



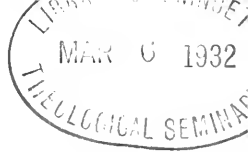
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A T E X T - B O O K

OF

C H U R C H H I S T O R Y .

BY DR. JOHN C. L. GIESELER.

Translated and Edited

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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

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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FOURTH PERIOD.

FIRST DIVISION.

FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, 1517-1648.

FIRST CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF THE GERMAN AND SWISS REFORMATION.

1. *Sources for the History of both Countries: Jo. Sleidani* (his family name was Phillippson of Sleida in the county of Manderscheid, Professor of Law at Strasburg, † 1556) *De Statu Religionis et Reipublicae, Carolo V. Caesare, Commentarii.* Libb. xxvi. Argentor. 1555. fol.¹; best edition, multis annotationibus illustrata a Chr. Car. AmEnde. Francof. ad M. 1785, P. iii. 8; in French, with notes by P. F. le Courayer, à la Haye. 1767. 3 voll. 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 Bohun, was published at London, 1689.]

Supplementary Works: Abr. Sculteti (Professor at Heidelberg, afterward preacher at Emden, † 1625) *Annalium Evangelii, passim per Europam decimo sexto Salutis partae Seculo renovati, Decas I. et II.* (from 1516 to 1536, the other decades were destroyed at the conquest of Prague). Heidelb. 1618. 8, reprinted in V. d. Hardt, *Hist. liter. Reformationis.* P. V. Dan. Gerdes (Professor at Groningen, † 1765) *Introductio in Hist. Evangelii saec. xvi. passim per Europam renovati.* Groning. 1744-52. Tomi iv. 4. To this is to be added his collection of tracts and original documents: *Serinium Antiquarium, s. Miscellanea Groningana nova ad Hist. Reformationis ecclesiasticam praecipue spectantia, ib.* 1748-63. Tomi viii. 4. K. R. Hagenbach *Vorlesungen über Wesen u. Gesch. d. Reform. in Deutschland u. d. Schweiz.* 4 Th. Leipz. 1834-39. 8; new edition, 1852 sq. H. N. Clausen *populäre Vorträge über die Reformation.* Leipzig. 1837. 8. [J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, *History of the Great Reformation in Germany, Switzerland, etc.*; 5. 8. New York, 1843 sq.]

¹ As to the first two editions see AmEnde, in Schelhorn's *Ergötzlichkeiten aus der Kirchenhist. u. Literatur.* Bd. 2. s. 414, 653. Against Sleidan; Simon Fontaine, *Histoire Catholique de nostre Temps touchant l'état de la Religion Chretienne, contre l'Hist. de J. Sleidan.* Antverp. 1558. 8: Roveri Pontani (Carmelite at Brussels) *Vera Narratio Rerum, ab anno 1500 usque ad annum 1559, in Republ. Christiana memorabilium.* Colon. 1559. fol.: Laur. Suri (Carthusian at Cologne, † 1578) *Commentarius Brevis Rerum in Orbe Gestarum, ab ann. 1500 usque 1566.* Colon. 1567. 8.

Reformations-Almanach herausgeg. v. Friedr. Keyser. 3. Jahrgg. Erfurt, 1817. 19. 21. in 12.

II. *Upon the History of the German Reformation.* Sources: Ge. Spalatini (properly Burekart, of Spelt, in the bishopric of Eichstädt, court preacher of Saxony, afterward Superintendent at Altenburg, and historiographer of Saxony, † 1545²) *Annales Reformationis* or Yearbooks of the Reformation of Luther, published from his Autograph by E. S. Cyprian. Leipsick, 1718. 8. (cf. Spalatini *Annales a mense Aug. 1513 usque ad finem fere 1526*, in Menckenii *Scriptt. Rerum Germ. t. ii. p. 589 ss.*, but not printed accurately, nor complete; see Veesenmeyer in Vater's *Archiv*, 1825, s. 73; also, Spalatini *Vitae aliquot Electorum et Ducum Saxoniae*, in Menckenii *Scriptt. Rerum Germanic. t. ii. p. 1067, ss.*).—Frid. Myconii (or Mekum, Superintendent at Gotha, † 1546³) *Hist. Reformationis A.D. 1518-1542*, from the author's autograph, and illustrated with a preface by E. S. Cyprian; a second impression, Leipsick, 1718. 8.—Phil. Melancthonis *Hist. Vitae Mart. Lutheri*, preface to Lutheri *Opp. Lat. Vitemberg, t. ii. 1546*, often issued separately, e. g. by Chr. A. Heumann, Göttingae, 1741. 4. by J. Chr. G. Augusti,⁴ translated by F. Th. Zimmerman, with notes by Villers, and a preface by Planck, second ed. Göttingen, 1816. 8.—Jo. Mathesii (pastor in Joachimsthal, † 1568) *Historien von D. Martin Luther's Anfang, Lehren, Leben, standhaft Bekännniß seines Glaubens und Sterben* (in twenty-seven sermons), 1565. 4, often published e. g. Frankfurt and Leipsick, 1724. 8., in extracts by L. A. v. Arnim. Berlin, 1817. 8.—Joach. Camerarii (Prof. in Leipsick, † 1574) *De Phil. Melancthonis Ortu, totius vitae curriculo et morte, implicata rerum memorabilium temporis illius hominumque mentione atque indicio, cum expositionis serie cohaerentium narratio diligens et accurata.* Lips. 1566. 8; published several times; recensuit, notas, documenta, bibliothecam librorum Melancth. aliaque addidit G. Th. Strobel. Halae, 1777. 8. On the edition by Augusti, see note 4.

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. Löscher *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.

The Works of the Reformers: Luther's works: the Wittenberg edition consists of 12 volumes in German (1539-59) and 7 in Latin (1545-58). The Jena edition is printed accurately after the autographs, with the exception of the first part of the German works, 8 volumes in German (1555-58) and 4 in Latin (1556-58), and two supplementary volumes by Aurifaber, Eisleben, 1564-65. The Altenburg edition contains only the German works, by John Christfried Saggittarius, 10 vols. 1661-64. A supplementary volume to all earlier editions, by J. G. Zeidler, Halle, 1702. The Leipsick edition, 22 voll. 1729-40. fol. The most complete edition is that of Halle, by J. G. Walch, 24 Thle. 1740-50. 4. In the last two editions the Latin works are found only in a German translation.⁵ [A new edition by Plochman v. Irmscher, 65 vols. 8. Erlangen, 1826-55.] Of special value is Dr. M. Luther's *Briefe, Sendschreiben u. Bedenken*, herausgeg. von Dr. W. M. L. de Wette. Berlin, 1825-56. 6 Th. 8.

Phil. Melancthonis *Opera* (theol. ed. Casp. Peucer) Witteb. 4 Partes, 1562-64. *Consilia theologica* ed. Christ. Pezelius. Neustadii, 1600. 8. *Christliche Berathschlagungen und Bedenken*—in teutscher Sprach gestellet, zusammengebracht durch Christ.

² *Historia Vitae Ge. Spalatini exposita* ab Chr. Schlegelio. Jenae, 1693. 4.

³ *Narratio de Frid. Myconio primo dioeceseos Gothanae Superintendente*, scrips. C. H. G. Lommatzsch. Annaebergae, 1825. 8.

⁴ Phil. Mel. de Vita Mart. Luth. *Narratio, et Vita Phil. Mel. ab Joach. Camerario conscripta*, ed. D. J. Chr. Gu. Augusti, Vratisl. 1819. 8.

⁵ Upon the editions of Luther's works, see Walch in the Halle edition. Th. 24. s. 582 ff.

Pezelium, Reustadt a. d. Hardt, 1600. 8. The best edition is Ph. Mel. *Epistolae, Praefationes, Consilia, Judicia, Schedae Academicae*. voll. xxv. (1514-57), or, *Corpus Reformatorum* ed. C. G. Bretschneider, post Bretschneiderum ed. H. E. Bindseil, vol. i.—xxv. Halis, 1834-57. 4.

There are useful documents in illustration of the earlier history of the Reformation, contributed from the originals by E. S. Cyprian, at the end of W. E. Tenzel's *Histor. Bericht vom Anfang und ersten Fortgang der Reform. Lutheri*. Leipzig, 1718. 2 Th. 8.—J. E. Kapp *kleine Nachlese einiger zur Erläuterung der Reformationsgeschichte nützlicher Urkunden*. Leipz., 1727 ff. 4 Th. 8.—Dr. Th. G. Nendecker's *Urkunden aus der Reformationszeit*. Cassel, 1836. 8. Also his *merkw. Aktenstücke aus dem Zeitalter der Reformation*. 2 Abtheil. Nürnberg, 1838. 8.

Historical Works: Vit. Lud. a Seckendorf (privy councillor in Saxony, afterward in Brandenburg, † at Halle, 1692) *Commentarius Historicus et Apologeticus de Lutheranismo*. libb. iii. ed. 2. Lips., 1694. fol. (written against the *Histoire de Lutheranisme* of L. Mainbourg, the Jesuit, Paris, 1680. 4).—Christ. Aug. Salig (Co-rector in Wolfenbüttel) *Vollständige Historie der Augsb. Confession u. derselben Apologie* (1517-1562). Halle, 1730-35. 3 Th. 4.—G. J. Planck *Gesch. der Entstehung, der Veränderungen u. der Bildung unsers protest. Lehrbegriffs bis zur Einführung der Concordienformel*. Leipzig, 1781-1800. 6 Bde. 8 (a second edition of volumes 1-3. 1791-98).—C. L. Woltmann sets out from a political point of view in his *Gesch. der Reform. in Deutschland*. 3 Th. Altona, 1800-05. small 8.—Ch. W. Spieker *Gesch. Dr. Mart. Luther's u. der durch ihn bewirkten Kirchenverbesserung in Deutschland*. Bd. 1 (to 1521). Berlin, 1818. 8.—K. A. Menzel *Neuere Gesch. d. Deutschen v. d. Reformation bis zur Bundesacte*. Bd. 1-8. Breslau, 1826-39. 8.—Ph. Marheineke *Gesch. der teutschen Reformation*, 4 Th. Berlin, 1816-34. 8 (a second edition of Parts 1 and 2, 1831).—L. Ranke *deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation*, 5 Bde. Berlin, 1839-43. [Translated by Sarah Austin. Lond. 1844. Phil. 1844.]

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: Bernli. Weiss (burgher of Zurich, perished at Cappel, 1531) *Kurze Beschreibung der Glaubensänderung im Schweizerlande* (in Füssli's *Beiträge* iv. 32). Valerius Anshelm (physician and historian of Bern) *Berner Chronik bis 1526* (published by Stierlin and Wyss. Bern, 1825-33. 8. 6 Bde.) from volume 5, s. 368 on. Henry Bullinger (Antistes of the Church of Zurich, † 1575) *Reformationsgeschichte* (to 1532), published by J. J. Hottinger and H. H. Vögeli. 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. Zwinglischer Secten v. 1516-1535* (extant in manuscript, partisan throughout, and full of calumnies; see Füssli's *Beiträge*, ii. 81. Schuler's *Huldreich Zwingli*, Einleit. s. xix.). Valentin Tschudi (Pastor in Glarus, † 1555) *Kurze Histor. Beschreibung der in Kriegs- u. Friedenszeiten verloffnen Sachen u. Handelns zu Glarus u. in einer Eidgenossenschaft, down to 1523*, very impartial (in manuscript; see Egedius Tschudi's *Leben u. Schriften von Hd. Fuchs*. St. Gallen, 1805. Th. 2. s. 33; Schuler as above, s. xxiv. 46). Egidius Tschudi (magistrate at Glarus, † 1572) *Chronik*. The part which relates to this period, extant only in manuscript, is a rich collection of original documents (see *Hd. Fuchs*. u. s. Th. 2. s. 89).

