon he got into a controversy with John Knipstrov, General Superintendent at Greifswald. The Wittenberg divines decided against him (see Balthasar’s Erste Sammlung einiger zur Pommer. Kirchenhistoric gehörigen Schriften, s. 98); so, too, the synod in Greifswald, 1556 (ibid., p. 106), but expressly, not because the laying on of hands was necessary, but because it was prescribed in the Church Service Book. Comp. Mohnike’s Johannes Frederus (2 Stücke, Stralsund, 1887. 4.), i. 9, 81; ii. 10, 21.

17 So in Hesse, Württemberg, the Palatinate, and several of the free cities, particularly Augsburg, Ulm, and Strasbourg; see J. M. Kraft’s ausfuhrli. Historie vom Exorcismo, Hamburg, 1750.


19 According to the Brandenburg Kirchenordnung, 1540 (Richter, i. 825), it was to be chiefly administered by the bishop; if this could not be, then by the pastor. Besides this, it was introduced into Hesse; see Hess. Ordnung der Kirchenzucht, 1589, in Richter, l. 291, and Casselsche Kirchenordnung, ibid., l. 322; in Waldeck, Kirchenordn., 1556, ibid., ii. 173; in Pomerania, Kirchenordn., 1568, ibid., ii. 285 (it was to be administered by the Superintendent and the leading city pastor). Thereupon it was recommended by Chemnitz in his Examen Conc. Trid., P. ii., p. 288, and the church service, drawn up by him and Andreas for Duke Julius in 1565 (Richter, ii. 820), was introduced into Brunswic-
Thus the forms of worship in the Saxon Church still had much resemblance to the Catholic, as long as Luther lived. The Adiaphoristic Controversy seemed likely to prepare the way for a greater simplicity; but the Calvinistic Controversy had an opposite effect—leading to a firm and even high estimation of all those Catholic vestiges, in contrast with the Calvinistic sobriety.

In the Reformed Church of Zürich the publication of Leo Judae's Baptismal Book, 1523, seemed an indication that all the old ceremonies were not to be unqualifiedly rejected. However, after pictures, altars, and all adornments had been removed from the churches in 1524, and Zwingle, in 1525, had exchanged the ritual of the mass for a simple biblical celebration of the Lord's Supper, they proceeded generally to reconstruct the service of public worship after the pattern of the primitive Christian Wolfenbüttel, but given in charge to the Superintendents alone. According to Gerber's Hist. der Kirchenceremonien in Sachsen, Dresden, u. Leipzig, 1732. 4. p. 633, it was also customary in Saxony, but came into disuse in the Thirty Years' War. J. F. Bachmann's Geschichte d. Einführung d. Confirmation innerhalb d. Evang. Kirche; Berlin, 1852.

Thus they began to lay great stress upon exorcism in the countries in which it was retained. In Prussia it was set aside in 1558, but restored in 1567; see above, § 39, Notes 25, 29. On the other hand, in Dantzic the majority of the preachers constantly declared against it, and it was entirely abrogated by the magistracy in 1571; Hartknoch's Preuss. Kirchenhistorie, s. 710; Kraft's Historie v. Exorcismo, s. 964. In the Church Service of the county of Henneburg, 1582, it was declared (Richter, ii. 461) that exorcism, "because it was on the boundary of the papacy," should be retained only for a time where it was still in use, but otherwise should be forbidden; Kraft, p. 992. In Nuremberg, on the other hand, a controversy about it sprung up in 1579, when some Dutch persons living there wished to have their children baptized without exorcism. Although some preachers were willing to abandon it, yet the majority declared by degrees against it; see Strobel's Miscellan., iv. 198. When it was abolished in Electoral Saxony, 1588 (see § 41, Note 10), and in Anhalt, 1589 (ibid., Note 18), it was looked upon as a step toward Calvinism, and there sprung up a long and weary controversy with the Anhalters about it; Kraft, p. 482. And so it made a greater sensation when, after the death of the decided opponent of the Calvinists, Aegidius Hunnius, his Theses de abrogando Exorcismo, Erfurt, 1608, were published, in which he expressed a wish for its gradual abolition. On the controversy that ensued, see Kraft, p. 548, the Theses, p. 567.

To be found in Zwingle's Works, ii. ii. 226. Like the Lutheran, it is a translation of the Catholic, abbreviated. It retained the breathing, salt, exorcism, chrism, etc.

Div. 1, § 2, Note 88.

Div. 1, § 2, Note 92. The Liturgy in Zwingle's Works, ii. ii. 233.
And so all the traditional usages were set aside: in place of the *Horae Canonicae*, biblical readings were introduced into both the minsters of Zürich;" the organs were also broken up in the Zürich churches in 1527, and even singing in the church done away with. The usual service consisted only of singing and prayer; the Lord’s Supper was seldom celebrated; in place of confession there was a general preparatory service.27

25 Form des Taufs, 1525. Ordnung der chrstl. Kirchen zu Zürich, Kinder ze touffen, die Ehe zu bestätigen, die Predigt ansehaffen und zu enden. Gedächtnis der Abgestorbenen. Das Nachtmaal Christi zu begin; Zürich, 1529, in Richter’s Kirchenordn., i. 134.

26 Bullinger’s Reformation gesch., i. 290: they began 1525. In the choir of the great minster assembled at eight o’clock in the morning all the pastors, preachers, canons, chaplains, and older pupils. Zwingle began with a prayer; a student read the text in the Latin; Jac. Ceporinus, professor of Hebrew, expounded the Hebrew in Latin, Zwingle the Greek Scriptures in Latin; then one of the preachers interpreted it in German, and concluded with prayer. The Old Testament was gone over from the beginning to the end. In the female minster, Oswald Myconius, at vespers, read the New Testament in the same way, at first only in German. Afterward the Greek text was explained in Latin, and all these readings were transferred to the academical auditorium; comp. Lavater De Ritiibus et Institutis Eccl. Tigurinae, 1559, § 18, p. 75. The original arrangement was manifestly in imitation of the Wittenberg week-day service, after Luther’s order (see above, Note 4).

27 Singing by the choir was abolished as early as 1525 (Bullinger, i. 291), organs in 1527 (ibid. 418), “because they do not well agree with the apostolic doctrine, 1 Cor. xiv. —For in old times they would not have either singing or organs in the churches.” Lavater, § 10, p. 42: Morem cantandis multis de causis Ecclesia Tigurina non receptit, tempus sacris destinatum coetibus duntaxat auscultationi verbi Dei et precibus impondens. Interim tamen moderatum cantum, sive publice in coetibus sacris flat, sive privatim domi, nequaquam improbat. Nam et Vitoduri et Stalinae (duo sunt municipia diocesis Tigurinae) Psalmos vulgari lingua cantant.

28 Lavater (§ 9, p. 27) describes them. Public worship on Sunday was held in the four city churches—in the morning, in summer, at seven o’clock; then at eleven in the chief church, and in the afternoon at three o’clock. Diebus dominicis tribus signis, quae campanis dantur, convocatur plebs. Paulo ante tertium signum aedificiorum aliquis, si quae domus, praeda, agric, vinae venales sint, plebi significat: item quae amissae sunt et reperta. Vocantur etiam qui uxores suas vel maritos reliquerunt, ut in foro matrimoniali respondeant. Dato tertio signo, magistratus interdum sua decretis, quae totam plebe cubere interest, promulgat. Mox verbi minister suggestionem conscendit et sermonem auspicatur. General church prayer. Sermon. Prayer about those who had died during the week. Confession of sin. Lord’s Prayer. The Apostles’ Creed (at first also the angelic greeting, afterward omitted). Concio his verbis dimititur: Pauperes in vestris se lemomynis propter Dei praecipuum vobis commendatos habetote. Orate pro me, idem facturus sum pro vobis. Abite in pace, Dominus sit vobiscum. Zwingli Fidei Ratio ad Car. Imp., 1580 (Opp., iv. 15): Credo ceremnias, quae neque per superstitionem fidei neque verbo Dei contrariae sunt (quaquam hujusmodi nosciam an quae inventantur), per caritatem tolerari possent, donoc lucifier magis ac magis aliquoscet. Sed simul credo,—dictas ceremonias abolendas esse, quantumvis reclamation qui perfido sunt animo. About this writes Melancthon ad Lutherum, 14. Jul., 1580, C. R., ii. 198: De ceremnias loquitur valde helveticae, i. e. barbarissime, velle se scmove ceremnias esse abolitas.

29 In Zürich only on the two Christmas days, Maundy-Thursday, and Good-Friday, and on the two Easter days. Lavater, § 8, p. 28.

30 Lavater, § 18, p. 62: Privatam confessionem et absolutionem Tigurinae Ecclesia
the ordination of preachers was made to coincide with their installation; and Zwingli was not even favorable to the observance of the Sabbath.

On the other hand, in Basle the new German Psalms were cordially welcomed, and were sung in public worship, although here too the organs were mute. It was the same in the neighboring cantons of Schafhausen and St. Gallen. In Basle the playing of the organ was restored under the Antistes, Sulzer, in 1561; but in Zürich it was banished, and even church singing was not introduced until 1598.

The Church of Geneva adopted substantially the Zürich order of service, but also introduced the French Psalms of Clement:

non retinuit, quia caret praeccepto et exemplo Scripturae. Contenta est publica illa confessione, quae ab omnibus, ministro praeente, soli Deo sit. Interim vero, si qui in casibus difficilius scelere aliquo presse, consilium a ministris petant, non rejecit. Absolutionem item publicae annuntiat minister, testificans poenitentiam agentibus et credentibus in Christum remissa esse peccata. Item privatis homines consolatur ex verbo Dei, non tamen numquam aliquerum ritum instituit. § 13, p. 52: Sunt certae statuta quibus Eucharistiae celebratur, habentur sermones ad populum de dignitate et 1111Eucharistiae: item quo pacto Bequisque ad percipendi sacrarum epulas praepe- rare debeat. IHis setiam ipsa dies, quibus peragitur, breves exhortationes ad plebem, ne quis indignus corpus et sanguinem Christi suscipiat; see the confession of sin in the Bernische Abendmahlsliturgie, 1529, Trechsel's Beiträge zur Gesch. der Schweizerisch-Reform. Kirche, i. 96.

31 See § 46, Note 41.

32 Zwingli's Uslegung des XXV. Artikels, 1523 (Werke, i. 817): "I do not find that laziness is the worship of God. If any body goes into the field on Sunday, after having done his duty to God, and mows, cuts, hews, or does any other necessary work which the season demands, I know very well that this is more pleasing to God than mere idleness. For the believer is above the Sabbath."

33 Here, as in many German cities, the Reformation began in 1526, with the singing of German psalms in some of the churches; and Oecolampadius justified this in a petition, saying, "that the song of praise was the occupation of angels, a refreshment of the soul, an allurement to prayer, a preparation for the more devout hearing of the Word of God, etc., and was not only enjoined upon the clergy and scholars, but as a general rule," etc.; see Hottinger's Helvet. Kirchengesch., iii. 298. Without doubt they used in singing the collections of hymns which had been printed in great numbers (1524) in Wittenberg, Erfurt, Nuremberg, Strasburg, and other places (see Wackernagel's Deutsches Kirchenlied, s. 723 ff.): psalms by Luther, Lud. Oeler, Heinr. Vogtherr; see A. Sarsin's Hist. Entwicklung des Psalmengesangs in der d. Ref. Kirche, in the Baselsche Beiträge zur vaterl. Gesch., Bd. 4. (1860), s. 321.


35 Hottinger's Helvet. Kirchengesch., iii. 966.

36 Les Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques de l'Eglise de Geneve, 1541; Richter's Kirchen-ordnung, i. 342. Peculiarities: Even in the Canton of Berne the Zurich mode of ordina-
tion (§ 46, Note 41) was not strictly retained; in Brugg, 1544, there was the unequal custom, "that some of the deans, with the chief magistrate, laid on hands upon those presented, in the presence of the subjects, but others did not" (Hundeshagen, die Konfliete des Zwinglianismus, Lutherthums und Calvinismus in d. Bern. Landeskirche, s. 176). In Geneva the laying on of hands was wholly given up; Richter, i. 843: Quant
Marot and Theodore Beza in the church service. The foreign Reformed churches followed, in this particular, the example of Geneva. In 1573 was published Ambrose Lobwasser's German translation of the French Psalms, which, being adapted to the old melodies, soon became the general hymn-book of the German Reformed Church.

The Reformed Church everywhere laid stress on the point, that, after the precedence of the primitive church, only psalms, and not uninspired songs, should be sung in public worship. At the same time they looked upon all music as something secular, à la manière de l'introduire, pour que les ceremonies du temps passé ont été tournées en beaucoup de superstitions, à cause de l'ininfirmité du temps, il suffira qu'il se fasse par un des Ministres une declaration et remonstrance de l'office auquel on l'ordonne: puis qu'on face prières et oraisons, afin que le Seigneur lui face la grace de s'en acquitter. The Lord's Supper was administered four times in the year (p. 847): on the Sunday after Christmas, at Easter, Whitsuntide, and on the first Sunday of September. Que le Dîner soit célébré la précédant on en face la dénomination, afin que nul enfant y vienne devant qu'avoir fait profession de sa foi, selon qu'il sera exposé au Catechisme; et aussi pour exhorrer tous étrangers et nouveaux venus de se venir premier représenter à l'Eglise.

Marot and his Psalms, see Béze Hist. Eccl. des Eglises Réformées au Royaume de France, i. 33. Claude Goudiné and Wilh. Franc composed the melodies for them, and then Calvin published (1543) the fifty Psalms of Marot. Beza thereupon translated the others into verse, and melodies were composed for them by the same masters; Ruchat Hist. de la Reform, de la Suisse, vi. 535; Baum's Th. Beza, i. 182; Sarasin in den Baselschen Beitrugen zur vaterlandische Geschichte, iv. 315.

In the French Reformed Church the laying on of hands was again introduced in ordination; Synode de Paris, 1559, art. 9 (Synodes Nationaux par Aymon, i. 2): Leur election sera confirmée par les prières et l'imposition des mains des ministres; toutefois sans aucune superstition. However, several churches did not adopt the laying on of hands, and it was declared to be optional; Synode de Paris, 1565, art. 7, p. 64. Later it was attempted to make it general; Synode de Gergeau, 1601, art. 7, p. 236; Syn. de St. Maixent, 1609, art. 4, p. 338. In the Dutch Church at first there was the laying on of hands (Synod of Wesel, 1568; see Mensinga Verhandeling over de Liturgische Schriften der Nederl. hervormde Kerk, in Verhandeling. van het Haagse Genootschap Deel xl.), Gravenhage, 1851, p. 49. But the Synod of Dort abolished it, 1574 (Mensinga, p. 51): Overmits de oplegging der handen in deze jongheid der kerke tot superstitie getogen en sommiger bespotting onderworpen zou mogen wezen, hebben de broeders besloten, dat men diezelve nalen zal. However, the Synod of Dort, 1578, restored it, and since then it has remained (Mensinga, p. 54).—The Palatinate Church Service of 1563 (Richter, ii. 261) first declared that there should be a service of preparation on the Saturday before the Sunday when the Supper was to be administered, in which three questions must be answered in the affirmative by those assembled. At the same time, those who were to commune for the first time must "make confession of their faith." Comp. Vinke over den Oorsprong van eenige Vragen bij de Voorbereiding voor het heil. Avondmaal, in Kist en Roysaards Archief, vi. ii. 1.