J. Oecolampadii et H. Zwinglii *Epistolarum* libb. iv. cum praef. Theod. Bibliandri et utriusque vita et obitu, S. Grynaco, W. Capitone et Osw. Myconio auctoribus. Basil, 1536. fol. The *Vita Zwinglii* by Oswald Myconius (schoolmaster at Lucerne and Zurich, from 1531 preacher at Basle, † 1552), is printed separately in *Ständlin's u. Tzschirner's Archiv. für Kirchengesch.* Bd. 1. St. 2. s. 1. Important supplementary facts are contained in that part of the *Narratio verissima civilis Helvetiorum belli* (Capellani)

per modum dialogi, ab Osvaldo Myconio congesta, which is printed in the above work, s. 38 sq.

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Miscellanea Tigurina. 3 Theile. Zürich, 1722-24. 8. J. Conr. Füssli (treasurer of the Chapter at Winterthur, † 1775) Beytrage zur Erläuterung der Kirchen-Reformations-gesch. des Schweizerlandes. Zürich, 1741-53. 5 Th. 8. Ejud. Epistolae ab Ecclesiae Helveticae Reformatoibus vel ad eos Scriptae. Tiguri, 1742. 8. J. J. Simler (Censor of Zürich, † 1785) Samml. alter und neuer Urkunden zur Beleuchtung der Kirchengesch. vornemlich des Schweizerlandes. Zürich, 1767. 2 Bde. 8 (this gives only a small part of what is contained in the great manuscript-collection of Simler in the town-library of Zürich; see Lebensgesch. Oecolampads von S. Hess. Vorr. s. iii.).

Historical Works: J. H. Hottingeri (Professor at Zurich, † 1667) Hist. Eccles. (P. ix. Panoviae et Tiguri 1655, ss. 8.) P. v. sq. J. J. Hottinger (Prof. in Zürich, † 1735) Helvetische Kirchengeschichten (4 Th. Zürich, 1708 ff. 4.), Th. 3. Abrah. Ruchat (Preacher and Professor at Lausanne), Hist. de la Reformation de la Suisse. Geneve, 1727 sq. 6 voll. 12. Ludw. Wirz. (pastor at Münchaldorf near Zürich, † 1816) Neuere Helvetische Kirchengeschichte, 2 volumes were published, Zurich, 1813. 1819. 8 (the second by Melch. Kirchhofer, pastor at Stein, on the Rhine, comes down to 1523). Sal. Hess. (pastor of St. Peter's in Zurich) Ursprung, Gang u. Folgen der durch Zwingli in Zürich bewirkten Glaubensverbesserung und Kirchenreform. Zürich, 1819. 4. J. v. Müllers u. Rob. Glutz Blotzheim's Geschichten Schweizerischer Eidgenossenschaft, continued by J. J. Hottinger. 6th vol. from page 237 sq. and 7th vol. (Zürich, 1825 u. 1829) reaches down to 1531.

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Zwingle. *Life and Times*, translated from the German of G. G. Hottinger, by Rev. T. C. Porter, Harrisb. 1856. *Das Theol. System Z.'s*, D. E. Zeller, Tübingen, 1853. G. W. Röder, d. Schweizer. Ref., Huld. Zw., St. Gallen, 1855. C. Sigwart, *D. Charakter d. Theol. Syst. Zwingli's*, mit Rücksicht auf Picus Mirandula, 1855. Zeller, *Charakter ds. Zwinglischen Lehrbegriffs*, *Theol. Jahrb.* 1857. Jäger in *Stud. u. Krit.* 1856. T. Tiehler, *H. Zwingli, de Kerkhervormer*, Utrecht, 1857. *Life*, by Prof. Robbins, in *Bib. Sacra*, vols. viii. and ix. *Hess's Life of Z.*, transl. by Lucy Aiken, Lond. 1812.

Beza. *Leben Beza's*, von Schlosser, 1809. *Baum Theodor Beza nach handschriftl. Quellen*, Bd. i. 1843; Bd. ii. 1852. *Farel*, by Schmidt, Strasb. 1834. *Viret*, by Jaquemont, Strasb. 1836.

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 Stahelin; Bullinger and Leo Jud, by Pestafozzi; Beza, by Baum; Peter Martyr, by Schmidt; Olevianus and Ursinus, by Südhoff; Farel, Viret, etc., by other authors.]

[*Additional Works on the General History of the Reformation*. Thuanus (*De Thou*) *Historiarum sui Temporis libri 138* (1546-1647), Fef. 1625, 5 fol., 7 fol., cum Continuatione, Londini, 1733. Beausobre, *Hist. de la Reform.* 4. 8. 1785. Robertson's *History of the Emperor Charles V.*, numerous editions. Nendecker, *Gesch. d. Reformation, 1517-32*, Lpz. 1843, and his *Gesch. d. Protestantismus*, 1841, 2 Bde. Buchholz, Ferdinand I., Wien, 1832-38, 9 Bde. C. A. Menzel, *Geschichte Deutschlands*, 12 Bde. 1836 sq. J. Döllinger (*Rom. Cath.*), *Die Reformation, etc.*, Ratisbon, 3. 8. 1846-48, 2d ed., 1851. Gaillard's *History of the Reformation*, 8., New York. Guericke, *Geschichte d. Ref.* (from his *General History*), Berl. 1855. Frd. Blaul, *D. Reformationswerk in der Pfalz*, 8., Speyer, 1846. K. T. Keim, *D. Schwabrische Ref. Gesch. bis 1531*, 8. 1855. E. F. Gelpke, *Kirchengesch. d. Schweiz*, 1 Theil., Bern, 1856. Göbel, *Geschichte ds. Christlichen Lebens in d. Rheinischen Westphal. Kirche*, 2. 8. 1853. F. W. Hassenkamp, *Hessische Kirchengeschichte*, 2 Bde. 8. 1852. H. Stebbing, *History of Reformation*, 2. 18. 1836. G. Waddington, *History of Ref.*, 3, 8., Lond. 1841. Charles Hardwick, *History of the Church during the Reformation*, 8., Cambr. 1856. H. Soames, *History of the Reformation*, 4, 8. 1826.]

§ 1.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY TILL 1524.

W. E. Tentzel's *Hist. Bericht vom Anfang u. ersten Fortgang der Reform. Lutheri*, mitgetheilt v. D. E. S. Cyprian, 3ter Druck. Leipz. 1718. 8.

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 ce-

eclesiastical 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

evoked.¹ 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 enthusiast-

¹ Luther's advice to the elector John during the diet at Spires in April, 1529 (Luther's Letters, by de Wette, iii. 439): "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 every where in German lands, and the clergy to be despised on account of them. But when, besides this, unskillful writers tried to defend and retain them, and yet could not bring forward any thing righteous, they made the evil so much the worse that the clergy were every where 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,² 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 Bible³ by a profound

² Des scil. Zeugen Gottes D. M. Luther's merkwürdige Lebens-Umstände von F. S. Keil. 4 Th. Leipzig, 1764. 4. Luther's Leben mit einer kurzen Reformationsgeschichte Deutschlands u. der Literatur v. G. H. A. Ukert. 2 Th. Gotha, 1817. 8. Martin Luther's Leben von Gustav Pfizer. Stuttgart, 1836. 8. [Biographies by Stang, Stuttg. 1835-38; Ledderhose, Speier, 1836; H. Gelzer, 1848; K. Jürgens, Luther's Leben, 1483 to 1517, Lips. 1846 sq. 3. 8. M. Meurer, L's Leben, aus den Quellen, Dresd. 3. 8. 1843-52. Martin Luther, illustrated Life, by G. König and H. Gelzer, Hamburg, 1851, translated, London and New York, sm. 4. 1857. Dollinger's Sketch, 1851, translated, Lond. 1851, is polemical and Roman Catholic. Audin's 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. 1856-57. Life of Luther by Dr. Sears, Phila. Archdeacon Hare's Defense of Luther against Sir Wm. Hamilton, in the Notes to his Mission of the Comforter, and separately, 1855.]

³ Melancthon in Vita Lutheri ed. Heumann, p. 7: Occasio autem ingrediendi illud vitæ genus, quod pietati et studiis doctrinæ de Deo existimavit esse convenientius, hæc fuit, ut ipse narrabat, et ut multi norunt: sæpe cum cogitantem attentius de ira Dei, aut de mirandis poenarum exemplis, subito tanti terrores concutiebant, ut paene exanimaretur.—Etsi doctrinam in scholis usitatam quotidie disciebat, et Sententiariorum legebat, et in disputationibus publicis labyrinthis aliis inextricabiles diserte multis admirantibus explicabat, tamen quia in eo vitæ genere non famam ingenii, sed alimenta pietatis quærebatur, hæc studia tanquam parerga tractabat, et facile arripiebat illas scholasticas methodos. Interea fontes doctrinæ coelestis avidè legebat ipse, scilicet scripta Prophetica et Apostolica, ut mentem suam de Dei voluntate erudiret, et firmis testimoniis aleret timorem et fidem. Hoc studium ut magis expeteret, illis suis doloribus et pavoribus movebatur. Et senis cujusdam sermonibus in Augustiniano collegio Erfordiae sæpe se confirmatum esse narrabat, cui cum consternationes suas exponeret, audivit eum de fide multa disserentem, sequè deductum ajebat ad symbolum, in quo dicitur: *credo remissionem peccatorum*. Hunc articulum sic ille interpretatus erat, non solum in genere credendum esse, aliquibus remitti, ut et daemones credunt, Davidi aut Petro remitti, sed mandatum Dei esse, ut singuli homines nobis remitti peccata credamus. Et hanc interpretationem confirmatam dicebat Bernardi dicto, monstratamque locum in concione de Amuntiatione, ubi hæc sunt verba: *sed adde—ut credas et hoc, quod per ipsum peccata tibi donantur. Hoc est testimonium, quod perhibet Spiritus sanctus in corde tuo, dicens: dimissa sunt tibi peccata tua. Sic enim arbitratur Apostolus, gratis justificari hominem per fidem. Hac se voce non solum confirmatum esse Lutherus dicebat, sed commonefactum esse de tota Pauli sententia, qui toties inculcat hoc dictum: fide justificamur. De quo cum multorum expositiones legisset, tunc et ex hujus sermonibus et e suæ mentis consolatione animadvertisse interpretationum, quæ tunc in manibus erant, vanitatem. Paulatim legenti et conferenti dicta et exempla in Prophetis et Apostolis recitata, et quotidiana invocatione excitanti fidem, plus lucis accessit. Tunc et Augustini libros legere*

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,⁴ from 1512 as doctor, with special zeal to promote the study of the Bible.⁵ He met with

coepit, ubi et in Psalmorum enarratione, et in libro de spiritu et litera multas perspicuas sententias reperit, quae confirmabant hanc de fide doctrinam et consolationem, quae in ipsius pectore accensa erat. Nec tamen prorsus reliquit Sententiariorum; Gabrielcm (Biel) et Cameracensem (Petrus de Alliaco) paene ad verbum memoriter recitare poterat. Diu multumque legit scripta Occam. Hujus acumen anteferebat Thomae et Scoti. Diligenter et Gersonem legerat. Sed omnia Augustini monumenta et saepe legerat, et optime meminerat. Hoc acerrimum studium inchoavit Erfordiae, in cujus urbis collegio Augustiniano commoratus est annos quatuor.

⁴ Melancthon continues, p. 11: *Eo autem tempore quia reverendus vir Staupicius (John of Staupitz, Provincial of the Augustines, and Professor at Wittenberg), qui exordia Academiae Wittebergensis adjuverat, studium theologicum in recenti Academia excitare cupiebat cum ingenium et eruditionem Lutheri considerasset, traducit eum Wittebergam anno MDVIII., cum jam ageret annum vicesimum sextum. Hic inter quotidiana exercitia scholae et concionum magis etiam lucere ejus ingenium coepit. Cumque eum attente audierant viri sapientes, Doctor Martinus Mellerstadius et alii, saepe dixit Mellerstadius, tantam esse vim ingenii in hoc viro, ut plane praesagiret, mutaturum esse vulgare doctrinae genus, quod tunc in scholis unicum tradebatur. Hic primum Dialecticam et Physicam Aristotelis enarravit: interea tamen summum illud studium legendi scripta theologica non omittens. On the 17th March, 1509, Luther wrote to John Braun at Eisenach; see Luther's Letters, collected by de Wette, Th. 1. s. 6: Sum itaque nunc jubente vel permittente Deo Wittenbergae. Quod si statum meum nosse desideres, bene habeo Dei gratia, nisi quod violentum est studium maxime philosophiae, quam ego ab initio libentissime mutarim theologia, ea inquam theologia, quae nucleum nucis et medullam tritici et medullam ossium scrutatur. 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.*

⁵ Luther's oath on taking his Doctor's degree is in the Liber Decanorum Facult. theol. Acad. Vitebergensis, ed. C. E. Foerstemann. Lips. 1838. 8. p. 146. Luther's glosses on the alleged Imperial edict of 1531 (Walch's edition of his Works, Theil. 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, s. 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 undeterred 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.⁶ Such a practical and scriptural tendency had

⁶ 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 subtleties 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 1505: see Löschner's *Reformationssacta*, i. 87. Melancthon, in *Vita Lutheri*, p. 12: Postea (after he was made Doctor) enarrare Epistolam ad Romanos coepit, deinde Psalmos. Haec scripta sic illustravit, ut post longam et obscurem noctem nova doctrinae 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 justos esse disciplina, ut Pharisei docuerunt. Revocavit igitur Lutherus hominum mentes ad filium Dei, et, ut Baptista, monstravit agnum Dei, qui tulit peccata nostra, ostendit gratis propter filium Dei remitti peccata, et quidem oportere id beneficium 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. i. s. 7 and 13), he declares decidedly in favor of Reuchlin 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 Isenacensem, plenas—blasphemiarum et maledictionum contra Aristotelem, Porphyrium, Sententiariorum, perdita scilicet studia nostri saeculi.—Nihil ita ardet animus, quam hitionem illum, qui tam vere graeca larva Ecclesiam ludit, multis revelare, ignominiaque ejus cunctis ostendere, si otium esset. Habeo in manibus commentarios in primum Physicorum, quibus fabulam Aristaei denuo agere statui, in meum istum Protea, illuorem vaferrium ingeniorum, ita ut nisi caro fuisset Aristoteles, vere diabolium eum fuisse non puderet asserere. Pars crucis meae vel maxima est, quod videre cogor, fratrum optima ingenia bonis studiis nata in istis coenis vitam agere et operam perdere: nec cessant Universitates bonos libros cremare et damnare, rursus malos dictare, imo somnare. To George Spenlein, Augustinian at Memmingen, 7th Apr. 1516 (ibid. s. 17): Fervet nostra aetate tentatio praesumptionis in multis, et iis praecipue, qui justi et boni esse omnibus viribus student: ignorantes justitiam Dei, quae in Christo est nobis effusissime et gratis donata, quaerunt in se ipsis tam diu operari bene, donec habeant fiduciam standi coram Deo, veluti virtutibus et meritis ornati, 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, discere Christum et hunc crucifixum, discere ei cantare et de te ipso desperans dicere ei: "tu, Domine Jesu, es justitia mea, ego autem sum peccatum tuum; tu assumpsisti meum, et dedisti mihi tuum: assumpsisti quod non eras, et dedisti mihi quod non eram." Cave ne aliquando ad tantam puritatem aspiret, ut peccator tibi videri nolis, imo esse. Christus enim non nisi in peccatoribus habitat.—Non nisi in illo, per fiducialem desperationem tui et operum tuorum, pacem invenies. 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 doctrinam 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 Löscher's *Reformationsacta*, Th. 1. 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 fidei 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. sibi nihil imputantes peccati, justos in malis suis damnari; meretrices, vel sibi reputantes peccata, in oculis suis meretrices et peccatores, Deo tamen confitentes suam impietatem, atque pro hac remittenda tempore opportuno orantes, in eundem, non se ipsos, sperantes, salvari).—Cum credenti omnia suntabilia auctore Christo, superstitiosum est, humano arbitrio aliis 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 remotius. Quod enim Gratianus et Magister sententiarum plurima ex illo ceperint, et conscientiarum non medicinam, sed carnificinam conflaverint, sciebam. At illos implacabiliter offendi, praecipue Doctorem Carlstadium, quod haec sciens negare audeam. 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. 278); cf. the Jena edition of his Latin works, i. p. 9; Löscher's *Reformationsacta*, i. s. 539. E. g. I. Dicere, quod Augustinus contra haereticos excessive loquatur, est dicere, Augustinum fere ubique mentitum esse. Contra dictum commune (compare above vol. i. p. 327, 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 oppositorum: imo nec liber sed captivus est. Contra commune. VI. Falsitas est, quod voluntas possit se conformare dietamini recto naturaliter. Contra Scotum et Gabrielem (Biel.). XXIX. Optima et infallibilis ad gratiam praeparatio et unica dispositio est aeterna Dei electio et praedestinatio. XXX. Ex parte aeterni hominis nihil nisi indispositio, imo rebellio gratiae gratiam praecedat. XLI. Tota fere Aristotelis ethica pessima gratiae inimica. Contra Scholasticos. XLIII. Error est dicere: sine Aristotele non fit theologus. Contra dictum commune. XLIV. Imo theologus non fit, nisi id fiat sine Aristotele. LI. Dubium est vehemens, an sententia Aristotelis sit apud Latinos. LXXVII. Omne opus legis sine gratia Dei foris apparet bonum, sed intus est peccatum. Contra Scholasticos. In conclusion: In his nihil dicere volumus, nec dixisse nos credimus, quod sit non catholicae Ecclesiae, et catholicis 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 eruditissimo, 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 (quod utique admittit) non plane velit Apostolum loqui cap. V. ad Romanos.—Ego sane in hoc dissentire ab Erasmo non dubito, quod Augustino in scripturis interpretandis tantum posthabeo Hieronymum, quantum ipse Augustinum in omnibus Hieronymo posthabet. Non quod professionis meae studio ad b. Augustinum probandum trahar, qui apud me, antequam in libros ejus incidissem, ne tantillum quidem favoris habuit: sed quod video b. Hieronymum velut dedita opera ad historicos sensus incedere. To John Lange, 1st March, 1517 (de Wette, i. 52): Erasmus nostrum lego, et indices decrescit mihi animus erga eum: placet quidem, quod tam religiosos quam sacerdotes non minus constanter quam erudite arguit et damnat inveteratae hujus et veterosae inscitiae: sed timeo, ne Christum et gratiam Dei non satis promoveat, in qua multo est quam Stapulensis ignorantior: humana praevalent in eo plus quam divina.—Video, quod non ideo quispiam sit Christianus vere sapiens, quia Graecus sit et Hebrae-

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.⁷ 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 aliud est iudicium ejus, qui arbitrio hominis nonnihil tribuit, aliud 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 (Löschner's Reformatiionsacta, i. 300): "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): Si te delectat puram, 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 consonantior. 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 Löschner's Reformatiionsacten, i. 846), about which Luther wrote on the 6th May, 1517, to Christ. Scheurl, a jurist at Nuremberg (de Wette, i. 55): 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 vel negligentiam, vel ignorantiam, quibuscuque fuerint visa magis paradoxa quam orthodoxa: ne dicam de iis, qui ea potius cacodoxa impudenti temeritate judicabunt, quoniam nec Augustinum, nec Paulum legunt, aut ita legunt, ut non intelligant, seque et alios secum negligant.—Benedictus Deus, qui rursus jubet de tenebris splendescere 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 Universitate Deo operante: Aristoteles descendit paulatim, inclinatus ad ruinam prope futuram sempiternam: mire fastidiuntur lectiones sententiarum, nec est, ut quis sibi auditores sperare possit, nisi theologiam hanc, id est biblicam, aut s. Augustinum, aliumve ecclesiasticae auctoritatis doctorem velit profiteri.

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. 1509); 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;⁸ 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 come to know.

At this time the Dominican, John Tetzel,⁹ 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.¹⁰ This indulgence was prohibited in the Saxon territory,

ble: "he would not take a thousand florins instead of having seen Rome." See Mathesius, u. s. Compare the Narratio de Protectione M. Lutheri in urbem Romam, in M. Dresseri Historia Lutheri. Lips. 1598. 8.

⁸ Lutheri Praef. ad T. I. Opp. written in 1545 (also before T. I. Jen. Lat.): Sciatis (lector), me fuisse aliquando Monachum et Papistam insanissimum, cum istam causam (the Reformation) aggressus sum, ita ebrium, imo submersum in dogmatibus Papae, ut paratissimus fuerim, omnes, si potuissem, occidere, aut occidentibus cooperari et consentire, qui Papae vel una syllaba obedientiam detrectarent.—Non eram ita glacies et frigus ipsum in defendendo Papatu, sicut fuit Eccius et sui similes, qui mihi verius propter suum ventrem Papam defendere videbantur, quam quod serio rem agerent.—Ego serio rem agebam, ut qui diem extremum horribiliter timui et tamen salvus fieri ex intimis medullis cupiebam.

⁹ About him see vol. ii. p. 402, Note 25; also, God. Hechtii Vita Jo. Tezellii, Quaestoris Sacri. Vitembergae, 1717. 8. Jac. Vogel das Leben des päpstl. Gnadenpredigers oder Ablasskramers Joh. Tetzels. Leipzig, 1717; 2te Aufl. 1727. 8. J. E. Kappen's Schauplatz des tetzelischen Ablasskrams und des darwider streitenden sel. D. M. Lutheri. 2te Aufl. Leipz. 1720. 8. Also J. E. Kappen's Sammlung einiger zum päpstl. Ablass überhaupt, sonderlich aber zu der im Anfange der Reform. hievon geführten Streitigkeit gehörigen Schriften. Leipz. 1721. 8. Löscher's Reformatioacta, i. 367 ff. Walch's Ausg. von Luther's Werken, xv. 313 ff.