Professor of Law in Königsberg, in Prussia, died 1585.
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and banished the organ from the churches. However, the organ was restored in Holland,\(^40\) 1637, and in the Palatinate,\(^41\) 1655.

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THIRD CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS CULTURE IN THE EVANGELICAL CHURCHES.

§ 48.

HISTORY OF THEOLOGY.

[Comp. Gass, Geschichte der Protestantischen Dogmatik, 2 vols. 8vo; Berlin, 1854–57. A. Schweizer, Die Protestantischen Centraldogmen, 2 vols. 8vo; Zürich, 1854.]

The Reformers and their immediate successors were so much engrossed by the urgency of ecclesiastical affairs, that they could not cultivate the science of theology any further than was demanded by the pressing necessities of the Church. They were chiefly occupied in producing popular works for the instruction of the people, and controversial writings for the refutation of false doctrines. Their other theological labors were restricted to exegetical and doctrinal works for the instruction of the better-educated classes, especially the clergy. But in all their writings they kept aloof from merely learned investigations, that had no reference to practical use.

And yet they acknowledged the importance of a comprehensive and scientific cultivation of theology; and the directions now given for theological study—pre-eminently those of Andreas Hy-
perius, professor in Marburg (who died in 1564)\textsuperscript{2}—already inculcate the need of scientific culture and preparation to an extent not previously conceived.

The Reformers started from the position that the Holy Scriptures can be relied upon as the source of revealed truth, because they have only one literal sense, and not several senses.\textsuperscript{3} As a result of this position, previous exegetical works were, for the most part, found to be unsuited for use, and others must take their place.

Regarding scholasticism as the mother of so many errors, Luther often inveighed bitterly against Aristotle;\textsuperscript{4} and as, at first, they had nothing to take the place of the old philosophical textbooks and lectures, philosophical study was for some time wholly prostrate in Wittenberg; although Luther did not at any time desire that all philosophy should be set aside.\textsuperscript{5} Thereupon Me-

\textsuperscript{2} De Theologo s. de Ratione Studii Theol., libb. iv. Andr. Hyperio auctore., Basil., 1556.

\textsuperscript{3} Lutheri Operationes in XXII. Psalmos priores, 1521, ad Psalm. xxii. 19 (Jen., T. ii. 243 verso): Cum primis S. Thomas cum Lyra et suis in orbem vulgare coeperunt quadrigam illum sensuum Scripturae, literalem, tropologicum, allegoricum et anagogicum, ac in has quatuor partes dividere hanc vestem Christi.— Nonne impissimum est sic partire Scripturas, ut literae neque fidem neque mores neque spem tribuas, sed solam historiam jam inutilem? In Luther's answer to the "überchristliche, übergcistliche, und überkunstliche Buch des Bocks Emser, 1521," see the section on The Letter and the Spirit, against Emser's assertion that Scripture has a double sense—a literal and a spiritual. Walch, xviii. 1602: "The Holy Spirit is the most plain and simple of all writers and speakers in heaven or on earth; hence His Word can not have more than one plain sense, which we call the literal tongue-sense." Comp. Ph. Melanchth., Elementorum Rhetorices, libb. ii., diligenter recogniti, Viteberg, 1556, in lib. ii. the section De quatuor sensibus sacrarum literarum; e. g., G. 4: Oratio, quae non habet unam ac simplicem sententiam, nihil certi docet. G. 5: Si omnia sine discrimine velimus transformare in varios sensus, nihil habebit certi Scriptura.—Hae interpretandi ratio maxime labefaciit auctoritatem Scripturae. So all following Luther. and Reform. Theologians.

\textsuperscript{4} Luther and J. Langium, 8th February, 1516 (de Wettc, i. 15): Nihil ita ardet animus, quam histrionem illum, qui tam vere Graecas larvæ Ecclesiam lusit, multa revelare, ignomiamque ejus cunctis ostendere, si otium esset.—Nisi caro fuisse Aristoteles, vere diabolum eumuisse non puderet asserere. Melanchthon, too, at first spoke disparagingly of Aristotle; see Galle's Characteristik Mel. als Theologen, s. 110; but we find an equally harsh judgment in the Catholic philologist, Marius Nizolius; see Ritter's Gesch. d. christl. Philos., v. 446. But these opinions are only in respect to the hair-splitting dialectics, and some theses of Aristotle's physics and metaphysics.

\textsuperscript{5} Luther, An den christl. Adel deutscher Nation, 1516 (de Wette, i. 15): "Here now my advice is, that the books of Aristotle, Physica, Metaphysica, De Animas, Ethica, which have been hitherto reputed the best, should be wholly set aside, with all others which make a boast about natural things, and yet teach nothing about either natural or spiritual things. Besides this, nobody up to the present has understood his opinions, and so much noble time and many noble souls have been vainly burdened with useless labor, study, and cost. And yet I would willingly keep Aristotle's books on Logic, Rhetoric, and Poetics, or have them abridged, for they can be read with profit, and exercise young
lancthon began to simplify and purify the Aristotelian philosophy; and his text-books were introduced into all the educational establishments attached to the Reformation. In this way Aristotle came again to so high honor in all the reformed churches, that the new philosophical systems which sprung up were generally looked upon and opposed as perilous to orthodoxy; though that people in speaking and preaching well; but the comments and minute divisions had better be left off." Luther, in a letter to Spalatin, December 9, 1518 (de Wette, i. 190), expresses a wish that the Thomist philosophy might be left out of the University, and then, too, the Scotist, donec—pura philosophia et theologica, omnesque matheses ex fontibus suis hanciantur. Melancthon says in his inaugural oration, De Corrigendis Adolescentiae Studiis, 29th August, 1518, C. R., xi. 22, so much praised by Luther (ad Spalat., August 31, 1518, in de Wette, i. 134): In ea sum plane sententia, ut qui velit insigne aliquid vel in sacris vel foro conari, parum effectur, ni animum antea humanis disciplinis (sic enim philosophiam voco) prudenter, et quantum salis est, exercuerit. Nolo autem philosophando quenquam nugari: ita enim fit, ut communis etiam sensus tandem obliviscare. Sed ex optimis optima selige, eaque cum ad scientiam naturae, tum ad mores formandos attinentia. In primis hic eruditione Graeca opus est, quae naturae scientiam universam complectitur, ut de moribus apposite ac copiosè dicere quas. Plurimum valent Aristotelis moralia, leges Platonis, Poetae.—Necassaria est omnino ad hanc rem historia, cui—non invitata uni contulero, quidquid emeretur laudum universus artium orbis.—Complector ergo philosophia nomine scientiam naturae, morum rationes et exempla. Luther's Table-Talk, Walch, xxii. 369: "Theology must be empress; philosophy and other good arts should be her servants, and not govern her." P. 2206: "Aristotle is one of the best teachers in philosophiam morali, to tell us how to lead a finely-terged outward life; but in natural philosophy he is fit for nothing." Cf. J. H. ab Elswich, De varia Aristotelis in Scholis Protestantium Fortuna (before J. Launoli De varia Arist. in Acad. Paris. Fortuna Diss., Vitemberg, 1720), p. 18.

4 Mel. Declam. de Philosophia, 1586, C. R., xi. 282: Eruditam philosophiam requiro, non illas cavillationes, quibus nullae res subsunt. Ideo dixi, unum quodam philosophiae genusc eligendum esse, quod quam minimum habeat sophistices, etjustam methodum retinet: talis est Aristotelis doctrina. Sed huic tamen alius opposita est illa praestantissima philosophiae pars de motibus coelestibus. Nam reliques sectae plenae sunt sophistices et absurdarum et falsarum opinionum, quae etiam moribus nocent. Nam illae hyperbolae Stoicorum sunt omnino sophisticae, bonam valetudinem, opes et similia non esse bona: commentitia est et coroljiea, falsa et perniciosa opinio de fato. Epicurus non philosophatur, sed curatur, cum affirmat omnia casu exitisse: tollit primam causam, et dissensit in totum a vera physicorum doctrina. Fugienda est et Academia, quae non servat methodum, sed scrutatur, cum affirmat omnia casu exitisse: quod qui facere student, hos necesse est multa sophisticè colligere. Quanquam is qui ducem Aristotelis praesepicit sequitur, et unam quandam simplicem ac minime sophisticam doctrinam expetit, interdum et ab albis auctoribus sumere aliquid potest; ab Elswich, p. 86.


of Peter Ramus⁹ (who died in 1571, on the night of St. Bartholomew) was favored by the French Reformed Church, and that of René Descartes¹⁰ (who died in Sweden, 1650) found adherents in the Netherlands. However, through the influence of the unceasing polemics, dialectics became more sharp and refined; and consequently, from the close of the sixteenth century, a new scholasticism began to be formed in Germany and the Netherlands, through the influence of that same Aristotelian philosophy.¹¹

Among the German Reformers, Martin Luther¹² and Melan-
thou took the foremost rank as theological writers; the former, a man of soul and power, was especially distinguished for his translation of the Bible, his Catechisms, Hymns, Biblical Commentaries, and Sermons. Philip Melancthon\textsuperscript{13} was eminently versed in philosophy and philology, as well as in theology, and obtained a wide influence by his Loci Theologici, and his numerous written judgments and opinions on theological subjects. Along with them are deserving of mention, John Brenz (preacher in the Suabian Hall, then provost at Stuttgart, deceased 1570),\textsuperscript{14} as exegete and preacher; and Martin Bucer (in Strasburg, then in Cambridge, following editions are enlarged, but only in the German works: the Altenburg, 1661 ff.; the Leipzig, 1729 ff., fol.; so, too, the Halle (by J. G. Walch, 1737 ff., 24 Thelle, 4); the latter has very careful introductions. On the other hand, the original text is given in the Erlangen edition (by Irnimscher, Plockmann, and Elsperger, 1896 ff., 67 vols. in German and 23 Tomi Lat., 8). Luther's Briefe, Sendeschreiben, und Bedenken, kritisch u. hist. bearbeitet, by W. M. L. de Wette, 5 Th., Berlin, 1825 ff. [vol. vi., Seidemann, 1856].—Luther (Dass diese Worte Christi d. i. m. L. noch feste stehen, 1527, Walch, xx. 1112) says that his church Postils are the "very best book which I ever made, which the papists, too, willingly have." Among his exegetical works, the most valuable are his commentaries on Genesis, the Psalms, and the Epistle to the Galatians (on the latter, a shorter and a longer commentary). [On Luther, comp. Hare's Mission of the Comforter, vol. ii., 1855, revised edition. On Irnimscher's edition, see Reuter's Repertorium, Aug., 1855. Life of Luther, by Henry Worsley, 2 vols., Lond., 1856-57. An edition of the Table-Talk in Bohn's Library, 1857. A. C. Seidemann, Luther's Grundbesitz, a long article in Zeitschrift f. d. Hist. Theol., 1860. H. Vorreiter, Luther's Ringen mit dem anti-christlichen Princip d. Revolution, Halle, 1860.]


\textsuperscript{14} Luther, in his Table-Talk (Walch, xxii. 2290), says of him: "No one of the theologians of our time so explains and discourses of the Holy Scriptures as does Brentius; in such a way that I often wonder at his mind, and doubt my capacity. I believe that no one of us could do what he has done in explanation of the Gospel of John." Comp. Luther's Preface to Brenz's Commentary on the Preacher and Amos, in Walch, xiv. 188. —Opp. Tubing., 1576-90, viii. T. fol. The first seven contain the exegetical works; see upon them, G. W. Meyer's Gesch. der Schriftenklärung, ii. 425. Joh. Brenz nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen von Jul. Hartmann und K. Jäger, 2 Bde., Hamburg, 1840-42. [Geo. Veesenmeyer, J. Brenz, Selbst-Apologie für seine Rechtgläubigkeit; in Niedner's Zeitschrift f. d. Hist. Theol., 1860, p. 156 sq.]}
deceased 1551), in exegesis. In the next generation, Matthias Flacius Illyricus (who died in Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1575) obtained a permanent reputation in church history and exegesis; Joachim Camerarius, professor of the Greek and Latin languages in Leipsic (who died in 1574), published excellent works preparing the way for a learned exegesis of the New Testament; Martin Chemnitz, Superintendent in Brunswick (deceased 1586), a highly esteemed doctrinal divine, adhered to the Melancthonian type of dogmatics, while he tried, at the same time, to satisfy the strict Lutheran orthodoxy. After the adoption of the Formula Concordiae, the theological statements of which document were most definitely elaborated by Aegidius Hunnius, Superintendent and Professor in Magdeburg (who died in 1603), all the Philippistic (Melancthonian) tendencies were decisively rejected, and Melancthon's Loci were supplanted by Leonh. Hutter's (professor in Wittenberg; died in 1616) Compendium Lociorum Theologi-
corum. Dogmatics now assumed a scholastic form; exegesis was made entirely dependent on theology, and almost all theological talent was expended upon scholastic divinity and polemics. Ethical science was very much neglected; yet the numerous theological decisions about cases of conscience gave to the Wittenberg divine, Frederick Balduin (who died in 1627), the materials for the construction of a new system of casuistry, which was at the same time in the strictest opposition to the Jesuit perversions of morality. The Jena theologians of this period were distinguished for their mildness of spirit and their learning; John Gerhard (who died in 1637) surpassed all previous achievements by his great work on doctrinal theology; and Sal. Glasius, professor in Jena, in 1640 appointed General Superintendent in Gotha (deceased in 1656), gave a new basis to exegesis in his Philologia Sacra. The Rostock professor, John Tarnov (who died in 1625), stands almost alone in this period as a liberal and learned exegete.

Among the theologians of the Reformed Church, the first to be named for their exegetical and polemic writings are Ulrich Zwini-
Zwingle's work, *De Vera et Falsa Religione*, was soon eclipsed by Calvin's *Institutio Christianae Religionis*; after which for a long time all productiveness in doctrinal matters in the Reformed Church was brought to a conclusion. The opposition made to the Calvinistic dogmatics by Sebastian Castellio, professor of the Greek language in Basle (deceased 1563), was without any general influence; his Latin translation...
tion of the Bible was opposed in Geneva as a work of Satan. On the other hand, Theodore Beza, professor and preacher in Geneva (deceased 1605), was considered a model in the interpretation of the New Testament; and the French Reformed theologian, John Mercerus (who died in Usez, in Languedoc, 1570), prepared excellent works on the Old Testament. John Drusius, professor in Leyden and Franeker (deceased 1616), Louis de Dieu, professor in Leyden (died 1642), and the two Basle professors, John Buxtorf, the father (died 1629), and his son (who died in 1664), contributed materially to extend the study of the Oriental languages in the explanation of the books of Scripture. Here, too, however, exegesis came into the service of dogmatics. Thus was it in the learned commentaries of John Piscator, professor in Herborn (died 1626); but still more after the Arminian controversies in Holland.

In the field of church history the most distinguished authors were: Rudolph Hospinianus, preacher in Zürich (died 1626); Gerhard John Vossius, professor in Leyden, and afterward in Amsterdam (died 1649). David Blondel,

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In 1555 he published a French translation of the Bible. Beza opposed to it his Latin, N. T. Latin jam olim a vet. Interpretae, nunc denuo a Th. Beza versum, cum ejusdem Annotationibus, Oliva Rob. Stephani, 1556, fol.; then by Castellio: Defensionis suarum Translationum Bibliorum, et maxime Novi Foederis, Basil., 1562; Beza, in reply: Respensione ad Defensiones et Reprehensiones S. Castell., 1563; comp. Castellio v. Fusslin, s. 43.