¹⁰ The Instructio Summaria of the elector Albert to the sub-commissaries appointed for the traffic in this indulgence, printed in 4to, is reprinted in Kappen's Samml. einiger zum päpstl. Ablass gehöriger Schriften, s. 93, and in Gerdesii Introd. in Hist. Evang. Renovati. t. I. Monim. p. 83. Here are first given—quatuor principales gratiae per bullam apostolicam concessae, to wit, plenaria remissio omnium peccatorum; confessionale plenum maximis et relevantissimis et prius inauditis facultatibus; participatio omnium bonorum operum Ecclesiae universalis; pro animabus in purgatorio existentibus plenaria omnium peccatorum remissio. Then follow seven *facultates*, which, however, must be purchased separately: votorum omnium commutatio; dispensatio et compositio cum simoniacis et irregularibus; facultas componendi super male ablatis incertis, vel etiam certis in aliquibus casibus; dispensandi cum eis, qui ante aetatem legitimam sine dispensatione ad ordines sacros sunt promoti; dispensandi cum his qui in gradu prohibito consanguinitatis et affinitatis contraxerunt; componendi cum injuste occupantibus bona Ecclesiarum vel Monasteriorum; apprehendendi et de jure assequendi ad usum fabricae Basilicae Principis Apostolorum in urbe omnia bona, res et pecunias, quae haecenus relicta sunt et durante octennio relinquuntur pro male ablatorum restitutione in quacunque ultima voluntate quibuscunque incertis, Ecclesiis aut piis locis et personis—Similiter applicat Papa dietae fabricae omnia bona, quae per aliquos injuste detinentur. Sed illi, quibus illa bona restituenda essent aliqua ratione, non possunt illa repetere. Tetzel, too, issued an Instructio Summaria for the parochial clergy, how they

but Tetzel preached in the border lands, and offered it for sale with unheard-of exaggerations and incredible shamelessness in Jüterbock and Zerbst, near Wittenberg.¹¹ Luther soon detected, in the

were to work in behalf of the indulgence; fragments of this may be seen in Löscher's *Reformationsacten*, i. 414. The subjoined sermons, which he gave the parochial clergy as patterns, are examples of his style of preaching, e. g., p. 418: *Capiatis 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 poenitere, vel in hac vita vel purgatorio: quot peccata mortalia committuntur in die, quot in hebdomada, quot in mense, quot in anno, quot toto tempore vite? Fere infinita sunt, et infinitam poenam habent subire in ardentibus poenis purgatorii. Et cum his literis confessionalibus poteritis semel in vita, in omnibus casibus, quatuor exceptis sedi apostolicæ reservatis, habere plenariam omnium poenarum usque tunc debitaram; deinde toto tempore vite poteritis, quandocunque vultis confiteri, in casibus Papæ non reservatis, etiam habere similem remissionem, et postea in articulo mortis plenariam omnium poenarum et peccatorum indulgentiam, et habere participationem omnium bonorum spiritualium, quæ 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 Romæ vel alibi cum literis dieti banci securas rehabeat: et vos non vultis pro quarta parte floreni recipere has literas, quarum virtute non pecunias, sed animam divinam et immortalem tutam et securam ducere potestis 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 Jüterbock and Zerbst, etc., and I (so true as my Lord Jesus has redeemed me) did not know what this indulgence was, nor did any body 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 Theses*, 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

confessional, the pernicious results that ensued; he first preached against the indulgence;¹² then on the 31st of October, 1517, he affixed to the door of the castle church ninety-five theses against this traffic,¹³ and sent them to the neighboring bishops with a

went 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 Löscher, i. 729.

¹³ Disputatio D. Mart. Lutheri theologi pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum, after the original in v. d. Hardt, Hist. Liter. Reform. P. iv. p. 16. Löscher's Reformation-acten, i. 438. The most remarkable theses are: 1. Dominus et magister noster Jesus Christus dicendo: *poenitentiam agite*, etc., omnem vitam fidelium poenitentiam esse voluit. 5. Papa non vult nec potest ullas poenas remittere praeter eas, quas arbitrio vel suo vel canonum imposuit. 6. Papa non potest remittere ullam culpam, nisi declarando et approbando remissam a Deo (as Petrus Lomb. taught, Vol. ii. § 83, note 2, p. 510): aut certe remittendo casus reservatos sibi, quibus contentis culpa prorsus remaneret. 8. Canones poenitentiales solum viventibus sunt impositi, nihilque morituris secundum eosdem debet imponi (as Card. Hostiensis maintained, Vol. ii. § 84, note 17, p. 522, and John Gerson, Vol. iii. § 147, note 14, p. 396). 11. Zizania illa de mutanda poena canonica in poenam purgatorii videntur certe dormientibus Episcopis seminata. 21. Errant itaque indulgentiarum commissarii, qui dicunt, per Papae indulgentias hominem ab omni poena solvi et salvari. 27. Hominem praedicant, qui statim, ut jactus nummus in cistam tinnierit, evolare dicunt animam. 32. Damnabuntur in aeternum cum suis magistris, qui per literas veniarum securos sese credunt de sua salute. 33. Cavendi sunt nimis, qui dicunt, venias illas Papae donum esse illud Dei inestimabile, quo reconciliatur homo Deo. 35. Non Christiana praedicant, qui docent, quod redempturis animos vel confessionalia non sit necessaria contritio. 36. Quilibet Christianus vere compunctus habet remissionem plenariam a poena et culpa, etiam sine literis veniarum sibi debitam. 38. Remissio tamen et participatio Papae nullo modo est contemnenda quia, ut dixi, est declaratio remissionis divinae. 39. Difficillimum est etiam doctissimis theologis, simul extollere veniarum largitatem et contritionis veritatem coram populo. 43. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod dans pauperi, aut mutans egentem melius facit, quam si venias redimeret. 49. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod veniae Papae sunt utiles, si non in eas confidant: sed nocentissimae, si timorem Dei per eas amittant. 50. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod, si Papa nosset exactiones venialium Praedicatorum, mallet basilicam s. Petri in cineres ire, quam aedificari cute et ossibus ovium suarum. 56. Thesauri Ecclesiae, unde Papa dat indulgentias, neque satis nominati sunt, neque eogniti apud populum Christi (as Durandus a S. Porciano in Sent. Lib. iv. Dist. 20, Qu. 3). 57. Temporales certe non esse patet, quod non tam facile eos profundunt, sed tantummodo colligunt multi concionatorum. 58. Nec sunt merita Christi et sanctorum, quia haec semper sine Papa operantur gratiam hominis interioris, et crucem, mortem, infernumque exterioris. 62. Verus thesaurus Ecclesiae est sacrosanctum Evangelium gloriae et gratiae Dei. 69. Tenentur Episcopi et Curati veniarum apostolicarum commissarios cum omni reverentia admittere. 70. Sed magis tenentur omnibus oculis intendere, omnibus auribus advertere, ne pro commissione Papae sua illi somnia praedicent. 74. Contra veniarum apostolicarum veritatem qui loquitur, sit ille anathema et maledictus. 72. Qui vero contra libidinem ac licentiam verborum concionatoris veniarum curam agit, sit ille benedictus. 75. Opinari, venias papales tantas esse, ut solvere possint hominem,

petition for the abolition of the evil.¹⁴ 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 abolition.¹⁵

etiamsi quis per impossibile Dei genitricem violasset, est insanire. 76. Dicimus contra, quod veniæ papales nec minimum venialium peccatorum tollere possint, quoad culpam. 77. Quod dicitur, nec si s. Petrus modo Papa esset; majores gratias donare posset, est blasphemia in s. Petrum et Papam. 79. Dicere, crucem armis papalibus insigniter erectam cruci Christi æquivalere, blasphemia est. 80. Rationem reddent Episcopi, Curati et theologi, qui tales sermones in populum spargi sinunt. 81. Facit hæc licentiosa veniarum prædicatio, ut nec reverentiam Papæ facile sit, etiam doctis viris, redimere a calumniis aut certe argutis quæstionibus laicorum. 82. Scilicet, cur Papa non evacuat purgatorium propter sanctissimam caritatem, et summam animarum necessitatem, ut causam omnium iustissimam, si infinitas animas redimit propter pecuniam funestissimam ad structuram basilicæ, ut causam levissimam? (as Abelard held; see Vol. ii. § 84, note 1, p. 515. Compare Summa Astesana. part iii. § 120, note 12, p. 167.) 83. Item; cur permanent exequiæ et anniversaria defunctorum, et non reddit aut recipi permittit beneficia pro illis instituta, cum jam sit injuria pro redemptis orare? 90. Hæc scrupulosissima laicorum argumenta sola potestate compescere, nec reddita ratione diluere, est Ecclesiam et Papam hostibus ridendos exponere, et infelices Christianos facere. 94. Exhortandi sunt Christiani, ut caput suum Christum per poenas, mortes, infernosque sequi studeant: 95. Ac sic magis per multas tribulationes intrare coelum, quam per securitatem pacis, confidant. His sermon on Indulgence and Grace was probably published immediately afterward (see Lutheri Præf. ad T. I. Opp.; edidi disputationis schedulam simul et germanicam concionem de indulgentiis; Tetzel also mentions it at the end of his second disputation, printed in 1517 (see Löseher's Reformationsacten, i. 522), so that it can not, as has been often thought, belong to the year 1518), in which still further progress may be recognized (in Löseher, i. 469). 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 can not 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."

¹⁴ 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 *Ordinarus*, 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.

¹⁵ Lutheri Præf. ad T. I. Opp.; in iis certus mihi videbar, me habiturum patronum Papam, cujus fiducia tum fortiter nitebar, qui in suis decretis clarissime damnat quæ-