33 Th. Beza nach handschriftl. Quellen dargestellt, by J. W. Baum, 2 Th., Leipzig, 1843. 51. [The third part, containing the Appendices, published 1852].—N. T. cujus Graeco textui respondent interpretationes due, una vetus, altera nova Th. Bezae, ejusdem Th. Bezae annotationes, of this four editions, 1565, 1562, 1588, 1598, fol. From this text of Beza was formed the textus receptus; Meyer, ii. 72, 475. [Comp. Schlosser’s Life of Beza; and Herzog, in his Encyclopedia.]

34 His commentaries were published by Beza after his death, Comm. in lib. Job, and in Sal. Proverba, Ecclesiaston et Cant. Cant., Genesae, 1573, fol., in Genesis, Gen., 1598, fol. Meyer, ii. 481.

35 On both, Meyer, ii. 419.

36 Meyer, iii. 23, 169.

37 Meyer, iii. 410. His new German version of the Bible (Herborn, 1609) is often unintelligible, from its slavish adherence to the original; Meyer, iii. 859.

38 Thus the exegetical works of Andreas Rivetus, professor in Leyden, then in Breda († 1651), and Franc. Gomarus, professor in Gröningen († 1641); see Meyer, iii. 417.

39 De Templis, 1587, multo auctius, 1603; De Monachis, 1588, auctius, 1609; Festa Christianorum, 1593, cum additamentis, 1612; Historia Sacramentaria, T. ii. 1596 and 1602; Concordia Discors, de Origine et Progressu Formulae Concordiae Bergensis, 1607; Historia Jesuicidea, 1619: collected edition Tiguri in fol.

40 Hist. de Controversiis, quas Pelagius ejusque Reliquiae moverunt, libb. vii., Lugd.
preacher in Houdan, near Paris, and then successor of Vossius in Amsterdam (died 1655), was famous for historical criticism; and in the same sphere the kindred Episcopal Church of England could point to the learned James Usher (Usserius), professor in Dublin, and afterward Archbishop of Armagh, who died in 1655. In the French Reformed Church, Daniel Chamier, professor in Montauban (died 1621), published the most complete polemical work against the Roman Catholic Church; Moses Amyrault (Amyraldus), professor in Saumur (died 1664), an excellent system of Christian ethics. Louis Cappellus, professor in Saumur (died 1658), investigated the history of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament; but at that time his works gave great offense, though they laid the basis for a new period in Biblical research. The same was the case with the exegetical writings of Hugo Grotius (died 1645), who, as an author, influenced theology at sev-
§ 49.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE.

One of the chief blessings of the Reformation was found in the fact, that the increased religious knowledge was spread abroad and confirmed by means of sermons, catechetical exercises, and the care of souls; and that a class of clergy was trained adapted to this work. Thus, in consequence of Luther's urgent exhortations, schools were founded in all the cities attached to the Reformation; in the smaller towns there were at least schools for popular instruction, in the larger towns, higher institutions for education. In Saxony and Württemberg cloisters were appropriated to this object. New universities and academies were also established.


[Comp., on this chapter, A. Tholuck, Das akadem. Leben des 16ten Jahrh., 2 Bde., 1854–55.]

1 An die Rathsherrn aller Städte Deutsches Landes, dass sie chrstl. Schulen anrichten und halten sollen. M. Luther, Wittenberg, 1524. (Walch, x. 532), translated into Latin by Vine. Opsopaus: De constitvndis scholis M. Lutherti liber, donatus latinistl. Praecedit Ph. Melanchth. praefatio, Hagenomae. 1524 (the Preface is given in C. R., i. 666). Der 127te Psalm, ausgelegt an die Christen zu Rigen, in Liedland. M. Luther, Wittenberg, 1524 (de Wette, ii. 595), urged especially the erection of schools and the regular payment of the clergy.

2 The general plan of instruction was laid down in the Instruction to the Visitors, 1528 (Richter's Kirchenordnung, i. 100). Besides religious instruction, reading, writing, and singing, the children were to be taught only in Latin, not German, Greek, or Hebrew (without doubt because then they could obtain a strict knowledge of grammar only through the Latin); and for this object they were divided into three houses (classes), instructed by the schoolmaster and his two assistants. J. Wigger's Kirchengeschichte Heklenburgs, s. 140.

3 Thus in the school in Nuremberg, which Melancthon aided in founding, dedicated 23d May, 1526 (the Oration in C. R., xl. 106), and where John Camerarius as rector, Eoban Hess, and other able men were appointed. Comp. J. D. Schulze, Literaturgeschichte der sämmtl. Schulen im deutschen Reichs, Weissenfels u. Leipz., 1804. Wachler's Gesch. d. Literatur, 2te Umarbeitung, iii. 83.

4 The Prince's schools, founded by Maurice, Schulpforta and Meissen, 1548, and Grimma, 1550.

5 Theological stipendium in the Augustine cloister in Tübingen, from 1548. By the cloister-edict, 1556, schools were established in fifteen cloisters, which, however, had been reduced to five at the close of the 16th century; see Joh. Brenz, by Hartmann and Jäger, ii. 299.

6 German Universities: Marburg, 1527; Strasburg, 1538; Königsberg, in Preussen, 1544; Jena, 1557; Helmstädt, 1576; Altorf, 1576; Giessen, 1607; Rinteln, 1619. In Switzerland: in Zürich, Collegium Carolinum, 1521; in Lausanne, Theol. Acad., 1537;
All these institutions had theological and religious education chiefly in view; the training of the clergy was their most important object. Some of these schools even attained a great reputation, and contributed in no slight degree to recommend the Reformation.

In country places it was for some time the custom for the pastors alone to instruct the youth in the Catechism. The cloisters were, however, soon called to give aid, and were also obliged to exercise the children in singing the hymns of the church. The ecclesiastical ordinance of Electoral Saxony, in 1580, first enjoined the cloisters to open schools for general instruction.


After Luther's suggestions, in his Deutsche Messe, 1526 (Richter's Kirchenordnung, i. 37): "This instruction must now be given, because there is not yet any special congregation, it may be from the pulpit, at particular times or daily, as the need is; and at home children and servants must be taught in private morning and evening, if they are to become Christians. Not only must they learn the word by heart, as before, but they must be asked verse by verse, and must answer what each means, and how they understand it." Ph. H. Schuler's Gesch. d. katechet. Religionsunterrichts unter d. Protestanten; Halle, 1802, s. 49.

In the Saxon Church Order, 1538, the only injunction upon the sacristans in this respect is about having singing, especially in winter (Richter's Kirchenordnung, i. 228): "Sie sollen die Jugend zuweilen, sonderlich im Winter, auch die andern Leute die christliche Gesänge lehren, und dieselben in der Kirchen zur Messe und vor und nach den Predigten treulich und ordentlich helfen singen." On the other hand, the village sextons in Lübeck, 1581 (i. 150), Pomerania, 1585 (i. 249), and Meissen, 1540 (i. 321), are enjoined to aid the pastor in the Catechism; and the Saxon General Articles of 1557 (ii. 186) enjoin [that they teach the Catechism and singing Sunday afternoons, and on some week-day, and examine the children in the Catechism; and this in all the villages]: "Die Dorfküster sollen verpflichtet seyn, alle Sonntage nach Mittag, und in der Woche auch auf einen gewissen Tag die Kinder den Katechismum, und christliche Deutsche Gesänge mit Fleiß und deutlich zu lehren, und nachmals in den vorgeschriebenen oder vorgelesenen Artikeln des Katechismi wiederum zu vorbören und zu examiniren, und do eins oder mehr Filial zu der Pfarr gehören, soll er mit solchem Lehren, mit Rath seines Pastors, dermassen abwechseln, dass die Jugend in allen Dörfern nach Nothdurft unterwiesen, und ja nicht versäumet werde."
Thus the Protestant churches now possessed great spiritual treasures in their German version of the Bible, in their Catechisms, and in their church songs; while in preaching\textsuperscript{11} and in the schools they had institutions which laid these treasures open to all. And yet even Luther found cause to complain of the increase of license.\textsuperscript{12} This was the result in part of the transition from church coercion to church freedom; in part of a misapprehension of the doctrine of justification by faith; in part of the bitter polemics in which this new doctrine about faith was proclaimed to the people. For these polemics tended to make this doctrine, in a one-sided manner, a matter of the mere understanding, and not unfrequently presented it in so rude a method as only to excite passion, and thus not unfrequently kept the real religious marrow of the doctrine in the back-ground. These erroneous tendencies had been already opposed by Melancthon in his Instructions to the Visitors.\textsuperscript{13} Luther, too, in his numerous sermons, gave admirable examples of a style of preaching adapted to lay hold of the heart and to arouse the moral sensibilities.\textsuperscript{14}

ordains, c. 30 (see Richter's Kirchenordnung, i. 68): In omnibus civitatisbus, oppidis et pagis sint puerorum scholae, ubi rudimenta et scribendi rationem docentur; however, this order, like the most of them, did not go into execution. In the Prussian Church Ordinance, 1568, the bishops were enjoined (ii. 302) to have schools for the cities, etc.: "Dass sie bei den Städten, auch ziemlichen Kirchen auf dem Lande anhalten, damit die Schulen wol bestellt und versehen werden." The peasants were required to pay eight schillinge for every hide [about thirty acres] of land, for the schoolmaster (p. 304). In the ecclesiastical ordinance of Electoral Saxony, 1580, the first question asked of the sacristans and guardians was, whether they would obey the order about the schools (ii. 419): "Ob er vermöge unser Ordnung die Schule angestellt, und alle Tage aufs wenigst vier Stunden Schul halte, besonders aber den Katechismum die Kinder mit Fleiss in der Schulen lehre, und mit ihnen Dr. Luther's geistliche Gesang und Psalmen treibe." The school money was two pennies the week. Then, p. 450, they are exhorted to use all diligence about the schools, and see to them daily: "Es sollen auch alle Custodes und Dorfküster Schul halten, und derselben täglich mit allem Fleiss vermöge der Ordnung abwarten, darinnen die Knaben lehren lesen, schreiben, und christliche Gesänge, so in der Kirchen gebraucht werden sollen, darauf der Pfarrer sein fleissiges Aufsehen haben, und das Volk mit Ernst dazu vermahnen soll."

\textsuperscript{11} Which were also diffused among the people in Postils. So particularly both of Luther's Postils; and Anton Corvinus (professor in Marburg, general Superintendent in the principality of Calenberg, † 1553), Postillen über Evangelien und Episteln, mit Luther's Vorrede, 1535. 37. (first published in German, then also in Latin); Joh. Brenz, Postille über die Evangelien (published by Joh. Pollicarius). Frankf., 1550 (see Brenz, by Hartmann and Jäger, ii. 471); lastly the Postils of Joh. Gerhard (see § 48, Note 23). Jena, 1618, and Joh. Arnd (see below, § 50, Note 22). Leipzig, 1616.

\textsuperscript{12} See above, § 30, Note 2.

\textsuperscript{13} See above, § 34, Notes 20, 22.

\textsuperscript{14} Luther's homiletic rules are brought together in M. Conr. Portae (preacher in Eis- leben, † 1585), Pastorale Lutheri, Leipzig, 1586. 4., and J. G. Walch's Sammlung klei-
disputes arose in the bosom of the Church, the polemic harshness of Luther's other writings found numerous imitators even in the pulpit.  

The excellent homiletic directions of Andreas Hyperius and Nicolas Hemming (professor in Copenhagen, afterward canon in Rothschild, died 1600) had no great influence. Most of the sermons were filled with one-sided dogmatic and polemic matter. From the beginning of the seventeenth century a scholastic style of preaching prevailed, not unfrequently conjoined with entire lack of taste, or rude phraseology unworthy of the pulpit, and sometimes with a display of useless learning; so that even the five-fold Usus, which had become the rule in the structure of sermons, could not make them useful for Christian culture. }


Comp. the extracts from Mörlin's Sermons against Osiander, delivered in Königs- berg, 1551, in Salig's Hist. d. Augsb. Conf., ii. 966. That the Wittenbergers could be equally harsh is seen in Major's Predigt im Oct., 1557, gegen seine Widersacher, Salig, iii. 824.  

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Evident evidence of this in Schulcr, i. 120, 150. On some of the better Saxon preachers, see Tholuck's Geist der Luther. Theologen Wittenbergs im 17ten Jahrh. (Hamburg and Gotha, 1852), s. 99. [Also, Tholuck, Lebenszeugen d. Lutherischen Kirche, 1859.]

Usus didascalicus, elencticus, paracliticus, epanorthoticus, and paedeuticus, after 2 Tim. iii. 16, and Rom. xv. 4. Dav. Chytraeus ad Hier. Mencelli, Superint. Islebi- ensem (Chytraei Epistt., p. 548): Utinam timore Dei et poenitentia et metu irae ac ju- diciary divini adversus peccatum animos nostros et auditorum nostrorum ad verae iustitiae et dilectionis Dei ac proximi exercitia potius, quam ad disputatuum rixas, quae non sublatam, sed mutatam esse superioris metatis sophisticam ostendunt, adue- faceremus! (Joh. Val. Andreae) Veri Christianismi Solidaeque Philosophiae Libertas, Argentor., 1618. 12., p. 99: De Evangelii quidem voce clara, pura, vereque apostolica equidem est quod nobis gratulemur; nec id Antichristum latet, frementum cum religiosis Ecclesiae hostibus, ac ruptum paene medium: atque utinam nuncam contentiosorum, ambitiosorum spirituum impugnatione co adactum fuissest, ut plus nunc in malignitas eorum detectione evitatioque, quam nuda beneficiorum erga nos Dei confessione veri- tatisque agnitione nobis si negotii factum. Ea res incautoribus imposuit, ut hac hu- manae rationis contentione et delectatiam modum fuerint, et etsi acquisierint, omnesque vitam imprudentissime absumperint. Nempe Trinitatem definire quam adorare, pre- sentiam Christi probare quam omni tempore ac loco revereri, peccatorum poenitentiam describere quam intra se sentire, operum merita refutare quam opus bonum facere, ac per sacras litteras frequentior voluntari, quam dilectionis christianae praxi occupari ma- lunt: denique theologiam scientiam aliquam faciunt, cuius cognitioni veluti logices aut metaphysicas ad eruditionem faram impetrandam admodum utilis. Then follows a sad account of the village pastors of the time.
struction in the Catechism subsided into catechetical sermons, or was altogether abandoned. In the Reformed Church a strict discipline still upheld order; but in the German Lutheran Church they seemed to care only for orthodoxy; and, besides, ignorance, immorality, and rudeness penetrated the popular mind, and reached a fearful height, especially during the devastations of the Thirty Years’ War. Belief in witchcraft was still prevalent, notwithstanding some opposition to it; and in the seven

20 Schuler's Gesch. d. katechct. Religionsunterrichts unter den Protestanten, s. 84.

How reckless they were is seen in the example of the great astronomer, John Kepler, who died 1630. Comp. John Kepler's Leben und Wirken, by J. L. C. Freih. v. Breitschwert, Stuttgart, 1831. Kepler was a devout Protestant, driven from Steiermark for his belief, in 1600, by the bigoted Ferdinand II. (p. 44); but he was tolerant toward other churches, and rejected the doctrine of ubiquity (p. 21); his assertion, that the Earth moved, was held to be contrary to Scripture (p. 85); and hence he could not find any post in his fatherland, Würtemberg (p. 55). Comp. Tholuck’s Luth. Theologen Wittenbergs, s. 82.