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,¹⁶ and roused especially the opposition of the Dominicans; for the spirit of this order had become peculiarly sensitive on account of some recent humiliations,¹⁷ and they now felt themselves injured in the persons of

torum (ita vocat indulgentiariorum prædicatores) 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 tires, and Tetzel himself had also nonplussed 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 Löscher's *Reformationsacten*, iii. 707, says: *Quid si ipse quoque vates flum, incipiamque divinare, puerum hunc (the Theses)—alium habuisse patrem: quod nihil scilicet quaesti ex indulgentiis tibi aut tuis etiam accesserit, quod Teello ac suis potius, quam tuæ farinae hominibus negotium datum sit? Haec enim non vane imaginor, sed suspicionis istius tu mihi animum praestitisti, qui mihi ubi in Cancellaria Principis Ecehium, Carlostadium ac te, semotis arbitris, obsecrassem, ut propter honorem Dei abstineretis a conviciis et parvulorum offensione, respondi satis theologice, causam hanc neque propter Deum esse coeptam, neque propter Deum finiri oportere.* This expression of Luther's, often misused by the Catholics, evidently refers to the Leipzig 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 Epistolæ*. Amstelod., 1670. p. 380): *prosiliiit monachus Augustinensis, cui nomen Martinus Lutherus Saxo, et hujus tragoediae auctor, et Dominicani fortassis invidia motus, nonnullos 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 his Theses "because thou wast not made a commissioner of the indulgences." Coehlkens at last, in 1549, makes out of it 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 quibusdam visus fuisset.*—*Id vero quam aegerime tulerunt fratres Augustiniani, in primis Joannes Staupitius,—et Martinus Lutherus,—velut praecipui duo gregis sui arietes.—Principi (Frederick the Wise) familiaris insinuavit se Staupitius, instillans ejus pectori frequentes indulgentiarum abusus, et quaestorum atque commissariorum scandala, quod illi per avaritiam veniarum et gratiarum pretextu expilarent Germaniam, et quaererent quae sua sunt, non quae Jesu Christi. Lutherus vero ardentioris naturae, magisque injuriarum impatiens, arrepto 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.¹⁸ 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 vending 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 commissaries 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, 15th Febr., 1518 (de Wette, i. 92): *Principis nostri illustrissimi esse totum, quod ego ago, tanquam inductus ab eo ad invidiam Archiepiscopi Magdeburgensis*; Duke Henry, in his *Rejoinder to the Elector of Saxony*, 1540, repeats this (Waleh'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 course: 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 tragoediae initiis visus est Lutherus etiam plerisque viris gravibus et eruditis non pessimo zelo moveri, planeque nihil spectare aliud, quam Ecclesiae reformationem, cujus quidam deformes 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. Wimpina (see Löscher, ii. 8), in Löscher, 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:* *Haec satisfactio (cum Deus delictum absque ultione non patitur) per poenam fit, vel aequivalens in acceptione divina: 6. quae vel a Presbyteris imponitur, arbitrio vel canone, vel nonnumquam a justitia divina exigitur hic vel in purgatorio dissolvenda. 11. Hanc poenam ob peccata contrita et confessa impositam potest Papa per indulgentias 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 indulgentias omnis poena in dispositis remittatur, quae est pro peccatis debita, ut eorum est vindicativa: 14. errat tamen, qui ob id tolli putet poenam, quae est medicativa et praeservativa, cum contra hanc Jubilaeus non ordinetur.* The deep-rooted immorality of the system of penance at this period is unveiled in *Thes. 30:* *minima contritio, quae potest in fine vitae contingere, 31. sufficit ad peccatorum remissionem, ac poenae aeternae in temporalem mutationem.* Here also Tetzel defends many of his obnoxious statements; thus 64: *Non esse Christianum dogma, quod redempturi pro amicis confessionalia vel purgandis Jubilaeum, possint haec facere absque contritione, error: and, 99-101, even the shameless assertion—si quis per impossibile Dei genitricem semper virginem violasset. Disp. ii. On the power of the Pope, *Thes. 3:* *Docendi sunt Christiani, quod Papa jurisdictionis 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, quodque sacrae scripturae sensus ipse auctoritative, et**

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-

nullus alius, pro suo sensu, interpretatur, et quod aliorum omnia dicta vel opera habet vel approbare, aut reprobare. 5. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod iudicium Papae in his, quae sunt fidei, et ad humanam salutem necessaria, errare potest minime. 12. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod claves Ecclesiae non universali Ecclesiae,—sed Petro et Papae, et in eis omnibus eorum successoribus et universis Praelatis futuris per derivationem eorum in ipsos, sunt collatae. 13. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod plenissimam indulgentiam non Concilium generale, nec Praelati alii Ecclesiae simul vel disjunctim dare possunt, sed solus Papa, qui est sponsus universalis Ecclesiae. 17. Docendi sunt Christiani, quod Ecclesia multa tenet ut catholicas veritates, quae tamen sicut nec in canone bibliae, ita nec a doctoribus antiquioribus ponuntur. Tetzel also wrote a Refutation of Luther's Sermon on Indulgence and Grace, in Loscher, i. 484. Walch, xviii. 538.

¹⁹ Dialogus in praesumptuosas M. Lutheri Conclusiones de Potestate Papae (it appeared in December, 1517), in Lutheri Opp. Tom. Jenens. Lat. i. 15; in Löscher, ii. 12 ff. Characteristic of the work are the following positions, in Löscher, p. 14: Ecclesia universalis virtualiter est Ecclesia Romana—Ecclesia Romana—virtualiter est Pontifex summus. P. 31: Veniae sive indulgentiae auctoritate Scripturae nobis non innotuere, sed auctoritate Ecclesiae Romanae, Romanorumque Pontificum, quae major est. P. 22: Quantum ad indulgentias attinet, Papa habet clavem jurisdictionis secundum Sanctos etiam in Purgatorium applicative: animas tamen a debito seu reatu poenarum non absolvit, sed eis tribuit, unde poenam vel debitum solvant, applicans et adjiciens eis satisfactionem Christi vel aliorum.—Praedicator, animam, quae in Purgatorio detinetur, adstruens evolare in eo instanti, in quo plene factum est illud, gratia cuius plena venia datur, puta dejectus est aureus in pelvium, non hominem, sed meram et catholicam veritatem praedicat. Hence Erasmus, in his Responsio Nervosa ad Albertum Pium, could write with justice (in v. d. Hardt, Hist. Liter. Reform. i. p. 179): scripsit Prierias:—sed ita, ut causam indulgentiarum fecerit deteriore.

²⁰ According to Eck's assertion, in a letter to Carlstadt of the 28th May, 1518 (in Löscher, ii. 64), in which he tries to pacify the Wittenbergians, he had only composed them for private use at the request of his diocesan, the bishop of Eichstädt (in fact it was his duty, on becoming a canon, to give the bishop advice when required; see the papal bull, in Mederi Annal. Ingolst. iv. 25), and they had been published against his will. Luther published them with his *Asterisci*, in August, 1518; and so they are found, Tom. Jen. Lat. i. p. 31, in Löscher, iii. 333. But before this, Carlstadt, in his Academic Disputations, from May to July, 1518, had already drawn up a series of Theses against the *Obelisci*; see Löscher, ii. 62 ff. Against this work Eck published a Defensio, to which Carlstadt replied in August, 1518, with a Defensio adv. Jo. Eckii Monomachiam (in Löscher, ii. 108).

²¹ Against Tetzel's refutation, he wrote in June, 1518 (see the letter to Lang in de Wette, i. 124): Freyheit des Sermons päpstl. Ablass u. Gnade belagend, in Löscher, i. 525, and Walch, xviii. 564; against Prierias in August, Responsio ad Sylv. Prieriat's Dialogum, in Tom. i. Lat. Jen. p. 44; in Löscher, ii. 390. His principal work, however, at this time, was the Resolutiones Disputationum de Virtute Indulgentiarum, which had been already in May sent in manuscript to the Bishop of Brandenburg and the Pope, and appeared in print at the beginning of August. Tom. i. Lat. Jen. p. 76; Löscher, ii. 183.

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

²² The *Responsio ad Prierat*, in Löscher, ii. 390, first lays down the principles from which Luther started: Secundum est illud b. Augustini ad Hieronymum: ego solis eis *libris, qui canonici appellantur*, hunc honorem deferre didici, ut nullum scriptorem eorum errasse firmissime credam. Caeteros autem, quantalibet doctrina sanctitateque polleant, non ideo verum esse credo, quia illi sic senserunt.—Tu perpetuo pro verborum textu non nisi nuda verba ponis, aut solas *opiniones d. Thomae* mihi nunc demum decantas; qui aequè ut tu nudis verbis incedit, sine Scriptura, sine Patribus, sine canonibus, denique sine ullis rationibus. Ideoque meo jure, i. e. Christiana libertate, te et illum simul rejicio et nego. P. 400: Et ut animum meum scias, mihi videtur id in gravissimum Ecclesiae Indilibrium vergere, si ea doceamus, de quibus nullam prorsus rationem reddere possumus. Nec satis ibi esse eredo etiam factum Ecclesiae,—quia *tam Papa quam Concilium potest errare*, ut habes Panormitanum egregie haec tractantem (see Vol. ii. § 136, Note 6, p. 322). *Resolution. conclus. 26* (Löscher, ii. 248): Me nihil movet, quid placeat vel displiceat summo Pontifici: homo est sicut et caeteri: multi fuerunt summi Pontifices, quibus non solum errores et vitia sed etiam portenta placuerunt. *Responsio*, p. 403: *Theologia illi scholastica* exulem nobis fecit veram et sinceram theologiam. Nam vides, quod perpetuo hoc dialogo nihil ago, nisi quod resisto et redarguo scholasticam theologiam, i. e. falsam Scripturae et Sacramentorum intelligentiam. *Resolut. concl. 25*, p. 236: Deinde adversarios meos etiam rogo, ut ferant dolorem meum, quo crucior, dum audio *ea praedicari* in Ecclesia Christi, *quae nunquam scripta et statuta sunt*, quando sanctis olim Patribus legitimus visum esse periculosissimum, aliquid ultra praescriptum caeleste doceri, ut inquit Hilarius. *Concl. 58*, p. 282: Plus trecentis annis tot Universitates, tot in illis acutissima ingenia, tot ingeniorum pertinacissima studia in uno *Aristotele* laborant, et tamen adhuc non solum Aristotelem non intelligunt, verum etiam errorem et fictam intelligentiam per universam pene Ecclesiam spargunt, quanquam si etiam intelligerent eum, nihil egregiae sapientiae adepti essent. *Concl. 8*, p. 203: Si canones poenitentiales manent mortuis, eadem ratione et caeteri omnes. Celebrent ergo, agant festa, et jejunia, et vigiliis, dicant horas canonicas, non comedant ova, lac, carnes certis diebus, sed tantum pisces, fructus, legumina, induant vestes pullas vel candidas pro differentia dierum, et alia onera gravissima *quibus nunc premitur misera illa, olim liberrima, Ecclesia Christi* (after Augustin. ad Januar. ; see Vol. i. § 106, Note 2, p. 455). *Concl. 26*, p. 238: Cum nostro saeculo sint tam zelosi haereticae pravitatis inquisitores, ut Christianissime catholicos vi conentur ad haeresim adigere, oportunum fuerit super singulis syllabis protestari. Nam quid aliud fecerint *Johannes Picus Mirandulanus, Laurentius Valla, Petrus Ravennas, Johannes Vesalia*, et novissime diebus istis *Johannes Reuchlin* atque *Jacobus Stapulensis*, ut inviti cogentur et bene sentiendo male sentire, non facile viderim, nisi quod omiserint forte protestationem super singulis, ut dixi, syllabis: *tanta est hodie in Ecclesia puerorum et effoeminatorum tyrannis*. With regard to indulgence Luther wrote as early as the 15th Febr. to Spalatin (de Wette, i. 92): duo tamen dicam: primum tibi soli et amicis nostris, donec res publicetur: mihi in indulgentiis hodie videri non esse nisi animarum illusionem, et nihil prorsus utiles esse, nisi stertentibus et pigris in via Christi. Etsi hanc sententiam non tenet noster Carolstadius, certum est tamen mihi, quod eas nihil ducit. Thus also *Concl. 46*, p. 270: Veniae sunt de numero eorum, quae licent, non autem eorum, quae expediunt. *Concl. 49*, p.

272: Quod autem dixi: sunt utiles, intelligo, non omnibus, imo veteri homini et stertentibus 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 nocentissimum, si non sint timorati. Against the doctrine of the Thesaurus, *Concl.* 58, e. g. p. 276: nullus Sanctorum in hac vita sufficienter implevit mandata Dei, ergo nihil prorsus fecerunt superabundans, quare nec ad indulgentias aliquid distribuendum reliquerunt. *Concl.* 26, p. 240: Procedit ejus somnium ex laboriosa illa et *inutili arte confitendi*, imo desperandi et perdendi animas, qua hucusque docti sumus arenam numerare, i. e. singula peccata discutere, colligere, atque ponderare ad faciendam contritionem. Quod cum fecerimus, fit ut refricemus vel concupiscentias vel odia, praeteritorum memoria, et dum continemur de praeteritis, nove peccemus; aut certe si fiat optima contritio, sit tantummodo violenta, tristis, mereque factitia, de metu poenarum simulata duntaxat. Sic enim docemur peccata conteri, i. e. ad impossibile, vel ad pejus, conari. Cum vera contritio sit incipienda a benignitate et beneficiis Dei, praesertim a vulneribus Christi, ut homo ad sui ingratitude primo veniat ex intuitu divinae bonitatis, et ex illa in odium sui ac amorem benignitatis Dei. *Concl.* 7, p. 199: Theologi recentiores—Sacramentum poenitentiae sic tractant et docent, ut populus discat, *per suas contritiones et satisfactiones confidere, se peccata sua posse delere*. Quae vanissima praesumptio nihil aliud potest efficere, quam ut cum haemorrhoida Evangelica, consumpta in medicos tota substantia, pejus et pejus habeant. Fides primo in Christum, gratuitum remissionis largitorem, decenda erat, et desperatio propriae contritionis et satisfactionis persuadenda, ut sic fiducia et gaudio cordis de misericordia Christi firmati, tandem hilariter odirent peccatum, et contererentur, et satisfacerent. *Concl.* 42, p. 268: Si populus doceatur propter poenarum evasionem contribuere (ad fabricam Ecel. s. Petri),—tunc clarum est, quod non propter Deum contribunt, et erit *timor poenarum, seu poena idolum eorum, cui sic sacrificant*. *Concl.* 62, p. 288: *Satis incognita res est Evangelium Dei in multa parte Ecclesiae*: ideo paulo latius de illo dicendum, nihil enim reliquit in mundo Christus praeter solum Evangelium.—Est autem *Evangelium* secundum Apostolum Rom. I. sermo de filio Dei incarnato, nobis sine meritis in salutem et pacem donato. Est verbum salutis, verbum gratiae, verbum solatii, verbum gaudii, vox sponsi et sponsae, verbum bonum, verbum pacis.—*Lex* vero est verbum perditionis, verbum irae, verbum tristitiae, 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 peccatorum nostrorum, quae lex ostendit, nec tollit, nec nos tollere possumus. Sic itaque captis, ac tristibus, omninoque 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 timent, nondum audiverunt Christum, nec vocem Evangelii, sed vocem potius Moisis*. Ex hoc itaque Evangelio nascitur vera gloria Dei, dum docemur, non nostris operibus, sed gratia miserentis Dei in Christo impletam legem et impleri; non operando sed credendo, non Deo aliquid offerendo sed ex Christo omnia accipiendo et participando. He denied the secular power as well as the infallibility of the Pope; see *Concl.* 80, p. 297: Id ego vehementer admiror, quisnam illam glossam invenerit primus, quod *duo gladii* significant unum spirituales (non ut Apostolus vocat, scil. gladium Spiritus, verbum Dei), alium materiales, ut sic Pontificem utraque potestate armatum nobis non patrem amabilem, sed quasi tyrannum formidabilem faciant, dum nihil nisi potestatem undique in eo videmus. On the other hand, he still says, in *Concl.* 69, p. 290: Auctoritati papali in omnibus cum reverentia credendum est. Qui enim potestati resistit, resistit Dei ordinationi. He still believed in purgatory also, *Concl.* 15, p. 215: Quae ideo dico, ne Pighardus haereticus (the Bohemian brethren) in me sibi videatur obtinuisse, purgatorium non esse, quia locum ejus ignotum esse coniteor.—Mihi certissimum est, purgatorium esse. Löscher, p. 304, is wrong in thinking that as he wrote he advanced in knowledge, and that in *Concl.* 18, p.

Rome.²³ Leo X., who regarded the whole matter as a mere quarrel of monks,²⁴ did indeed permit Luther to be summoned to respond;²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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.²⁷

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: *Ecclesia indiget reformatione, quod non est unius hominis Pontificis, nec multorum Cardinalium officium, sicut probavit utrumque novissimum Concilium, sed totius orbis, imo solius Dei. Tempus autem hujus reformationis novit solus ille, qui condidit tempora.*

²³ Hochstraten, in his *Apologia ad Sanctiss. Leonem Papam X. ac D. Maximilianum Imp. Colon, 1518*. 4. made mention of Luther also in his way (see *Lutheri Schedæ contra Hochstratanum, Jul. 1518*), T. i. Lat. Jen. f. 116. Löseher, ii. 323: *sanguinaria sua lingua ad caedem et fraternam perniciem anhelans, monet optimum Pontificem Leonem X., ut non agnino et Christiano, sed leonino et furiali animo exurgat.*

²⁴ According to the account of the contemporary Matteo Bandello, Bishop of Agen (*Novelle. Lucca, 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 Martino fosse un bellissimo ingegno, e che eosteste erano invidie fratesche*. On the other hand, so early as Non. Febr., 1518, he wrote to Gabriel Venetus, when he appointed him to be *Promagister Ord. Augustinianorum Eremit.* (see *P. Bembi Epistolæ Nomine Leonis X. scriptæ lib. xvi. no. 18, p. 379*): *Volo te eam curam suscipere, ut Martinum Lutherum, tuæ societatis sacerdotem, quem seire te existimo in Germania novas res moliri, nova dogmata nostris populis tradere, quibus utantur, ab incæpto, si potes, revoces auctoritate ea, quam tibi præfectura dat.—Id si celeriter feceris, non erit puto difficile modo natam flammam extinguere. Parva enim omnia atque surgentia paulum magnos vehementesque impetus non sustinent. Sin differes, et malum vires sumpserit, vereor ne, cum velimus adhibere incendio remedia, non possimus.*

²⁵ Löseher, ii. 309 ff., 372 ff.

²⁶ The papal brief to Cajetan of the 27th Aug. T. i. Lat. Jen. f. 181, Löseher, ii. 437. The commission ran: *Mandamus, ut—dictum Lutherum hæreticum—ad personaliter coram te comparendum, invocato ad hoc tam carissimi in Christo filii nostri Maximiliani Rom. Imp. electi, quam reliquorum Germaniæ Principum—brachio cogas atque compellas, et eo in potestate tua redacto, eum sub fideli custodia retineas, donec a nobis aliud habueris in mandatis, ut coram nobis et Sede apostolica sistatur. Ac quodsi coram te sponte ad petendum de hujusmodi temeritate veniam venerit, et ad eor reversus poenitentia signa ostenderit, tibi eum ad unitatem sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ—benigne recipiendi concedimus facultatem.*

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. Legatum Apostolicum Thom. Cajetanum Augustæ, ann. 1518, in Octobri*, usually called *Acta Augustana*, published in 1518 (as to three different editions of these, see *Riederer's Abhandlung, 3tes Stück. 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*;²⁸ 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,²⁹ he issued an appeal from the Pope to a general council (at Wittenberg, 28th Nov., 1518).³⁰ Sympathy with the bold champion had for a long time manifested itself only in tones of fear and warning;³¹ gradually some approving voices now dared to speak with boldness, especially among the humanists,³² 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.

²⁸ The appeal of the 16th Oct. T. i. Jen. p. 193; in Löscher, ii. 484.

²⁹ Of the 9th Nov. T. i. Jen. f. 203, b.; in Löscher, ii. 493. On the other hand, in Hottingeri Hist. Eccl. sacc. 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—*Romanum Pontificem*—*potestate clavium, quarum est aperire tollendo illius in Christi fidelibus impedimenta, culpam scilicet et poenam pro actualibus peccatis debitam, culpam quidem mediaute sacramento poenitentiae, poenam vero temporalem pro actualibus peccatis secundum divinam justitiam debitam mediante ecclesiastica indulgentia, posse pro rationalibus causis concedere eisdem Christi fidelibus,—sive in hac vita sint, sive in Purgatorio, indulgentias ex superabundantia meritorum Jesu Christi et Sanctorum, ac tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis—thesaurum meritorum Jesu Christi et Sanctorum dispensare, per modum absolutiois indulgentiam ipsam conferre, vel per modum suffragii illam transferre consuevisse. 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 liberari, quanta concessae et acquisitae indulgentiae aequivalet.*

³⁰ T. i. Jen. p. 205, b.; Löscher, ii. 505.

³¹ Luther relates, in his commentary on Psalm cxviii. 9 (in Walch, v. 1713): "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 (Löscher, ii. 445): *quid hodie praeter crucem te maneat non video quicquam. In foribus, ni fallor, est sententia, ne quis inconsulto Pontifice scrutetur Scripturas, ad inveniendum se quod utique Christus ut fieret jussit. Paucos habes patronos, et utinam non sint occulti propter metum adversariorum. Placet mihi, ut Vittembergam ad tempus deseras, meque accedas, ad simul vivamus moriamurque.*

³² 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 (Erasmi Epist. T. i. Ep. 427): *Nulla sermone consequi queam, quas tragoedias hic excitant tui libelli: ne adhuc quidem ex animis istorum revelli potest falsissima suspicio, qua putant tuas lucubrations meo auxilio esse scriptas, meque hujus factionis, ut vocant, vexilliferum esse. Existimabant quidam sibi datam an-*

berg.³³ In the young Melancthon, who was gained for Witten-

sam, qua et bonas literas opprimerent, quas capitaliter oderunt, velut effecturas majestati theologiae, quam multi plaris faciunt quam Christum.—Habes in Anglia, qui de tuis scriptis optime sentiant, et sunt hi maximi. Sunt et hic, quorum est eximius quidam, qui tuis favent. Ego me quod licet integrum servo, quo magis prosum bonis literis reforescentibus. Et mihi videtur, plus profici civili modestia, quam impetu. Sic Christus orbem in suam ditionem perduxit; sic Paulus judaicam legem abrogavit, omnia trahens ad allegoriam. Magis expedit clamare in eos, qui Pontificum auctoritate abutuntur, quam in ipsos Pontifices: idem de Regibus faciendum censeo. Scholae non tam aspernandae sunt, quam ad studia magis sobria revocandae. De rebus receptoribus, quam ut subito possint ex animis revelli, disputandum est argumentis densis et efficacibus potius quam asseverandum. Quorundam virulentas contentiones magis conducit contemnerem quam refellere. Ubique cavendum, ne quid arroganter aut factiose loquamur, faciamusve: sic arbitror gratum esse spiritui Christi. Interea servandus animus, ne vel ira, vel odio, vel gloria corrumpatur: nam haec in medio pietatis studio solet insidiari. Haec non admoneo ut facias, sed ut quod facis perpetuo facias. 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: *Illic tam odioso negotio, praesertim apud mulierculas et indoctam plebeculam, miscuerunt homines callidi trium linguarum, eloquentiae, politiorisque literaturae mentionem, quasi aut Lutherus his praesidiis fideret, aut ex hisce fontibus haereses nascerentur.—Lutherus mihi tam ignotus est, quam cui ignotissimus, ut suspectus esse non queam, quasi faveam 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 Scholastici dissentiant?—Ad haec non raro deprehenduntur damnare in recentium libris, quod in Augustino aut Gersono non damnant: quasi veritas cum auctore mutetur. Eos, quibus favent, sic legunt, ut omnia torquentes, nihil non excusent: quibus infensi sunt, sic legunt, ut nihil non calumnientur.—Caeterum, ut tuae Celsitudinis est, Christianam religionem pietate tua protegere, ita prudentiae est, non committere, ut quisquam innocens, te justitiae praeside sub praetextu pietatis aliquorum impietati dedatur. Vult idem Leo Pontifex, cui nihil magis est cordi, quam ut tuta sit innocentia.—Certe hic video libros illius ab optimis quibusque cupidissime legi, quamquam mihi nondum vacavit evolvere. Frederick the Wise replied to this on the 14th of May (l. c. f. 212): Non damnari ab eruditis causam Lutheranam, et Doctoris Martini lucubrationes ab optimis quibusque istice cupidissime legi laetamur. Eoque magis, quod plerique bonorum et eruditorum in nostris quoque regionibus et Principatibus, nedum externis, hominis tam vitam et mores, quam eruditionem miro consensu laudant. Quod enim hactenus in Saxonibus nostris degit, non tam homini, quam causae dedimus. Nihil minus unquam conati, quam ut dignos praemiis poena premeret. Neque Deo omnipotente juvante committimus, ut nostra culpa innocens quispiam sua quaerentium impietati dedatur.*