J. B. Andrea und sein Zeitalter dargestellt, by W. Hossbach, Berlin, 1819, s. 35. Tholuck, s. 93.

Luther, too, believed that witches could harm men and cattle, but considered the opinion that they could transform themselves and ride through the air to be a deception of Satan: see Decem Praecepta prae dicata ann. 1517, in Loscher's Reformationacta, i. 593. Even John Kepler participated in the belief of his times as to witches; see Breitschwert, p. 130. On the other hand, it was opposed by Joh. Wier (Leibarzt des Herzogs v. Cleve) de Praestigiis Daemonum, Incantationibus et Veneecis, lib. vi., Basil., 1563. 4. (Noteworthy is Wier’s correspondence with Brenz, 1565 and 1566. The latter had long opposed the opinion that hail and thunder storms could be produced by witches, but conceded that they might possibly injure men, and considered the laws to be just against those who, even erroneously, believed that they could hurt others with the help of the devil. On the other hand, he granted that the blind rage which was sacrificing so many as witches ought to be restrained; Joh. Brenz, by Hartmann and Jäger, ii. 484); Thom. Erastus (physician and philosopher in Basle) de Lamiis s. Strigibus, Basil., 1577 (Wundt's Mag. f. pfalzische Geschichte, i. 210); Augustin Lercheimer’s christl. Bedenken u. Erinnerung von Zaubererei, Frankf., 1565, fol. (also in J. Scheible’s Kloster, ii. 206); Gabriel Naudé (physician in Rome and Paris), Apologie pour les grands hommes, souçonnés de Magie, Paris, 1625; Cautio criminalis, s. de processibus contra sagas, lib. ad magistratus Germaniae hoc tempore necessarius, auctore incerto theologic orthod. (Frid. Spec,
teenth century the execution of witches had become so frequent that the different churches seemed to rival one another in exhibiting their Christianity in this form.

§ 50.

COUNTER-WORKINGS OF MYSTICISM AND OF PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY IN THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

In proportion as theology in the Lutheran Church degenerated into a dry orthodoxy of the letter, without nourishment for the spirit or power in the moral sphere, it was natural for those minds that longed for a living faith to turn again in the direction of mysticism. The mystics of the Middle Ages, esteemed as they were by Luther himself, had constantly retained many quiet friends in the Lutheran Church. And then, too, mysticism proper, which was directly employed in the service of medicine by Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, surnamed Paracelsus (who died in Salzburg, 1541), and at first advocated only by the physicians of the school of Paracelsus, was further developed in its theological aspects, and in this shape brought into opposition to the theological scholasticism, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Valentine Weigel, pastor in Tschopau, in Misnia (who died in 1588), avoided giving offense while living; but in


9 On his life and writings, see Arnold's Kirchen- u. Ketzerhist., Th. 2, B. 17, Cap. 17.
his quiet residence in the country he had written a series of works, which began to be issued in 1609, and created an immense excitement by their theosophic and fanatical speculations.

After 1612 Jacob Böhme's (shoemaker in Görlitz, Philosophus Unschuldige Nachrichten, 1715, s. 22; comp. s. 1075. He subscribed the Formula Concordiae, 1580; see his Dialogus de Christianismo, Neuenstadt, 1618, 4., s. 39 [Not as man's book, but as containing in intent the Apostles' doctrine. He also complains of the haste with which they were called upon to subscribe. Yet he did it to avoid the reproach that he did not believe the apostolic doctrine. But he must still say to the high schools that they do not know Christ, etc.]: "Nicht ihrer Lehre oder Menschen Büchern habe ich mich unterschrieben. Sondern diesselieben ihren Intent auf die Apostolische Schrift, und dieselbige allen Menschen Büchern vorziehen (wie billig), konnte ich das wol leiden. — Zu dem war es ein schnelle Überhujung oder Übereilung, dass man nicht etliche Tage oder Wochen solche Ding einem jeden insoneither zu überlesen vergünnete, sondern nur in einer Stunde dem ganzen Haufen vorgelesen, und darauf die Subscription erfordert. Zum dritten wollte mir armen Zubörer nicht gebühren, dem Teufel ein Freudenmahl zu machen und anschirzen, dass der ganze Hauf geschrieben hätte: da, da, wir haben wol gewusst, er seye mit unserer Lehr gemäss. Also hätte mein unbeweglicher Apostolischer Grund mussen für eine verlogene Lehre gehalten werden, welches Gott nicht gefallig, die Perlen für die Sau zu schütten, oder das Heiligthum den Hunden zu geben: zu Lohn battens sie mich tretten und zurissen, wäre mir billig geschehen, dass ich für der Zeit mir mein Leben hatte abgekürzt: mein Bekannts warkeinem unter dem ganzen Haufen nütze gewesen, nur ärgerlich, — Gott würd mich wol heissen, wenn ich soll sprechen zu den hohen Schulen: sie kennen Christum nicht, wer unberuft läuft, richtet nicht aus. Mache mir also gar kein Gewissenmildiesem Unterschreiben." Postille, i. 108: "Bist Du in der Zahl der Priester, und wirst gewahr, dass dein Stand ungöttlich ist, lass den äussern Menschen einen Priester seyn, lass ihn das Joch oder das Kreuz tragen, klage du es Gott, und hütte dich ja, dass du nach dem innern Menschen kein Priester seyst."


Teutonicus, died 1624) mystical book, "The Aurora Rising," began to be circulated in manuscript; it was followed, after a period of ten years, by a large number of other works. Although these two theosophists were independent of each other, yet many of the ideas of the old mystics, of Paracelsus, and of the fanatical Anabaptists, found an equal response in their writings, particularly in their disdain of all Christianity of the letter, and of all scien-


7 All these works were at first circulated in manuscript copies. His Aurora, oder Morgenrotheim Aufgange, was first printed in 1631, 12mo. The first imperfect edition of his works was by H. Ammersbach and H. Beetke, Amsterdam (Halberstadt), 1675. 4. A more complete edition by J. G. Gichtel, Amsterdam, 1682, 10 Bde., 8.; since then often published; the last edition by K. W. Schlebner, Leipzig, 1831-42, 4 Bde., and Stuttgart, 1885-46, 6 Bde.

8 By B. Weigel, Postille, i. 124 [We are all taught of man alone. We come from the high schools, and are to preach Christ, whom we do not know. Our doctrine is from men, and our life from the devil. Besides, we are compelled to swear that we will not teach otherwise than what is prescribed in men's books—Augsb. Confession, Philip's Locii, and the like; and he who will not is called a fanatic, and persecuted]: "Sind wir nicht alle bloss von Menschen gelehrt, aufgeworfen und berufen? Von hohen Schulen kommen wir her, und sollen Christum predigen, welchen wir nicht kennen. Unsere Lehre ist von Menschen, aus Menschen-Büchern oder Postillen, und unser Wandel oder Leben ist vom Teufel: den Hoffarth, Eigennutz, Faulheit, damit jetziger Zeit fast alle Theologen besessen sind, kommt fürwahr nicht von Gott, sondern vom Teufel. So wir von hohen Schulen und von Menschen gewählt, geordnet, und geschickt sind, lassen wir es dabei bleiben; unser keiner gedenkt weiter zu lernen von Gott: ja etliche müssen noch dazu vor Gott ein Jurament thun, sie wollen nichts anders lehren, als was in Menschen-Büchern vorgeschrieben ist. Damit sind auch etliche wohl zufrieden, um ihrer Faulheit willen, beruhen gern auf dem Corpore doctrinæ, auf den Postillen, auf der Augustana Confessio, auf den Locis Philippi, auf den Schriften Lutheri, auf der Vater Büchern, auf der Formula Concordiae; sagen: Gott Lob und Dank! es ist alles ganz leicht in der Theologie kurz zusammengefasst, so bedürfen wir nicht viel Studirens. Und so man einen hörte, der da postpositis hominum scriptis die heilige Schrift allein wollte handeln und sich von Gott lehren lassen,—so hießen sie ihn einen Abtrünnigen von der Augsb. Konfession, einen Schwärmer, einen Schwenkfelder, der sich wolte den hell. Geist oder die Salbung lassen lehren: vermögen sie nicht wider einen solchen zu schreiben, so haben sie Steine auf, und werfen nach ihm, d. i. giessen ihn bei der weilt. Obrigkeit, an, dass er getötet, oder zum Lande hinausgeworfen werde." J. Böhme, Morgenrötheim Aufgang, Cap. 22 [I need not the formulas of the philosophers and theologians, for I have another master—the whole of nature: thence I learn my philosophy and theology. 12. But as men are gods, and have the knowledge of God, I do not despise their formulas of philosophy, etc. 15. Nature, and not myself, condemns their pride and wrath]: "11. Ich brauche nicht ihrer (der Philosophen, Astrologen, u. Theologen) Formulæ u. Art, sitemal ichs von ihnen nicht gelernt habe, sondern habe einen anderen Lehrmeister, welcher ist die ganze Natur. Von derselben ganzen Natur mit ihrer instehenden Geburt habe ich meine Philosophiam, Astrologiam, und Theologiam studiret und gelernt, und nicht von Menschen oder durch Menschen. 12. Weil aber die Menschen Götter sind, und ha-
tific theology; in their exaltation of the inward light, and of immediate union with God; and in their adoption of the theories of Paracelsus about the harmony of the visible and the invisible world, and about man as the microcosm of the universe. Many deviations from ecclesiastical orthodoxy were the inevitable consequence. 9

As the tendency to the mysterious and wonderful was advancing with rapid strides, leading to hazardous religious fanaticism, the then youthful John Val. Andreae 10 (born in 1586; deacon at Vai-

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9 An inventory of the errors of Weigel is given in Neue Beiträge v. altun. neuen theol. Sachen, 1755, s. 862, e. g.; the Virgin Mary was from heaven, the divine wisdom; Christ's humanity was not of the nature of Adam; man has two sorts of flesh—the one, earthly, from Adam; the other, heavenly, from Christ. Böhme held that there were three persons in the Godhead, but also seven spirits, the sources of things; that the world was created from nothing; but that God is this nothing; that Christ received his heavenly flesh from the heavenly Eve, etc.

10 J. V. Andreae De Curiositatis Pernicie, Argentor., 1621. After (p. 14 sq.) he had spoken about the deceptions of chemistry, magic, and astrology, and complained that its advocates would construct a new religion, he adds, p. 33: Emersit hac nostra aetate religio aliquo multiformis ac polypi instar, quam Weigelianam appellare possemus, quod sub hoc nomine, cui injuriam non fecerim, circumferatur. Et cum primum valde bona propinaret, et internam hominem egregie formaret, sapere quod devotum quid et coelicum spirans, nunc nescio an non supponat, certe monstrissimam quaeque, et in religionem puriorum contumeliosissimam profert, et haereses pestilentissimae genuinis exercit. Nolo hic exaggarere, quam in D. Lutheri maxima merita injuria sit, quam in spiritum herois dicacula, passim omne verbi ministerium, et fitos Dei servos suggilet, quam pro suo aethero lumine omnes faculas rideat et consuelct, ut nihil hic lene aut cum Christo, quemadmodum crepat, mansuetum reperias. Sed quod Sacramenta ele-

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FOURTH PERIOD.—DIV. I.—A.D. 1517-1648.

hingen, 1614; Superintendent at Calw, 1620; court preacher and consistorial councilor in Stuttgart, 1639; Abbot of Bebenhausen, 1650; Abbot of Adelberg, 1654; died 1654), in order to satirize the credulous curiosity, which was not wanting even in his narrow circle, wrote, after 1602, the work entitled "The Chymical Marriage of Christian Rosenkreuz, anno 1459," to which was added, before 1610, "The Universal and General Reformation of the Whole of the Wide World, by the Fama Fraternitis of the praiseworthy Order of the Rosicrucians." When these writings,
which were for a long time circulated only in manuscript, began to appear in print, 1614, they awakened a strong and intense excitement, and led to a confused search after that secret brotherhood of deeply-dyed magicians. In vain did Andreae speak in the strongest terms against this confusion and misapprehension;
in vain did he, in a series of allegorical and satirical writings, chastise all the follies of the times, and work by word and deed for the interests of practical Christianity; artful men made use


On these writings he says, Vita, p. 46: Caeterum, quod Deum sancte testor, non es mihi insectandij petulantia fuit, aut nocendi ulla libido, quam declaratoribus aggerebat; sed quod christianam causam animo fervide foeverem et quam modo promotam veluem, quod, cum plana via mihi negaretur, per ambages et cuniculos persequi constant sum, non sceptico, quod aliquibus videbar, genio, sed ea arte, quam pli multi abhube-runt, ut per lusum et ingeniosa allocamenta seria agerem et Christianismi amorem propinarem. Is mihi scopus, id consilium fuit, quod si non satis circumspectum, setati minus maturae et tot stimulus incitatoribus imputetur. Sane ut primum multis agere facere mandorborum nostrorum tractationem animadvert, Ipsa dolei et extinctum volui ca-nem, sed qui curiositate obstetrico hoc ipso denuo revixit, et aliam sobolem, quas pro-fecto asternen populit jacetissse, excitavit, cujus gratiam unum obrectatoribus debebat, et quid unquam gratiae inverterant.

He sought to promote the better religious instruction of youth by his "Christliche Evangel. Kinderlehre, Stuttgart, 1621" (comp. Schuler's Gesch. d. katechet. Religions- unterrichts unter den Protestanten, Halle, 1802, s. 87; reprinted there, s. 329). He called on those who had been deceived by the Rosicrucian Brotherhood to hold only the more firmly to the Brotherhood of Christ; Invitatio fraternitatis Christi, 1617; comp. De Curiositatis Pernicie, Argentor., 1621, p. 36: Itaque velut Babylonicae turris structores, non linguis, sed judiciae et capitibus divisi ad suas paulatim, dispersi retrouuent. Qui si quid egregii animal conceperunt, partheque meliores tanto anoime admittere, tuari et propagare fuertur; illam potius jam certam, tot amici Dei expertam, jam toties Satanicae mundo oppositionem Christi fraternitatem amplectantur, mentemque integrum et conatus omnes eo convertant, ut societas Christi sub Evangelii legibus coalescat, ordoque mutuae caritati emergatur, ac dominum Dei communicatio in coeli honorum, Eccle-siae florem, proximumque rorem appareat. He described such an ideal state in his Republi- cae Christianopolitanae Descriptio, Argentor., 1619. 12. He soon formed the plan of a stricter Societas Evangelica for this object. In the Vita, p. 100, the object of this Christiana Societas is thus given: Quae deposita argenti notabilis summa in praesens pauperum indigentiae succurreret: in futurum vero, si res ita ferret, vel occurrentibus necessitibus subveniret, vel postas rectius prospericeret, et una amicitiae constantiam servaret, moribusque devils occurseret. The property grew to 18,000 florins; comp. his
of the delusion, and actual brotherhoods of Rosicrucians were formed.\(^{19}\)

As these mystical tendencies spread abroad the scholastic divines turned with bitter hatred against them,\(^{20}\) in fact, against all who appeared to favor them in any degree, and even against such as were trying to build up Christianity through the influence of pious feelings rather than by theological scholasticism.\(^{21}\) John Arndt (successively pastor in Badeborn, in the Anhalt principality, in Quedlinburg, Brunswick, and Eisleben; Superintendent in Celle in 1611; deceased 1621),\(^{22}\) though a martyr for Lutheran

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\(^{19}\) Andree, in his Respublicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio, Argentor., 1619, 12., p. 50, speaks of impostoribus, qui se Rosae Crucis fratres mentirent. J. S. Semler, unparteilische Sammlungen zur Historie der Rosenkreuzer, 4 Stücke, Leipzig, 1786-88. J. G. Bühle über den Ursprung u. die vornehmsten Schicksale d. Orden d. Rosenkreuzer u. Freimaurer, Göttingen, 1804. F. Nicolai's Bemerkungen über die Geschichte u. Ursprung der Rosenkreuzer und Freimaurer, Berlin, 1806. [The Fama and Confessio were published at Frankfort, 1827.].


\(^{21}\) J. V. Andree Oratio Inaugur. Tubingae habita, p. 86 (Arnold's Kirchen- u. Ketzerhist., Th. 2, B. 17, cap. 17, § 50), complains that Satan defiles with the name of Weigelians all those who are earnest in religion and for church discipline, so that it hardly avails for them to prove their innocence and orthodoxy in ever so clear a manner. In the Alethea Exul., p. 826, he complains, "that whoever now seeks to lead an honest life is accused of being an enthusiast, a Schwenckfeldian, an Anabaptist."

\(^{22}\) Christian Gerber's Historie der Wiedergebornen in Sachsen (4 Th., Dresden, 1725), ii. 210, and J. F. Gauhe's Appendix to it, containing an authentic and full Historia Arndiana, ibid., s. 263. Joh. Arndt, ein biographischer Versuch, by F. Arndt, preacher in
orthodoxy, and of wide-reaching influence in matters of practical piety, was compelled to see his book, *On True Christianity*, fiercely attacked as savoring of that mysticism; and these attacks were even more strongly renewed during the seventeenth century, in proportion as this book became the comfort and refuge of all pious hearts. Even the distinguished dogmatic productions of John Gerhard were not sufficient to protect his practical writings from the charge of mysticism. And so, in this period, nobody could complain of a one-sided, intellectual Christianity, nor


23 See above, § 41, Note 13.

24 The first book was published at Brunswick, 1605; the whole four books probably first in 1609. Immediately after its appearance the first book was attacked by some of Arnd's colleagues in Brunswick, for perverting the doctrine of justification by insisting too strongly upon good works; also for teaching that believers, even in this life, must attain unto perfection; and for using suspicious phraseology from Tauler, Weigel, and others. Afterward a special case was made out against it, because Arnd (in the 2d book, chap. 24) had incorporated twelve chapters from Weigel's Book of Prayer, although he asserted that he did not know that this book (then current only in manuscript) was by Weigel, and although no errors could be detected in this part of the work. After his death, Arnd was specially assailed in Lucas Osiander's (chancellor and professor in Tübingen) Theol. Bedenken, welchegestalt J. Arndens wahres Christenthum nach Anleitung des heil. Wortes Gottes anzusehen sey, Tübingen, 1628. Comp. Rupertus Malendius (§ 42, Note 6), in Lücke, s. 141: Cum gemituet lachrymis experientur (pli ac boni viri), sanctum illum virum, et de Ecclesia Dei praeclarissime meritum, Jo. Ardium, imo Angelum Dei, missum ad praedicandam poenitentiam, adhuc semel ante novissimum diem, tam immanibus convitiiis procedi, et tot contumelii affici, atque adeo deterrierarum haereson maculis conspergi.—Proh summe Deus, quo haec res tandem sunt evasurae! However, his defendants were not less numerous than his assailants. Comp. Apologetica Arndiana, Schutzbriefe zur christl. Ehrenrettung Joh. Arndt's, Leipzig, 1706; G. B. Scharff, Supplementum Historiae Litiaeque Arndianae, Wittenb., 1727; Walch's Religionsstreitigkeiten der Luth. Kirche, iii. 186, v. 1131; F. Arndt, s. 64, 151, 203.

25 See § 48, Note 23. [See Tholuck's *Lebenszeugen*, 1859; Deutsche Zeitschrift, Nov. 3, 1860, Weingarten on MSS. of Gerhard.]

26 A list of the same in Vita Jo. Gerhardi, quam exposuit E. R. Fischer, Lips., 1723, p. 437. Among them, those most read were his Meditationes Sacrae, Jenae, 1506, Schola Pietatis, d. i. christl. Unterrichtung zur Gottseligkeit, 5 Bücher, Jenae, 1622. 23., in 12 vols., and his Postill (§ 49, Note 11). Gerhard complains, in a letter to Arnd, 1690 (Fischer, p. 505): Nec mihi parcunt, sed in publicis concionibus eorum errorum peragunt reum, qui ne in mentem quidem unquam mihi venerunt. Elsewhere (Fischer, p. 177):

Qui studium hoc aseo pietatis graviter urget,  
Et sophias partem tractat utramque sacrae,  
Ille Rossaeccruicus vel Weigelianus habetur,  
Et nota turpis ei scribitur haeresos.  
De me non verita est virosa calumniia id ipsum  
Spargere, et his nugis conciliare sedem.
verge on the emotional phrases used by the old mystics, without being himself exposed to the accusation of mysticism.  

§ 51.

ATTEMPTS AT UNION.


The divisions and controversies between the different churches were so opposed to the spirit of Christianity, and were at the same time so inauspicious in political relations, that attempts were constantly made to adjust them.

"Ph. J. Spener's warhaftige Erzählung dessen was wegen des s. g. Pietismus in Deutschland vor einiger Zeit vorgegangen, Amsterd., 1700. 12., s. 15: "Thus very much had to be undergone on account of their zeal in practical Christianity, and for the punishment of public abuses and crimes, by Dr. Andr. Kessler, Superintendent at Coburg († 1643); Dr. Arn. Mengering, Superintendent at Halle († 1647); Dr. Joh. Matthias Meyfart, professor and pastor in Erfurt, against whom was arrayed almost the whole body of the learned, on account of his public complaints about the corrupt state of the universities and high schools, which he published in 1636 (Pennalismus od. Erinnerung v. d. Wiedeberbauung d. acad. Disciplin, 1684. 4.); Dr. Joh. Schmid, professor and president of the church convention in Strasburg († 1658); Dr. Justus Gesenius, General Superintendent of Hanover († 1671); Dr. Sal. Glassius († 1656, see § 48, Note 24), who, in Witten. memor. Theol. dec. 9, n. 8, p. 1216, was obliged to repeat the above verses of Dr. Gerhard against his adversaries, who loaded him with the reproach of Welgelianism; and among the Nurembergers there was Joh. Saubertus (pastor of St. Sobald, † 1646), with his successor, Joh. Mich. Dilherna († 1669), who, because calumny could not find any other semblance against him, nor could he so easily be joined in condemnation with other more violent persons, was forced by disputatious folks to bear the name of a Syncretist." He especially appeals to Jo. Sauberti Theologi Umbra delineata a Jo. Val. Andreae, Luneburg, 1647, in which Andreae "describes the story of his life, the state of the Church at that time, the proposals, behavior, and doings of the dear man;" and he gives a long extract from this work. Further, p. 19: "But after that time the thing itself did not change, only the persons, who, inflamed with godlike zeal, cried out against the corrupt life in the midst of our churches, and especially about that new Gospel, which the famous Rostock divine, Dr. Paulus Tarnovius had already, 1624, attacked (De Novo Evangelio Ora., republished in J. G. Pfeiffer Variorum Autorum Miscellanea Theol., Lips., 1786, p. 909), and showed that it was the cause of all the misery which had flooded the whole of Christianity." In explanation of the passage translated from Tarnov's address: "The new and false Gospel is a vain imagination about Christ, an error as to the grace and compassion of God, which does not come from God's Word, but from the secret council of the prince of darkness,—who promises deliverance from sin and punishment, and eternal life to those that observe external worship, and confess the true Christianity with the mouth (even if it be denied in the heart); and by such vain imagination holds that all the good promised to the true believer belongs to them, though they have no real inward repentance, but only an external and hypocritical." Comp. Walsh's Religionsstreit. d. Luth. Kirche, iv. 1060.
In the first attempts at union between the Roman Catholic and the Reformed churches, the Catholics met the Protestants with an unusual spirit of concession; but toward the close of the sessions of the Council of Trent, when its proceedings threatened to make the division remediless, they began, in some quarters, to recognize, as the only method which promised success, the one already advocated by Erasmus. The Queen Regent of France, Catherine de Medicis, recommended the Pope, 1561, to effect a reconciliation of the parties by correcting abuses and simplifying the doctrines; the Emperor Ferdinand laid similar proposals before the Council, 1563. Though these were neglected, yet they led the Catholic theologians, Frederick Staphylus, George Wicel, and

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1 So in Augsburg, 1530; see Div. I., § 5, Note 13; the Ratisbon Interim, 1541, ibid. § 7, Note 41; the Augsburg Interim, 1548, ibid. § 9, Note 3.
2 Erasmus ad Matth., xi. 30; see vol. iii., § 154, p. 482, Note 22. Also his Epist. ad Jo. Carondiletum, Archiep. Panormitanum, dated January, 1522, prefixed to his edition of Hilaryus, Basil., 1523, and in his Epistles, lib. 28, ep. 8: He complains here of the—curiosas, ne dicam impias quaestiones; of the periculosae curiositas in the sphere of theology, and exhorts, in contrast, to fixing the attention rather upon the moral claims of Christianity. Summa nostra religionis pax est et unanimitas. Ea vix constare potest, nisi de paucissimis definiamus, et in multis liberum relinquamus suum cuique judicium: propterea quod ingenis sit rerum plurimarum obscuritas, et hoc morbi fere in natura sit hominum ingenios, ut cedere nesciant simul atque res in contentionem vocata est, quae postquam incaluit, hoc cuique videtur verisimilem, quod temere tuendum susceperit.—Imo hoc demum est eruditionis theologicae, nihil ultra quam sacris literis probatum est definire, verum id quod probatum est bona fide dispensare. Multa problema ta nunc rejiciuntur ad synodum olim usevievum: multo magis conveniebat quaestiones eismodi in illud rejiciere tempus, cum sublato speculo et semigimate videbimus Deum de facie. Then he calls attention to the peculiar opinions of Hilary, which are now reputed to be heresies, in proof of the position that the ancient Church was very watchful about such deviations.

3 Div. I., § 22, Note 4. Comp. G. Cassandri Epist. 37, ad D. Ximeninm, 1561 (Opp., p. 1131): In France there are three parties, papists, Huguenots, and—tertio loco est ordo moderatorum et pacificatorum, qui et corrígenda nonnulla in Ecclesia agnoscent, neque tamen importuniatem novellorum (ut vocant) concionatorum approbant: hi quaerunt consilia, quibus Ecclesia ad normam divinæ Scripturæ et Ecclesiae præcæ, quam minimum fieri potest mutatione, et retentia quae et fieri potest antiquitatis reliquis, constituta, et utraque pars, vel certe qui in utraque parte saniores sunt, ad christianam concordiam et unionem reducuntur. Hujus sententiae et animi sunt Rex Navarræ, et Regina mater, Episcopus Valentinus,—Cancellarius Regni Hospitalis dictus, optimi quoque et praestantissimi ex regis consiliariis, et inter eos vir doctissimus—Paulus Foxius, ex Sorbonicis praedipui Espencæus, et Salignacus Abbas, nec abhorret ab his Cardinalis Lotaringus. He is reported to have said in a religious colloquy—se libenter compromitere hanc controversiam arbitró Ecclesiae præcæ, sed Petrum quingentiorum a Christo omnem, reliquis qui insequuntur sunt annis habebat gravissimun renunciatum.

4 See below, § 57, Note 4.
5 On him see § 30, Note 3. His work, Ad Imp. Ferd. I. de Reformanda Ecclesia Consilium, 1562, in Schelhorni Amoenit., ii. 499, is aimed particularly at lessening the power of the Pope, and the riches and privileges of the clergy.
6 On him see § 30, Note 3. His Via Regia s. de Controversiis Religionis capitibus
George Cassander, to draw up comprehensive proposals, in order, as it appeared, to bring about the desired union, at least in the countries subject to the Emperor; but this was prevented by his death in 1564. Cassander’s proposition was especially note-

conciliandiis Sententia, written on demand of the Emperor Ferdinand, but first sent to Maximilian II. in 1564 (best in G. Cassandri et G. Wicelii de sacris nostrri temporis Controversis, ed. H. Conring, Helmst., 1659. 4.), contains a concise outline of doctrine, and points out the abuses to be remedied.

7 On him see § 30, Note 3. Cass.de Officio Pii Viri in hoc Ecclesiae Dissidio, 1561, occasioned by the reassembling of the Council of Trent, in G. Cassandri Opp. (ed. Jo. Cordesius), Paris, 1616, fol., p. 781. Comp. p. 783: Eam doctrinam ut veram et catholica habendam esse judicavit, quae sacris literis est expressa; deinde, quae ex mente et intelligentia earundem literarum ab ipsis usque Apostolorum temporibus est tradita, et per successionem ad nos usque derivata; quarum utramque pari fidei integritate al- plectendam duco. Tertio loco est, quae ab omnibus Ecclesiae, vel majore certe parte, est recepta, et probabilibus rationibus et sacris literis confirmata.—Quarto loco quaestionum quoddam genus est, quae neque tam claris Scripturae testimoniiis, neque tam antiquo et magno consenso Ecclesiae gratuitur, tamen posterioribus temporibus in hac praeceps occidentali Ecclesiae parte institutae et receptae sunt: quae cum divinis librieris manifeste non repugnent, in earum confusione neque pugnaciter agendum, neque ea de causa Ecclesiaram pacem perturbandam puto. Quod si sententia aliqua, jam omnino recepta et firmata, minus in earum literarum deoore et odioe contendendum, sed cum eruditis et moderatis viris placide inquirendo et disputando esse constat. Si quae vero sententiae et divinis literis et veteris Ecclesiae traditioni adversae, et per errorem vel imperitiam, vel etiam ambitionem postremis his et corruptissimis temporibus inventae videntur, eas ut sarmemtum vitandas et caevendas non nego: sic tamen ut privato homini timere apud quosvevis de iis contendendum non putem, ubi certa offensio, profectus et utilitas nulla spee. Itaque prudentiam christianam hic abhendam, ut non temere et passim ubique dicas quicquid sentias, neque tamen unquam dicas contra quam sentias: ubi vero gloria Dei vel proximi utilitas postulat, liber et constanter dicas quod sentias. P. 788: Omnes ii, qui ob reprehensionem nonnullorum abusuum initio rejecere, conscientiae impulsi in ratione docendi et forma ministerii alienum inmutabatur, ab Ecclesiae defecisse dicuntur, et inter haereticos et schismaticos numerantur: videndum est, quam id recte et juste fiat. Ecclesia enim Christi caput est et corpus; a capite non recedetur, nisi per falso et Scripturis sacris dissentantem de capite Christi doctrinam; a corpore vero non per quamvis rituum et opinionum diversitatem, sed per solam caritas deflectionem. Quare, ut ante quoque dixi, qui recta sententia de Christo capite junguntur, et caritas et pacis vinculo, etiam opinionibus qui-busdam et ritibus discrepant, reliqua Ecclesiœ corpori connecturunt, nullo modo ut schismatici et ab Ecclesiae alieni habendi sunt, etiam si alia Ecclesiæ parte potentiore et gubernationem obtinente rejecret, et ab eorum societate et communione separati videantur. Neque enim quasvis rejecctio et separatio schismaticos facit, sed initia separations et causae spectandaæ sunt, non enim separatio factit schisma, sed causa. P. 791: Quicquid itur in utraque hac Ecclesiae parte, sive ea antiquo nomine catholica, sive nuper nato evangelica nuncupatur, integrum, sanum, doctrinæ et apostolicae traditionis consentaneum invenit, id ut Christi Ecclesiae proprium veneror et ampler: easque Ecclesiam, quod in fundamento veræ et apostolicae doctrinae, quae brevissimo illo fidei symbolo continetur, consistat, nec implo schismate a reliquarum Ecclesiæ communiæ se separaret, veram Ecclesiam, veraeque Ecclesiae et catholicæ Ecclesiæ Christi membrum esse judico.—Neque ad hanc unitatem catholicæ Christi Ecclesiæ divellendum et distraheendum, caeremoniarum aliquot et quaestionum diversita-
thy, viz., to bring back the doctrines of the Church to their original simplicity, as the condition of union. After the doctrine and government of the Catholic Church had been established by the Council of Trent, there could be no more proposals from the Catholic side of yielding in respect to doctrine. The religious colloquies, started for various reasons, were unsuccessful attempts to convince their opponents of their errors. The attempts made by