³³ Carlstadt 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: *Seis ingenia eorum, qui apud nos sunt, puta Carlstadii, Amsdortii, D. Hieronymi (Schurf), D. Wolfgangi (Stehlen), utriusque Feldkirchen, denique D. Petri Lupini (Radhemius). At ii omnes constanter mecum sentiunt, imo tota Universitas, excepto uno ferme Licentiate Sebastiano. Sed et Princeps, et Episcopus ordinarius noster, deinde multi alii Praelati: et quotquot sunt ingeniosi cives, jam uno ore dicunt, sese prius non novisse nec audivisse 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 Miltitz. T. i. Jen. f. 183; in Loscher, ii. 384 ff.

berg in 1518,³⁴ he found his truest helper in the great work,³⁵ 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,³⁶ 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.³⁷

³⁴ He entered upon his office on the 29th of August with an oration; see Löscher, ii. 387.

³⁵ Luther writes about him, Praef. in T. i. Opp. 1545: Eodem anno jam M. Phil. Melancthon a Principe Friderico vocatus huc fuerat ad docendas litteras graecas, haud dubie, ut habere solum 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 squamae ejus.

³⁶ His Sermon on the Sacrament of Penance is especially remarkable (Nov., 1518); in Walch, x. 1464; in Löscher, 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 it is 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."

³⁷ Alphonsus Valdesius writes upon this period, from Brussels, 31st Aug., 1520, to Peter Martyr (*Petri Martyris Epistt.*, Amstelod. 1670, p. 380): Intumuerunt dudum Germanorum animi, videntes Romanensium mores plus quam profanos, coeperantque de exeutiendo Rom. Pontificis jugo clam per cuniculos agere. Quo factum est, ut, quum primum Lutheri scripta in vulgum prodire, mirum quanto applausu ab omnibus suscepta sint. Ibi Germani gestire, et convicia in Romanenses jactare, petereque ut generalis Christianorum omnium conventus indiceretur, in quo excussis his, quae Lutherus scriberat, alius ordo in rebus Ecclesiae statueretur. Quod utinam factum fuisset! Verumtamen dum Pontifex jus suum mordicus tuetur, dum timet Christianorum conven-

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,³⁸ 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;³⁹ 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.⁴⁰

tum, dum (ut libere loquar) plus apud eum valet privatum commodum in generali synodo forte periclitaturum, quam Christiani populi salus, dum cupit Lutherana scripta nondum discussa e medio tollere; Legatum a latere (Cajetan) ad Caesarem Maximilianum mittit, cact. Wölg. Fabritius Capito wrote to Luther, 18th Feb., 1519 (in Sculteti *Annal. Reform. ad h. a.*): Helvetia et Rhenana regio ad Oceanum usque solidos amicos fovet Lutherio, eosque potentissimos, neque omnino alienos a bonis studiis. Cardinalis Sedunensis, Comes de Gerolseck, Episcopus quidam eruditus ac primae honestatis, alii-que ex nostris non pauci cum nuper audierant te periclitari, non tantum sumtum, sed etiam tuta loca pollicebantur, quibus aut latere, aut aperte degere posses. Cum peregre constitutum fama praedicaret et summa rerum difficultate laborare, fuerunt, qui per me submittere nitentur sumtum, et submississent utique. On the 14th Feb., 1519, Froben, the bookseller at Basle, wrote to Luther (*T. i. Jen. fol. 367. b.*), that he had sent numerous copies of his works to France, Spain, Italy, Brabant, and England: venduntur Parisiis, leguntur etiam a Sorbonicis et probantur, quemadmodum amici nostri certiores nos reddiderunt. Dixerunt illic doctissimi quidam, se jam pridem talem libertatem desiderasse in his, qui sacras literas tractant.—Illic (in Basle) ut quisque est optimus, ita tui maxime est studiosus. Episcopus noster imprimis tibi favet, ejus item Suffraganeus Tripolitanus Episcopus. The Cardinal of Sitten said, after reading Luther's works: "Luther tu vere es luther" (*lauter*, i. e., clear); and, "Disputet Eccius quantum velit. Lutherus veritatem scribit."

³⁸ Upon Miltitz's proceedings, see Löscher, ii. 552; iii. 6, 92; Waleh, xv. 808.

³⁹ Lutherus ad Jo. Sylvium, 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 vincetum perduceret in Hierusalem homicidam illam Romam: sed per viam a Domino prostratus, i. e. multitudine mihi faventium territus, juxta quod curiosissime ubique de mei opinione exploraverat, mutavit violentiam in benevolentiam fallacissime simulatam, agens 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 considerem te posse a me Romam perducere. Exploravi enim per totum iter animos hominum, quid de te sentirent: ecce ubi unum pro Papa stare inveni, tres pro te contra Papam stabant."

⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ Luther made the promised declarations,⁴² 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 protelari causam. Sunt adhuc multa, quae Romanam lernam movere possunt, quae libens premam (not promam), si permittant. Sin Deus non volet, ut permittant, fiet 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 Fürsten u. Völker v. Süd-Europa. iv. 290): id tantum fructus reportavit, quod saepe, perturbatus vino, ea effutire de Pontifice et Romana curia a Saxonibus inducebatur, non modo quae facta erant, sed quae ipsi e malae in nos mentis affectu imaginabantur et optabant; et ea omnia scriptis excipientes postea in conventu Vormatiensi nobis publice coram tota Germania exprobant.*

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 Tetzels Bericht v. Anf. d. Reform. i. 374, in Löscher, ii. 567): "Nu solt mich solcher Arbeit und Reiss nicht verdrissen, Ew. Erwid zu willfahren, wenn ich mich one meins Lebens Nachtheil durft aus Leipzick begeben. Wann Martinus Luther, Augustiner, hat die Mächtigen nicht allein schier in allen teutschen Landen, sondern auch in den Königreichen 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 Pfaffinger, in Cyprian, *ibid.* s. 380; Löscher, iii. 20.) Lutherus, Praef. ad T. i. Opp. 1545: *Vocaverat (Miltitius) autem ad se Johannem Tetzelium,—et verbis minisque pontificis ita fregit hominem, haecenus terribilem cunctis, et imperterritum clamatorem, ut inde contabesceret, et tandem aegritudine animi conficeretur. Quem ego, ubi hoc rescivi, ante obitum literis benigniter scriptis consolatus sum, ac jussi animo bono esse, nec mei memoriam metueret. Sed conscientia et indignatione Papae forte occubuit.*

⁴² He published in February: *Unterricht auf etliche Artikel, so ihm von seinen Abgönnern aufgelegt und zugemessen worden (in Löscher, 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*,⁴³ this renowned disputant⁴⁴ challenged Luther's colleague, Andreas Bodenstein, from his birth-place surnamed *Carlstadt*, to a disputation at Leipsic,⁴⁵ and also contrived to entangle Luther in it.⁴⁶ In this disputation, which lasted from the

⁴³ See above, Note 20.

⁴⁴ Upon his former disputations held at Bologna and Vienna, see Riederer's *Nachrichten*, Bd. 3. 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 Löscher, iii. 210), to which Luther replied in 13 others. *Ibid.* 212. Compare, Luther to Spalatin, 7th Febr. (de Wette, i. 222): *Eccius noster—gloriae edidit schedulam, disputaturus contra Carlstadium Lipsiae post Pascha. Et homo insulsa obliquitate, suae jam diu in me conceptae invidiae satisfactorus, 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 non fuisse superiorem aliis Ecclesiis ante tempora Sylvestri, negamus. Sed eum, qui sedem beatissimi Petri habuit et fidem, successorem Petri et Vicarium Christi generalem semper agnovimus.* Luther opposed to this the counterthesis (as he writes to Spalatin in May, de Wette, i. 261: *haec xiii. propositio mihi est extorta per Eccium: xiii., as in the following letter, should here be read instead of xii.): Romanam Ecclesiam esse omnibus aliis superiorem, probatur ex frigidissimis Rom. Pontificum decretis, intra quadringentos annos natis, contra quae sunt historiae approbatae mille et centum annorum, textus scripturae divinae, et decretum Nicaeni 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 pulchre dissimulans, tandem manifestavit. Vide, quid sit homo. Sed Deus in medio Deorum: ipse novit, quid ex ea tragoedia deducere voluerit. Nec Eccius sibi, nec ego mihi in hac quicquam serviemus. Dei consilium agi mihi videtur. Sapientis divi, hucusque lusum esse a me; nunc tandem seria in Romanum Pontificem et arrogantiam Romanam agentur.* To Lange in the same strain, 7th Febr. (*ibid.* 217). To Spalatin, 5th March (*ibid.* 236): *Nunquam fuit in animo, ut ab Apostolica sede Romana voluerim 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 certus sum, non nisi volente Deo (ut Petrus ait) ullam potestatem consistere: sed hoc ago pro fide mea in Christum, ut verbum ejus non pro libito trahant atque contaminent. Dimittant mihi decreta Romana Evangelium sincerum, et omnia alia rapiant: prorsus pilum non movebo.* To the same, 13th March (*ibid.* 239): *Verso et decreta Pontificum, pro mea disputatione, et (in aurem tibi loquor) nescio, an Papa sit Antichristus ipse vel apostolus ejus: adeo misere corrumpitur et cruciigitur Christus, i. e. veritas, ab eo in decretis. Discrucior mirum in modum, sic illud populum Christi, specie legum et Christiani nominis. Aliquando tibi copiam faciam annotationum mearum in decreta, ut et tu videas, quid sit leges condere postposita Scriptura ex affectu ambitae tyrannidis: ut taceam, quae alia Romana curia Antichristi opera simillima exundat. Nascitur mihi indies magis ac magis subsidium et praesidium pro sacris literis.* One result of these studies was the *Resolutio super Propositione xiii. 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 Löscher, iii. 123). 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 Romae, melius Babylonem. Non potest Scripturae et Ecclesiae veritas*

27th June to the 16th July, 1519,⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ Eck was superior to his opponents in controversial skill, and thus seemed to those present to have got the victory.⁴⁹ But the correspondence, in which this disputation was continued for some time longer,⁵⁰ turned the public judgment again to the side of the Witten-

tractari, mi Spalatin, nisi haec belua offendatur. Non ergo speres me quietum ac saluum futurum, nisi velis 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 derelinquant 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.