In Germany the conferences appointed by James, Margrave of Baden, in Baden, 1589, and in Emmendingen, 1590 (see Div. I., § 11, Note 26), and that of Duke Maximilian of Bavaria, and the Palgrave of Neuburg at Ratisbon, 1601 (ibid., Note 32). In France the conferences at Nimes, 1599, and at Fontainebleau, 1600, and the various negotiations of Richelieu with the Reformed; see Hering, i. 388. [Puaux, Hist. de la Réf. Franç., Tome iv. 1860.]
some Protestant rulers to conciliate the Catholic Church by changes in their national churches only embittered their Protestant subjects, without effecting any doctrinal concessions on the part of the Catholics.9 Equally fruitless were the proposals, on the basis of Cassander's ideas, made by Mark Antony de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, who died in 1624.10

In the controversies between the Lutherans and the Reformed, the latter maintained the positions that both parties were essentially agreed as to doctrine, that they should mutually tolerate the discrepant opinions, and must make common cause against the Catholics; and Zwingle was the first to call this desirable relation by the name of συγκροτισμός.11 But the Lutherans saw soul-destructive error in the deviating doctrines of the Reformed, and this became the general opinion in the Lutheran Church after its victory over the Philippists, who were favorable to the Reformed. The Polish Lutherans, indeed, under the influence of the Wittenberg Philippism, had effected a union with the Reformed and the Moravian Brethren of their land at Sendomir, 1570;12 but after the strict party had gained the victory in the Formula Concordiae, they were led to retract this union by instigation from Germany.13

11 Zwinglii Epist. ad Verbi Ministros Basilenses, 5. Apr., 1525 (Opp. vii. i. 890): Ten-tamur nunc haud contemnenda tentationes, puta ipsius Eucharistiae discussione. Quae res plane non tantos tumultus dabat, quantos quidam sperant, si modo συγκροτισμός fecerimus, h. a. in dicatione consensum: quem quaedam infirma et illibilia aliqui animalia dum faciunt, crudelissimos hostes sic terrunt, ut nihil ab eis maii patiatur. Then Bucer, 1581; see above, § 85, Note 23. Melanchthonis Responsio ad Criminationes Staphyli et Avii, Vitcb., 1558, init. (Opp., iv. 818): Intuens Ecclesiarum nostrarum vulnera, cum propter alias causas multas ingenti dolore afficior, tum vero magis crucior, quod occupati intestinis bellis non studemus vel συγκροτισμός, ut olim dicebatur, nos adversus communes hostes conjunger. Saepo etiam in quaelibet dominis desidillia Demosthenis epistolam recito, in qua hortatur cives, ut deponent domesticia odia et sese conjungant contra externos hostes.
13 These influences became marked from 1582; D. E. Jablonskii Hist. Consensus Sendomiriensis, Berol., 1731. 4., p. 95. Here too preached a zealous Lutheran, Paulus Ge-
Even after this the Reformed showed themselves for the most part favorable to ecclesiastical peace with the Lutherans, with toleration of the opinions on both sides. The Synods of the French Reformed Church for a long time made advances in this sense to the Lutherans. This peaceful spirit of his mother church was unsuccessfully expressed in his Irenicum by Francis Junius (from Bourges, professor in Heidelberg, and afterward in Leyden: he died in 1602). In the Lutheran Church these attempts were received with less favor, because, by the shape into which the doctrines about the Person of Christ and Election were then developed, it had separated itself still further from the Reformed Church; and also because the Lutherans were imbittered by the change to Calvinism of several of the German national churches, and by the hard treatment frequently experienced by the churches and preachers that still adhered to Lutheranism. The Synod held at Mömpelsgard in 1586 showed the fruitlessness of all efforts in Posen, auditoribus melius facturos, si ad Jesuitas, quam ad aliam confessionem evangelicam Consensus Polonico receptam transeat (Jablonski, p. 95). After the death of the Lutheran Superintendent, Erasmus Gliczner, 1603, the Lutherans no longer attended the mixed synods, p. 121.

The National Synod at Gap, 1603 (Aymon Synodes Nationaux, i. 274), expressed the wish, d'entrer en conference et union avec les églises d'Allemagne (qu'on appelle Lutheriennes), pour ôter le schisme, qui est entre elles et nous, and determined, with this in view, to write to the orthodox Universities in Germany, England, Scotland, Geneva, and Sedan. They received approving replies; but nothing more was done (i. 300).

Thereupon the Synod of Tonnels, 1614, took up the plan anew (see § 45, Note 6); and the Synod of Vitry, 1617 (Aymon, ii. 108), named a commission to perfect it. The breaking out of the Arminian controversies enfeebled this zeal for union; but still the Synod of Charenton, 1631, declared that Lutherans were orthodox, and to be admitted to the Lord's Supper (§ 45, Note 8).

Irenicum, de Pace Ecclesiae Catholicae inter Christianos,quamvis diversis Sententia, religiosae procuranda, colenda atque continenda, in Psalmis Davidis, 122 et 133 Meditatio, 1592 (Opp., Genev., 1613, 2 Tom., fol. i. 677).

See § 42, Note 1. The dispute here was on five points: De Coena Domini, de persona Christi, de templis pontificii reformandis (the Lutherans held, Acta Coll. Montisbell., p. 321: Imagines, quibus historiae et res sacrae repraesentantur, adiaphoros esse; imagines, quae ad idololatriam prostant, abrogandas esse; templum et altaria, imaginibus minime idololatrie exornata non diruenda, organa musicae ex templis non eliminanda esse. On the other hand, the Reformed held: Usum picturae et sculpturae in historias sacras, praeceptandae, etiam per se est ἀδιάφορος, tamen magis nocere, quam professe, si in sacra loca inferuntur, propter humani ingenii ad idololatricon cultum promotionem: musicen minime damnans; sed ubi cantatur harmonice quod mente non intelligitur, res ipsa ostentatur, quod inde consequatur, nempe ut paulatim magna pars cultus Dei in cantu enus mutatur, et non Dei verbo mentes pascantur, sed inanibus sonis aurea mulcetur: quamvis res per se sit ἀδιάφορος, lapideam structuram, quam altare vocant, vel ligneam mensam communem habere in usu sacrae Coenae dominicae; tamen probabilis non est, Satanam unquam potuisse Coenae dominicae sacramentum in illud horrendum sacrificium denuo offerendi Christi commutare, si altaribus
forts at pacification. When the danger from the Catholics increased, it was felt, especially in the Palatinate, how desirable the syncretism with the Lutherans would be. In this sense an Exhortation was published at Heidelberg in 1606, followed by the Irenicum of David Pareus (professor at Heidelberg; died 1622), in 1614. Both were decisively and bitterly repelled by the Lutherans, to the joy of their common foes.

Meanwhile the theological disputes in the Lutheran Church itself again became more violent and bitter. The controversy between the theologians of Giessen and Tübingen on the Communication Idiomatum, and the attack upon John Arnd's book on True Christianity, gave all the more just ground for offense, as it occurred while the Catholic predominance over Protestantism was constantly increasing, and seemed to make the Protestant cause still more hopeless. Many persons were induced, by these distractions in their own church, to seek for unity and peace in

christianae Ecclesiae caruisent); De Baptismo (the Lutherans maintained, p. 352: Baptismum non signum duntaxat, sed lavacrum regenerationis vere esse, in casu extre

necessitatia mulieribus licitum esse infantibus baptizare. The Reformed held: Aliquam latentem virtutem aliam aqua (licet sacramentali) attribuere, quam sacramentalis significationis, existimamus manifestum esse idololatriam; Baptismus pars est ministerii publici, quod est expresso Dei verbo mulieribus, imo etiam privatis personis, interdic
tum); and de praedestinatione.

17 Treuherzige Vermahnung der Pfälzischen Kirche an alle andere Evangelische Kirchen in Deutschland, 1606 (also in Goldast's Polit. Reichshänden, s. 894).
18 D. Parei Irenicum, s. de Unione et Synodo Evangelicorum Conciliandae, Heidelb., 1614. 4., p. 66: Faciamus in re bona, quod tribunuit ille Prognostes Paulus Windeck (Canon at Marchdorf, had just before written: Prognosticon futuri status Ecclesiae, oppositionem insulsi cujusdam per Sueviam lutherologi libro de signis ruiriti Papatus) suis Pontificis suadet in re mala: Si, inquit, separant Catholici, et ipsae carae essei republucse

christianae salus, syncretismum coherent. Et nos igitur pio syncretismo adversus commune


19 J. G. Sigwarti Admonitio Christianae de Irenico Parei, Tubing., 1616. 4. Leonh. Hutteri Irenicum vere Christianum, Vitib., 1616. 4. In these works syncretism was also opposed, as if it had in view a mixed religion.

20 The Jesuit, Adam Contzen, wrote against Pareus: Consultatio de Unione et Synodo Generali Evangelicorum, and De pace Germaniae libib. ii., and in it exhorted the Lutherans, as dear brethren, not to unite with the Calvinists. How the Lutherans at this time stood on the side of the Catholics against the Reformed, see the letter of the imperial confessor, the Jesuit M. Becanus, to the court preacher of the Elector of Saxony. Hoe von Hoenegg, 1621; Div. I., § 12, Note 4.

21 See § 42, Note 5.
22 See § 50, Note 24.
the Roman Church. This led, in the Lutheran Church, to a vigorous protest against that love of theological strife which would not endure peace and freedom in the Church, and which was killing all living piety by the dead letter.

The peril from the Catholics, meanwhile, was assuming a still more threatening aspect, and indicated the necessity of a union with the Reformed; and consequently the feeling toward them became more mild. In the Leipsic Conference of 1631 the


24 So particularly about 1628, Ruperti Meldenii (G. Calixti?) Paraenesis Votiva pro pace Ecclesiæ ad Theologos Augustanae Confessionis; also in J. G. Pfeiffer, Variorum Auctorum Miscellanea Theologica, Lips., 1786, p. 136; and in F. Lücke, über den Friedensspruch: In necessariss unitas, in Non necessariss libertas, in utrasque caritas (first found in Meldenius), Göttingen, 1850, s. 87. Comp. Lücke's additional statements in the Studien u. Krit., 1851, iv. 906.—Particularly did the numerous defenders of Arnd (§ 50, Note 24) help to increase that feeling.

25 The court preacher of the Elector of Saxony, Matth. Hoe v. Hoenegg (Div. I., § 12, Note 3), whom the Jesuits had lured, was soon undeceived, when, after the Calvinists, the Lutherans also were expelled from Bohemia (ibid., § 14, Note 27). Fidelis Admonitio de Religione Papistica fugienda et Lutherana constanter retinenda ad Evangelicos in Bohemia et aliib presbœ scripta per facultatem theolog. Doctores et Professores in Acad. Wittenbergensi, 1624 (4.); and when, from 1626, the Lutherans began also to be treated with violence in Germany (ibid., § 12, Note 9). Then, with the aid of other Saxonic theologians, and by order of the Elector, he wrote the "Vertheidigung des Augapfels, 1628" (§ 12, Note 12), from which the polemics against the Jesuits received a new impulse.

26 Occasioned by the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg and the Landgrave William of Hesse. On the Reformed side were the court preacher of Brandenburg, Joh. Bergius; the Marburg professor, Joh. Crocius; and the Cassel court preacher, Theophil. Neuberger. On the Lutheran side, the chief Saxon court preacher, Matthias Hoe v. Hoenegg, and the Leipsic professors, Polyc. Leyser and Heinr. Höfner. The German protocol of the conference has been often printed—e.g. in the "Drei Confesiones oder Glaubensbekentnisse, welche in den Churf. Brandemb. die Religion betreffenden Edictis oft genüen werden" (several times printed in Frankf. on the Oder, Cologne on the
points in dispute were debated, even on the Lutheran side, in a much more moderate spirit than before, although they were not here brought to an adjustment. By this Leipsic colloquy, John Duraeus (Dury), a Scotch Presbyterian clergyman, who, as preacher to the English church at Elbingen, had been already busy with thoughts about union, and afterward, in England, had won over many of the Latitudinarians, was emboldened to undertake


Jos. Hall (Dean of Worcester, then Bishop of Exeter, and at last of Norwich), Pax Terris, in Duraei Irenicum Tractatum Prodomum, p. 297: Paucas fuerunt illa fidei capita, quae praerecio Christianis necessario credenda proponebantur. Neque vero plurra sunt, quae a Christianis quibusque, ut scitum creditumque ad salutem necessarium requirunt: eadem nempe et semper erit communis illa fides tradita olim Sanctis, cuius professione Christiani indigitatam, nec alia ex eo creari aut debet, aut vero potest. Praecipue tot tantarumque inter Christianos litium causa fuit et adhuc est curiosa illa credendorum multiplicatio.—Idem vestigis insistere debet remedium, quibus et morbus: ad sua nimirum principia (ut sero sapere discamus) reducendus est Christianis; et modus statendum illis articulis, in quibus velut de fide credendis acque aequescere debet plebs christianae. Jo. Davenantius, Episc. Sarisburiensis (De pace inter Evangelicos procuranda sententiae quatuor, Duraei traditae, Londini, 1638, 1. 7 p. 59): Non nostri sacelli theologorum incumbit hoc negotium, ut populo Christianorum novos ac fundamentales catholicae fidei articulos producant. Qui Apostolorum et primitivae Ecclesiae tempori nobis fuit fundamentalis, nostri affermationibus, alterationibus, anathematismis nunquam evadet fundamentalis. Prima haec credibilis, quae ex toto Scripturae corporis in symbolo apostolicum collecta et comportata habemus, constituit illam fundamentalem fidei regulam, quam Augustinus pusillissimus magnisque communem vocat, atque ab omnibus perseveranter tenendam decernit.—Qui credit omnia, quae hoc brevi symbolo comprehensa habemus, vitamque Christi praecepit conformem agere conat, ex albo Christianorum non est expungendum, neque a communione cum aliis Christianis cujuscunque Ecclesiae membris abigendum.—Agnoeco tamen dogmata multa praeferre hosque articulos in sacris Scripturis contineri, et auctor sacris Scripturis per firmam consequentiam posse deduci, quae sunt cognitum perquam utilia, et ad professum in theologica scientia multum condueunt: sed sub amittendae salutis aut communiones periculo tum daemon tenenda sunt, cum in Scripturis contineris, vel ex Scripturis necessario consequi manifesta declarantur et intelligantur. In hisce si qua Ecclesia non potest veram suam sententiam aliis Ecclesiis manifestam reddere, ut eam in eandem pertransat, renunciare debet illarum erroribus, fraternali tamen communione propter hosque errores renunciare non debet. Hoc addo, quod etiam loco alii quos sacrosanctae Scripturae videat hinc Ecclesiae fundamentalem articulum stabilire, alias non videant, non est tamen in hoc opinionum discrimine satis justa causa communiones absumpndae, modo utaque ipsum articulum pie credat, et in aliis Scripturis sanctae locis clarem et solide fundamentum agnoscat. Denique et illud adiungendum, non esse impossibile, neque a bonorum Christianorum officio alienum, cum illis Ecclesiae communionei retinere, qui nobis opinionem aliquam sequi videantur, quae revera non potest cum fundamentali articulo cohaerere; dummodo ipsum articulum explicite profiteantur, et ambabus (quod aude) unius implicitament. Abhorret enim a caritate, imo a recta ratione, ut quis propter consequentias nec intellectas, nec a se concessas putetur fundamentalem articulum negasse aut rejecisse, quem firmiter credit, explicite asservat, et opus esse veritatem ejusdem vel sanguinis suo obsignaret.—Ninimum si placet illa Ecclesia, quae alias, in quibus nec inventur tyrannis, nec idololatria, nec haeresis mortifera, propter aliquam intelligentiae in-
journeys, and to write books, for securing a union among all the national churches formed on the basis of the Reformation. However, he found as much disinclination to this among the Lutherans as he did sympathy among the Reformed; and so his restless and self-sacrificing attempts were quite unsuccessful. He died at Cassel about 1680.

§ 52.

GEORGE CALIXTUS.


firmatatem, tanquam sua communione indignas, aspersatur. Non sè priœœ Ecclesiæ Patres, etc.

26 Writings of Duraeus : Hypomnemata de Studio Pacis Ecclesiasticae, Amstel., 1636. 4. Consultatio Theol. super Negotio Pacis Eccl. Promovendo, Lond., 1636. 4. Capita de Pace Evangelica, Lond., 1657. 4. Irenicorum Tractatuum Prodromus, Amstelod., 1662. 8. Comp. J. Chr. Coleri Hist. Jo. Duraei, Vitemb., 1716. 4. C. J. Benzelli Comm. Hist. Theol. de J. Duraeo, maxime de actis ejus Suecanis, cum præf. J. L. Moschemii, Helmst., 1744. D. H. Hering's neue Beiträge zur Gesch. d. Ref. Kirche in Brandenburg, i. 369. Duraeus unfolds his scheme at length in the Dedication of his Irenicorum Tractatuum Prodromus. In every national church there was to be a Collegium Pacificatorium, constituted of some theologians and persons of high position; these colleges were to confer together upon the conditions and means of union, and come into correspondence with one another. The main conditions were these: 1. Negotium per dispositionem scholasticam nuncupam esse agitandum; 2. Ad proxim pietatis omnium concordiae consilia et media esse referenda; 3. Per concessa in libris symbolicis semper esse procedendum; 4. Omnia esse subordinanda fundamentalibus et irrefragabilibus Christianismi dogmatibus, quae ipsi Pontifici negare non possint; 5. De syncretismo, i. e., de nova quidam religionum miscella, non esse deliberandum, sed de fundamentali concordia; 6. Nuncupam agendum de factione aliqua politica contra Pontificios formanda, sed de Protestantium innocentia manifestanda, ut pateat, haereseos crimina in nullo jure a Pontificiis imputari; 7. Postquam in fundamentalibus inter partes consensum esse apparebit, in religios tolerantiae innoxeae locum esse dandum; 8. Prophetand libetatem, secundum s. Scripturas regulatam, et quae personalia non tractet, concedendum esse; 9. Injuriam praeteritarum amnestiam esse sanciendum, nec impune admittendum, ut ulli se novis injustis lasciassent; 10. Regimen Ecclesiæ in utique parti liberum esse relinquendum, ut illud, prout ex usu suo utilisimum judicabit Ecclesia quaelibet, consti-tuat. The means recommended were: the setting aside of the prejudices of the parties against one another, the publication of books to recommend the union, and correspondence between the parties. 29 Nic. Hunni (Superintendent in Lübeck, † 1643) Theol. Consideratio Interpositionis s. PacificatoriaTransactioæ, a D. J. Duraeo tentataæ (presented to the Council of Lübeck in 1641), ed. cum præf. Sam. Pomarii, Vitemb., 1677. Comp. Nik. Hunniæ, by Dr. L. Heller, Lübeck, 1848, s. 128.
PART II.—CHAP. III.—LUTHERAN CHURCH. § 52. G. CALIXTUS

In the University of Helmstadt, under the influence of Hesshusius (who died 1588), though neither the Formula of Concord nor the doctrine of ubiquity was accepted, yet the strict Lutheranism and passion for theological controversy\(^1\) of that restless man prevailed, until, in the reign of the learned Duke Henry Julius (1589-1613), and after the appointment of the distinguished philologist, John Caselius (1589), there was a zealous cultivation of classical studies and the Aristotelian philosophy, which had been neglected in the Universities since the decline of the school of Melancthon.\(^2\)

As a consequence, the Melancthonian theological teaching became predominant,\(^3\) and the zealous Hesshusian, Daniel Hoffmann, was obliged, in 1602, to yield to it.\(^4\)

In these circumstances, George Calixtus, trained under the special influence of John Caselius (who died 1613), and of the philosopher, Cornelius Martini (deceased 1621), received such an education at that University as fitted him to become the head and leader of the new Helmstadt theology, in which the Melancthonian tendency received new life and a new development. After completing his academical studies, he traveled through England, Holland, Italy, and France; became acquainted with the state of the different churches and with many eminent men; and in this way, as well as by a more thorough study of the different peri-

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\(^1\) Thus the controversy on the Formula Concordiae and on ubiquity was continued for a long time, and with great violence, by the Helmstadt divines, especially Daniel Hoffmann, against Württemberg and Saxon theologians; Walch's Religionsstreit der Luth. Kirche, iv. 503. [On Hesshusius, comp. C. A. Wielken, Tile. Hessh. nach handschriftl. Quellen, Leipz., 1860.]


\(^3\) Calixtus, in his Prooemium to Augustus, De Doctrina Christ. and Vinc. Lern. Common., p. lii., cites the following sentence, which seems to contain the whole of the Calixtine syncretism, from Casellii Ep. ad Laur. Scheurium : Quae religiosissimi omnibus saeculis, omnibus locis inter se consentientia tradiderunt, ea dementum sunt δεινώς καταληκτά. Remarkable for its moderation was also the opinion of Duke Henry Julius about the Reformed. In a letter to the Lutheran princes, assembled in Dresden, 15th December, 1610 (Schlegel's Kirchen- u. Reformationsgesch. v. Norddeutschland, ii. 574), he expressed the desire that the Reformed might not be excluded from the religious peace; that they might not separate from them, lest the Catholic party more easily suppress them; and that instead of separate alliances there should be a general union effected by a diet.

\(^4\) When, in 1598, he began a fight against philosophy in general; Walch's Religionsstr. d. Luth. Kirche, iv. 514; Planck's Gesch. d. Protest. Theol. nach der Koncordienformel, s. 91; Henke, s. 82; Thomasius de Controversia Hofmanniana, Erlang., 1844.
ods of ecclesiastical history, he obtained a more comprehensive view of Christianity than was at that time usual in the Lutheran Church.

He returned to Helmstadt in 1613, and became professor in the University December, 1614. Though he did not bring back from his journey any preference for any other Church, and through his whole life maintained that the Lutheran Church was the purest of all, yet he had adopted the opinion of the peace-makers and Remonstrants, that the essential doctrines of Christianity were held by all the churches, and desired to propagate this opinion, and to bring the adherents of all the churches to some nearer understanding. As he saw that the great hinderance to this union was in the exaggerated importance attached to the special doctrines of particular churches, so, too, he detected many excrescences, which he desired to have entirely removed. With this in view he at once commenced an attack on the peculiar doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, which was continued through his whole life, because these doctrines, in spite of their want of truth, were tyrannically insisted upon as necessary to salvation.

Upon his journey he wrote, in Cologne, a work, De Pontificio Missae Sacrificio Tract., printed there by Bartoldus Nihnusius, then his warmest friend, Francof. ad Moen., 1614 (Cal. Digressio de Arte Nova, § 10). Colloquium Hemelschenburgense inter G. Calixtum et P. Angustinum Jesuitam de Principio credendorum, 1614. De Religiosa Adoratione disp., 1623. 4. De Conjugio Clericorum, 1631. 4. In 1622 Nihnusius became a Catholic in Cologne, and wrote: Ars Nova dicta s. Scripturarum unico lucrandi ex Pontificis plurimos in partes Lutheranorum, detecta nonnihil et suggesta theologis Helmstadiensibus, G. Calixto praesertim et Conr. Hornejo, Hildes., 1633, in which he insisted, in particular, that the Catholics did not have to prove the truth of their doctrines, because they were possessed of them by a long tradition; but that the Protestants were bound to substantiate their opposition by the very words of Scripture. To this Calixtus replied in his Digressio, qua excutitur Nova Ars, quam nuper commentus est B. Nihnusius, appended to his Epitomes Theol. Moralis, Pars I., Helmst., 1634. 4., and there, § 262, enumerated the Roman Catholic errors.—De visibili Ecclesiastica Monarchia, 1643. 4. De Sacrificio Christi semel in Cruce oblató et inerabili, 1644. Responsum Malaliciae Theologorum Moguntinorum pro Rom. Pontificiæ infallibilitate præceptoque communionis sub una Vinditis oppositus, 2 Partes, Helmst., 1644. 4. De Missis Solitaris, 1647. Disp. de Primatu Rom. Pont., 1650. Ad Ernestum, Landgraviam Hassiae responsum, Helmst., 1651. Acta inter Dom. Ernestum, Hassiae Landgravium et G. Calixtum, Helmst., 1651. The Capuchins of Mayence wrote against him, especially Valerianus Magnus ; in reply, G. Cal. Responsum ad Actionem, quam tertiam pro Disputacione inter præcipuos dissidentes de Fide Christiana numerant P. Valerianus Magnus ejusque Socii, Helmst., 1652. 4.

Epist. ad Aug. Ducem vor Cassandri de Comm. sub utraque Specie, 1642, d. 3: Pontifex—vult,—suum auctoritatem majorem esse Evangelio, vult, in sua manu esse, sancire sibi decreta, sive articulos sibi statuaere.—Haereticos autem, inter quos praeipue Protestantes numerat, et quotannis per horribilem bullam, quam Coeneo Domini vocant, devovet, exu vult fortunis, honoribus, fama et vita, Reges et Principes corum
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ways averse to the Calvinistic views of the Lord's Supper and of predestination; but he no more considered them to be fundamental errors than did the Reformed those doctrines in which the Lutherans differed from them.7 Strict Lutheranism was as exclusive as Roman Catholicism; and in opposition to its harshness he advocated the milder theology of Melancthon, particularly in rejecting the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's body,8 in maintaining the necessity of a new life in order to salvation,9 and in his theory of original sin.10

regnum et principatibus deject.—Quamdiu certae adscriptionibus et bullis taliis sanctentibus Roma inhaeret, irreconciliabilem esse nemo non intelligent. Cal. Responsum ad Actio- nem tertiam P. Valeriani M., 1652, says, p. 28: 1. Quod inter particulares Ecclesiæ Pontificiæ, Lutherani et Reformati Pontificiæ sit omnium inquinatissima; 2. Quod nemo, qui rem intelligat, ab alia puriore ad illam imputissem illaes conscientia transire possit; 3. Quod haec ipsa Pontificiæ Ecclesia dogmata, quae necunque potuisset, ad augendum et stabiliendum quasdam clerii et dominatum Pontificiæ detorserit vel in- vexaret; 4. Quod Ecclesia, in qua deo, nulli defectui vel errori, quod attinet articulos fidelis ad salutem necessarios, sit obnoxia. P. 46: Si ea credit Pontifex, quorum indicum antea fecimus, hactenus sane cum eo in fide communicamus.—Quatenus autem stabiliendo quasdam clerii suaque potestatem multa commentitii et nova fingit et superaddit, seque in regno Christi ab ipso Christo constitutum esse Proregem, totiusque mundi arctum et dominum justitiae; estenus profecto cum eo communem fidem non habe- mus, sed quam ipsa fidei appellat, nos errores, et quidem ingentes ac perniciosos, esse dicimus.


8 G. Calixtus de Praeceptuis Christ. Rel. Capitibus, Disputat. XV., 1611; Disp. III., de persona et officio Christi, § 48: Manifestum est ex hisce, ab Eutychianismo alienos non esse, quicunque divina attributa—humanitati attribuunt,—nominatim qui immensitatem sive omnipresensiam carni adscribunt.

9 G. Calixtus Epitomes Theol. Moralis, P. I., 1634. 4., p. 3: Finis partis ejus, quam ex disciplina theologica modo tractamus et moralem vocamus, hic est, ut homo fidelis in fide et statu gratiae perseveret, nec eo per peccata libere et contra conscientiam perpetrata excidat.—Quemadmodum per hujusmodi sanctimoniae studio fingis non accipiatur, sed quae accipis jam ante fuit, conservatur: ita quoque per idipsum studium sita, sive jus, si in loci libeat, ad haereditatem vitae aeternae aliud unde um non acquiratur, sed acquisitum, ne amittatur aut intercidat, custodit, quin et con- firmatur.

Even in the first works of Calixtus there were points which gave offense to the stricter Lutheran divines. Though in other instances, where the deviations were much less marked, these theologians had taken up their arms in opposition, they were yet kept back from a controversy with Helmstadt, probably chiefly from the fear lest Brunswick, which by its rejection of the Formula Concordiae seemed to be already on the way to the Reformed Church, might be led by such attacks to go over wholly, following the example of so many other German principalities.

A still greater sensation was made when Calixtus, following essentially in the steps of Cassander, developed his peace-making theology into the position—that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, sufficient for salvation, were contained in the Apostle's Creed, and in the common faith, explanatory thereof, of the

De peccato originali, and De peccato diœs., 1617, in G. Cal. de Peccato Tractatus Diversi, congressi a F. U. Calixto, Helmst., 1659. 4. This Thomist (Aquinas) view of original sin is also declared to be correct in the Apology for the Augsburg Confession; see Concordia, ed. Rechenberg, p. 53; and hence Calixtus appeals to it.

11 Caspar Pfaffradius, professor of theology in Helmstadt, a Hesshusian († 1622), in his prea. to Lutheri de Servo Arbitrio lib. 1619, attacks the doctrine of Calixtus on original sin, as laid down in his Epitome Theologiae. The Giessen divine criticised it freely in a letter to his son-in-law, the Superintendent Wideburg in Wolfenbüttel, 31st March, 1620 (in J. Hülsemann Dialetica Apologetica Problematica Calixtini, num Mystrium Trinitatis e solo V. T. posit evinci, Lips., 1650. 4., p. 100), in Cal. Epitome Theol.; particularly in the articles de imagine Dei et de peccato, de praestitutione, de communicatione idiomatum; much, he said, was ad palatum Papistarum, much Calvinianis non ingratum. Comp. Tholuck's Wittenberg. Theologen im 17ten Jahrhundert, a. 101.

12 Conr. Homejus wrote from Verden as early as February, 1616, to Calixtus (Henke, Commercii Literarii Calixtinii fasc. iii., Marburgi, 1840, p. 7): Retulit nuper nescio quis e duceatu Brunsvicensi nobilis juvenis, famam esse in agro Brunsvicensi de pietatis Academiae Juliae doctoribus veneno Calviniano infecta, inter quos tu praecessus sis. Risi cum audirem hoc,— sed et dolui postea, cum viderem ita remis velisque a quibusdam isto praetextu contendi ad extremam barbariam.

First in the Prooemium to Augustini de Doctrina Christ. libb. iv., de Fide et Symboło lib. 1, Vincentii Lerin. Commentorium ed. G. Calixtus, Helmst., 1629. 8., in which he adopts the method prescribed by Augustine and by Vincent for ascertaining the truths of salvation. Of the subsequent writings of Calixtus, the most important, in their bearings on this matter, are: Digressio, qua excutitur Nova Ars, quam nuper commentus est B. Nihusius, appended to Epitome Theol. Moralis, Helmst., 1634. 4. Disp. de Auctoritate Antiquitatis Ecclesiasticae, Helmst., 1639. 8. Epist. ad Augustum, Ducem Brunsvic., vor G. Cassandr de Communione sub utraque specie dialogus; ed. G. Calixtus, Helmst., 1642. 4. Respomsum maledicis theologorum Moguntinorum pro Rom. Pontificis Infallibilitate Præceptoque Communionis sub una vindicibus oppositum, 2 Partes, Helmst., 1644. 4. Consideratio et εἰκοποιίς appended to Scripta fœciantia ad Colloquium a Rege Vladislao IV. Torunii indictum ed. G. Calixtus, Helmst., 1645. 4. Desiderium et Studium Concordiae Ecclesiasticae, 1650, often printed; also appended to G. Calixti Widerlegung der Verlaumdungen Dr. Jac. Weller, and in answer to Dr. Joh. Hüseemanni meisterliches Muster, Helmst., 1651. 4.
first five centuries; and that the churches which acknowledged this, and viewed the additional tenets of the particular churches as non-essential, should at once come into peaceful relations, and thus pave the way for a future union of the churches. But

14 Desiderium et Studium Concordiae Ecclesiasticae, 1650, § 4: Qui credunt, se non propriis meritis, sed virtute et merito passionis J. Chr. peccatorum remissionem consecuturos, et post resurrectionem carnis suae ad gloriavertuverturos confidunt, ponuntque inter se etiam divinam meritum et mortem Christi; praestea baptizati sunt, et Eucharistia prout datur fruuntur; opera autem carnis non perpetrant, sed temperanter, juste et pie vivunt in praesentia saeculo, expectantes beatam et illudrem adventum gloriae magni Dei et servatoris nostri J. Chr.: eos a Deo filios haberi, et ad haereditatem regni coelestis admittere certum est. Tales autem inter se longe magis conveniunt, et intimius conjunguntur, quam pridem memorati (heathan, Jews, Mohammedans, and Socinians), nempe sicut membra sub capite Christo. Odisse itaque non oportet.—Qui extra corpus illud est, sive ejus corporis sub capite Christo membro non est, non potest salvari. Qui vero ejusdem corporia sub capite Christo membro sunt, inter se sunt fratres et soles. Quod igitur attinet Pontificios et Reformatos, aut negari oportet, quemquam eorum esse membrum Christi, et affirmari, omnes—asternae morti addictos esse; aut, si nobis am asterae vitae participes esse possunt vel erant, tanquam ejusdem Patris—filios, tanquam concordores et cohaeredes, tanquam fratres et soles haberi et diligi oportet. § 5: Piam igitur esse desiderium eorum, qui expetunt, dissidia et odio, quae invaluerunt, prob dolor! inter illos, qui—ita, ut dictum fuit, credunt sequre gerunt, aut certe gerere debebant, mitigari, et si seii quae, plane tolli.—Etiam vero actualis et externa per Sacramentum communem, inprimis propter exortac circius omnes infelices controversias, prohibeat; perseveret nihilominus virtualis et interna, consistens in mutuo benevolentia et caritate, quaem Christiam debet Christianus, et in desiderio studioque renovandorum impedimentorum, quae actuali et externae perfectae communioni obstatunt. (S. Cath. Ecclesiae Symbo]a et Confessiones, 1649, praef. Superiora credentibus et professis si nos actu jangi prohibet sive distantia regionum, sive dessa Indipsum, sive aliud obstaculum, jangimur tamen—animi et affectu.) Quo animo seimus, tetermillium schismatix crimen a nobis amolimur. § 6: Inter ea observandum, quae non esse veri boni, nem Christiani, aliud sentire, et aliud refrangente conscientia profiteri.—Qui apud animum suum persuasus est, nullam esse Pontificis divus perpetuum, nullun ex jure divino primatum, nullum purgatorium, nullum transsubstantiationem; non potest salva conscientia prae se ferre et profiteri, quod esse credat.—Qui persuasus est, sentiatian aliquam esse veram, non potest absque mortali crimine eam improbare vel damnare, et ne quidem simulare, quod improbet vel damnet. Est autem ingeniens discrimen inter ista: ego hanc sententiam non existit esse veram; ego hanc sententiam vere haereticam judico, et omnes ei addictos a divina gratia et coelesti regno exclusos. § 8: Porro observandum, constituta esse divinitat, a quibus cognosco et creditis pendere debat aternum hominum salus, nec hasc per arbitrium et constitutiones humanas augeri vel incrementum capere posse. Qua igitur ad salutem Christianis primorum saeculorum et martyribus Christi sufeecerunt, haeetiam nobis hodie sufficient. Dices forte: ergo non fuerit ad salutem neccessarium credere, quod Filium sit aterno Patri deo deo. Respondo: rem ipsum credere, nempe Filium esse verum et eundem cum Patre suo Deum, ad salutem, et ut Filio redemptori nostro debitus cultus praestetur, est necessarium: prir istud autem vocabulum rem effecer vel exponere, non quidem ad salutem est necessarium, est autem suo quodam alio modo necessarium, nempe ad exclaudendas Arianorum judications. Doctoris sane et antiquih Ecclesiarum non alia ratione vel fide salutem consequuntur, quam simplices Christiani. Mutat tamen illis prae his sciit et cognitum sunt necessaria, non quidem directe ad salutem, sed ad salutarem doctrinam rite explicandam, confirmandam et defendendam. (Comp. Considatio et Brixvovus, § 20, appended to Scripta facientia ad Colloquium Thora.) Then on the Media ad concordiam christianam promovendam et procurandam facientia. Among other things, § 10: Quae praecei ad salutem sunt necessaria, distinguantur
even these views, though in decided opposition to the strict Lutherans, were for a long time not assailed by them. Statius Bu-
ab aliis, quae par obligatio necessaria non sunt: et si de illis fuerit consensus, quod ista atti-
net, etiam si actualis communio plene exercerij nonum posit, cessant tamen mutuae con-
demnationes, et obtinetae tolerantia. (In the Responsa ad Mogunt., P. i., § 44, he distin-
guishes, after the manner of Bonaventura and other scholastics, in what pertains to faith, thir things—anterioritas, concentratio, and consequentia: Quae consequuntur fidem, Bona-
venturae principalsier credenda, sunt articuli symbolo proposito. Antecedentia sunt, qua-
ex ex lume naturae sive de animae immortalitate, sive de Deo cognosci possunt.—Ante-
cedit quoque cognitio divinae canonicae Scripturae, o qua, quae fidem respese constit-
dunt, doceri et deduci debent. Consequentia sunt, quae ex articulis ad fidem proprii fa-
cientibus tanquam corollarium elicuntur, quae pertinent omnes quaestiones annatae, emer-
gentia dubia, et dogmatum appendices. In his euidem posse vel intelligere ad offici-
um docendi rectius obendum requiritur, non praeclara ad salutem consequendam.
§ 66: Antecedentium et consequentium cognitione ad quosvis pertinet, sed ad perfec-
tiores.) § 12: Quaestiones, quarum decision ad iustatem aut praxin christianam, sive spla-
sitis, sive culta divina, sive officio caritatis, sive administratione Sacramentorum, sive
ubernatione Ecclesiae exercendam, nihil conferit, omittantur, vel tanquam indifferentes
in medio reclinuunt: ad populum autem temore nuncumque proferuntur. (Consideratio
et iure, §§ 32, appended to Scripta facientia ad Colloqu. Thurn.: Iterum atque ite-
rum moneo, theologiam nostram practicam esse, et proinde quaestiones, quae ad praxin,
a nobis, inquam, praestandum et exercendam praxin, nihil faciant, pro indifferentiis
habendas, nec de illis odisse et cum detrimento mutuae christiana caritatis contendam-
dem esse. Ha dividet theology, Proem. in Aug. et Vinc., p. 6, in theologiam ecclesi-
asticam, quam didacticam et positivam vocari posse, et doctrinae capita proponere et ex-
ponere diximus; in exegeticam, quae Scripturas Interpretatur; in historico, quae anti-
quitatem evolvent: et denique in academicam, eun sit disputare, doctrinam sive advers-
s sive hereticos fuerit, et controversias circa illam exertas plene et accurate, quantum fieri
possit, expedire.) § 13: Quae vero ita comparata sunt, ut populum non plane ignorare
ex usu sit, quod de populo dissentientibus vicino vel immixto, quomodo multis in locis
se res habet, affirmari potissimum poterit; ibi errores ea dexteritatem refertur, ut erga
errantes commissarioposse et detrimentum mutuae christianae caritatis contender-
dem esse. Ha dividet theology, Proem. in Aug. et Vinc., p. 6, in theologiam ecclesi-
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poscit, expedire.)
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sober, the Hanover preacher, stood for a long time alone in his at-
que et scriptis apostolicis accensusreratur: sed quod continent summam totius doctrinae apostolicae, cuivis adulto et rationis compoti ad salutem necessariae; quin nec alius, quam quibus ipsi usi fuerunt Apostoli et Evangelistae, verbis expositam. That this contento includes all the doctrinal articles necessary to salvation, he shows by citations from the Fathers of the Church and from the scholastics, ibid., § 39 ss.)—Accesserunt deinceps *Symbole alia* ad explanationem apostolici facientia, et juxta quae idipsum capiendum, si doctores et doctores ultra simplicitatem ad securiorem disquisitionem progradi necessitas aliqua vel haereticorum importunitas exigit. (Digressio de arte nova, appended to Theol. Mor., p. 448: Fidem nostram et doctrinam nostram complectitur: *Symb. Apostolicum*; *Symb. Nicaenum, Constantinopolitanum et Athanasianum; Ana-

theismatis Ephesini; Confessio Chalcedonensis; Quae Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum religiis quinta et sexta Synodi opponerunt; Quae item Pelagians Africana plenaria, sive

ut vocari solet Mileviana symodus, et Arausiana secunda symodus opponerunt. Calixtus published the same under the title: Sanctae Catholicae et Apostolicae Ecclesiae, eujus-

primorum oecumenicorum Conciliorum Symbola et Confessiones, 1649; also annexed to his Widerlegung Wellers und Hulsemann's, 1651. De sanctissimo trinitatis mys-

terio contra Sosckianos exercitatio, Helmst., 1645, § 37: Omnia symoba, unum aposto-

licum, quod simplicem fidem continet, si excipias, dominibus inserviant, non laicis, quos

covant: illum enim est dogmata fidei uberos exponere, contra objectionse suerii, et

contradicentibus os ostbare; comp. Cassander, § 51, Note 6, and the English bishops Hall and Davenant, § 51, Note 28.) Accesserunt etiam *doctorum scripta*, de dogmati-

bus, quibus Ecclesia ejus temporis niteretur, testimonium perhibentia. Consensuitque

prima Ecclesiae ex symbolisctscriptis manifesto doctrina christianae recte confirma-
tur. Intelligimus autem doctrinam fundamentale et necessariam, non quavis annas-
tas appendices et quæstiones, aut etiam quorundam Scripturaceloruminterpretationes.

De talibus enim unamius et universalis consensus non poterit erui vel proferri. Et magis apud plerosque spectandum est, quid tanquam communem Ecclesiae sententiam pro-

ponat, quam quomodo sam confirmet aut demonstret. Comp. Prooem. in August.
et Vinc., p. 69: Summa eorum quae diximus hic redit, non potuisses fieri, ut Ecclesia univer,

sae, inprimis Ecclesia primorum saeculorum in vicem capitum sive articulorum fidei falsitates amplectetur et ad posteros propagaret, ut Ecclesia, inquam, universalis-
ter antiquitatis in fundamentis religionis erraret; et hoe nobis constare scet certitudine,

da sacrina Scripturis divinisque promotionibus adseritur; quae vero fuerit publica et

passim recepta primumorum saeculorum doctrina et priscorum doctorum consensu, quem

scripta illorum inter se collata manifestum reliquunt, patere certitudine morali, quae in

illo quidem generere maxima sit, et formidinem oppositi sufficienter excludat.—*Teneamus,

et Vincentius, quos ubique, quos semper, quos ab omnibus credidum est. Illud semper,
et firmo stet talo, prima saecula et apostolicam atatem proxime subsecuta comprehendat

necesse est.—Ad summum si a primo, ad quod Apostoli ipse et scriptores canonici perti-
nent, proxima quatuum saecula in tam sententiam consenserint, prescriptione antiquita-

tis vicieti. Quin ad eum modum legtimatis traditionis antiquitas non angustis, sed oppido

laxis, *quингentorum puta ab eordio aeas christianae anno rum terminis circumscibitur.*

This arbitrary limitation of five hundred years was also previously proposed in France,

§ 51, Note 2, and seems to have been recommended to Calixtus by its bearing on the Catholic orthodoxy siint, non dissentient nec dissatire possint a doctoribus priorum; qui

hos secum concordare demonstraverit, ei de consentia reliquorum securro esse licet. 

Provincit itaque, qui in superioribus auditi fuere (Catholic divines), ad *doctorum primo-

rum quingentorum saeculorum.*—Quam sententiam nos quoque probamus, et sic genuinam 
eeclasiasticam antiquitatem cancellis minime angustius includimus. P. 246: Profitemur et

promittimus, quidquid ejus, quod ad Christo et Apostolis descendisse et ad salutem credi-
tu necessarium nos affirmamus, ab altera parte negatum fuerit, id totum a nobis consen-
su et testimonii primumorum quingentorum saeculorum, eo qui in superioribus satis descriptus est modo, demonstratum iri. Contra vero oramus et flagitamus, ut vicissim Pontificii, quod
tacks upon the Helmstadt theology. But then came the colloquy at Thorn, in 1645, at which Calixtus, repelled by the Lutherans, attached himself to the Reformed, and aroused hostility. His adherents were first assailed: Conrad Hornejus, professor in Helmstadt, for his doctrine of the necessity of good works; John Latermann, in Königsberg, on whose side were Michael Behm and Christian Dreier, professors in the University, for holding several Calixtine positions; in addition to which it was also maintained by them that the doctrine of the Trinity was not distinctly taught in the Old Testament. At last, in 1648, began the at-
tack against the central points of the system of Calixtus, his views about the Christian doctrine of salvation, and his projects for effecting the pacification of the churches. Making use of an expression long since in ill repute among the Lutherans, this position was denominated Syncretism. Thus began the Syncretistic Controversy.

Ist Coelestinus Mislenta, professor in Königsberg, when holding a disputation there—
de aeterna Dei praedestinatione, 1646, objected to Latermann as an advocate of several Helmstadt errors, and among them the above opinion. As other Faculties were called upon to give a judgment upon this controversy, Wittenberg and Strasburg in particular were led to pronounce against that view; see Hartknoch’s Preussische Kirchenhistoria, s. 605. Calixtus wrote about it: De Quaestionibus, num Mysterium s. Trinitatis ex solius V. T. Libris posit demonstrari, et num ejus Temporis Patribus Filius Dei in propria sua Hypostasi apparuerit, Diss., Helmst., 1650. 4.


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