⁴⁷ 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 Löscher, iii. 215 ff. The Latin minutes, written down during the disputation, form the principal authority; best given in Löscher, iii. 292 ff.

⁴⁸ Acta Disp., hor. 2. d. 5 Jul., in Löscher, iii. 360: Certum est, inter articulos Johannis Huss vel Bohemorum multos esse plane Christianissimos et evangelicos, quos non possit universalis Ecclesia damnare, velut est ille et similis, quod tantum est una Ecclesia universalis. Haec enim agentibus impiissimis adulatoribus inique est damnata.—Deinde ille: non est de necessitate salutis credere Rom. Ecclesiam esse diis superiorem.

⁴⁹ Luther to Spalatin on the 20th July (de Wette, i. 287; Löscher, iii. 236): Et ita nihil ferme in ista disputatione tractatum est saltem digne praeter propositionem meam decimam tertiam. Interim tamen ille (Eccius) placet, triumphat et regnat, sed donec ediderimus nos nostra. Nam quia male disputatum est, edam resolutiones denuo.

⁵⁰ In July, Eck published in reply to Melancthon's report, which was addressed to Oecolampadius, his—*Excusatio Eckii ad ea, quae falso sibi Ph. Melancthon Grammaticus Wittenb. super Theologica Disputatione Lipsica adscripsit* (in Löscher, iii. 591), whereupon Melancthon immediately followed with a *Defensio* (Ibid. 596). Luther issued in August his *Resolutiones super Propositionibus suis Lipsiae disputatis* (T. i. Jen. fol. 279; in Löscher, 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 Löscher, iii. 805; de Wette, i. 354). The Franciscans at Juterbock had already drawn 14 propositions from Luther's works as heretical in April, and denounced them to the bishop of Brandenburg (in Löscher, iii. 115). Eck published these in August with notes; in reply, appeared, in September, *Contra malignum Jo. Eckii Judicium super aliquot Articulis a Fratribus quibusdam ei impositis M. Lutheri Defensio* (T. i. Jen. fol. 214, b.; in Löscher, iii. 856). Luther met with great favor among the Bohemians. Two of the utraquist clergy at Prague—Rosdialowin and Paduschka—wrote to him in July letters of congratulation and encouragement (T. i. Jen. fol. 366; in Löscher, iii. 649), which he received in October (see Luther's letter to Staupitz, 3d Oct., de Wette, i. 341). Rosdialowin writes *c. 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 concedas, si te haereticum, si excommunicatum audies, memor subinde, quid Christus passus, quid Apostoli, quid omnes hodie patiantur, 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:⁵¹ here, too, Melancthon now faithfully aided him with his extensive learning and clear penetration.⁵² 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 Job. Zack, administrator of the diocese of Prague, De disputatione Lipsicensi quantum ad Boemos obiter deflexa est (T. i. Jen. fol. 348; in Löscher, iii. 660), 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; Löscher, iii. 668). Emser wrote a reply in November: A venatione Luteriana Aegocerotis Assertio, in Löscher, iii. 691.

⁵¹ Lutherus de Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae (Oct., 1520), in the letter of dedication (T. ii. Jen. fol. 259): Velim, nolim, cogor Indies eruditior fieri, tot tantisque magistris certatim me urgentibus et exercentibus. De indulgentiis ante duos annos scripsi, sed sic, ut me nunc mirum in modum poeniteat editi libelli. Ihaerebam enim id temporis magna quadam superstitione Romanae tyrannidis: unde et indulgentias non penitus rejiciendas esse censebam, quas tanto hominum consensu cernebam comprobari. Nec mirum, quia solus tum volvebam hoc saxum. At postea beneficio Sylvestri et Fratrum adjectus, qui strenue illas tutati sunt, intellexi, eas aliud non esse, quam meras adulatorium Romanorum imposturas, quibus et fidem Dei et pecunias hominum perderent. Atque utinam a bibliopolis queam impetrare, et omnibus, qui legerunt, persuadere, ut universos libellos meos de indulgentiis exurant, et pro omnibus, quae de eis scripsi, hanc propositionem apprehendant: *Indulgentiae sunt adulatorium Romanorum nequitiae*. Post haec Eccius et Emserus cum conjuratis suis de primatu Papae me erudire coeperunt. Atque hic etiam, ne hominibus tam doctis ingratus sim, confiteor, me valde promovisse eorum opera. Nempe cum Papatum negassem divini, admisi esse humani juris. Sed ut audivi et legi subtilissimas subtilitates istorum Trossulorum, quibus suum idolum fabre statuunt (est enim mihi ingenium in his rebus non usquequaque indocile): scio nunc et certus sum, *Papatum esse regnum Babylonis et potentiam Nimrod robusti venatoris*. Proinde et hic, ut amicis meis omnia prosperrime cedant, oro librariorum, oro lectorum, ut iis, quae super hac re edidi, exustis, hanc propositionem teneant: *Papatus est robusta venatio Romani Episcopi*.

⁵² Melancthonis contra J. Eckium Defensio (Aug., 1519). Opp. ed. Bretschneider, i. 113: Puto non temere fieri, sicubi sententiis S. Patres variant, quemadmodum solet, ut iudice Scriptura recipiantur; non ipsorum, nempe variantibus judiciis, Scriptura vim patiatur. Quandoquidem unus aliquis et simplex Scripturae sensus est, ut et coelestis veritas simplicissima est, quem collatis Scripturis e filo ductaque orationis licet assequi. In hoc enim jubemur philosophari in Scripturis divinis, ut hominum sententias decretaeque ad ipsas ceu ad Lydiuum 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 praeter articulos, quos Scriptura probat, non sit necesse alios credere. Deinde conciliorum auctoritatem Scripturae auctoritate vinci. E quibus fit, citra haeresis crimen non credi Transsubstantiationem aut Characterem aut similia. And in his letter to Hess he adds: Neque ad Transsubstantiationem tantum aut Characterem, sed ad omnia ejus generis, quibus vulgo divini juris titulus praetextitur, pertinebat axioma.—Videbam,—passim

this way Luther gained so thorough an insight into the errors and corruption of the Roman Church⁵³ that he gradually began to see

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

⁵³ Contra malignum Jo. Eckii Judicium Lutheri Defensio (in Sept., 1519) IV. (in Löschel, iii. 877): Dictum est, *canones hodie et reservationes casuum prorsus nihil esse, nisi laqueos avaritiae*, non suo vitio, sed Romanensium tyrannorum. Impudentissima enim avaritia est Romanae Curiae: si dederis pecuniam, canones et omnia venalia habes. V. et VI. (p. 879): *Consilia evangelica non sunt supra, sed infra praecepta*, h. e. consilia sunt quaedam viae et compendia facilius et feliciter implendi mandata Dei.—Facilius enim continet, qui viduus aut virgo est, separatus a sexu, quam copulatus cum sexu, qui concupiscentiae aliquid cedit. VII. (p. 880): *Confessio illa, quae nunc agitur occulte in aures, nullo potest jure 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 carnificinam quandam redactam, ut cogantur homines confiteri, et scrupulos facere de iis, in quibus nullum est peccatum, aut veniale tantum.—Non est in Ecclesia negotium, quod aequè ut istud confessionis et poenitentiae indigeat reformatione. Nam hic omnes leges, quaestus, vis, tyrannus, error, pericula, et infinita mala omnium animarum et totius Ecclesiae grassantur pleno impetu, quod Pontifices parum curant, et sophistis animarum tortoribus relinquunt. VIII. (p. 881): Neque enim Romana Curia alia re magis nocuit Ecclesiae Christi, quam *multitudine et varietate legum suarum*, quae mihi videntur esse novissima et omnium maxima persecutio, in qua irretitae conscientiae pereant irrecoverabiliter, ut turpissimum quaestum sileam, qui legibus istis alitur. XV. (p. 887): Valde vellem scire, ex quo loco Scripturae tradita sit *potestas Papae Sanctos canonisandi?* Deinde, quae necessitas Sanctos canonisandi? Tandem, quae utilitas Sanctos canonisandi? *Sermon on the Venerable Sacrament of the holy and true Body of Christ*, printed at the end of November; in Löschel, iii. 902; Walch, xix. 522: "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 Löschel, iii. 920. The bishop of Misnia, by a prescript 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 Zettel, so unter des Officials zu Stolpen Siegel ausgegangen* (Walch, xix. 564), and toward the end of the year 1520 published an enlarged Latin edition: *Ad Schemulam Inhibitionis sub Nomine Episcopi Misnensis editam super Sermone 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, i. 367): *Breviter, quanquam ego scio, purgatorium esse apud nos, nescio 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.⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵ 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,⁵⁶ was still determined to

fidei, cum Graeci illud non credentes nunquam sint habiti ob hoc pro haeticis, nisi apud novissimos haeticantissimos haeticantes. He had also given up the doctrine of *seven sacraments*: he wrote to Spalatin on the 18th Dec., 1519 (de Wette, i. 378); De aliis sacramentis non est, quod tu vel ullus hominum ex me speret aut expectet ullum sermonem, donec docear, ex quo loco queam illa probare. Non enim ullum mihi reliquum est sacramentum, quod sacramentum sit, nisi ubi expressa detur promissio divina, quae fidem exerceat, cum sine verbo promittentis et fide suscipientis nihil possit nobis esse cum Deo negotii. Quae autem de sacramentis illis septem fabulati illi sunt, alio tempore audies.

⁵⁴ 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 and 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) exemplo pulcherrimo longissime, latissime, profundissime, distinguo inter Romanam Ecclesiam et Romanam Curiam. Illam scio purissimum esse thalamum Christi, matrem Ecclesiarum, dominam mundi, sed spiritu, i. e. vitiorum, non rerum mundi, sponsam Christi, filiam Dei, terrorem inferni.—Haec vero ex fructibus suis cognoscitur. Non quod magni faciendum sit, res nostras et jura diripi, cum fixum sit in coelo, Christianos in hac vita pressuram, Nimbrotos et robustos venatores pati:—sed quod omnibus lachrymis sit miseria major, haec a fratribus et patribus in fratres et filios fieri,—quae a Turca vix fierent.—Nullo modo ergo Romanae Ecclesiae resistere licet: at Romanae Curiae longe majore pietate resisterent Reges, Principes et quicumque possent, quam ipsis Turcis.

⁵⁵ Luther to the Christian Nobles of the German nation, 1520 (Waleh, 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."

⁵⁶ 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 dexteritate sua. This letter was soon after published, much to

protect the most honored teacher of his new university⁵⁷ 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: *Hæc, opinor, moverunt animum Lutheri, ut primum auderet se quorundam intolerabili impudentiæ opponere. Quid enim aliud suspicer de eo, qui nec honores ambit, nec pecuniam cupit? De articulis, quos objiciunt Luthero, in præsentia non disputo, tantum de modo et occasione disputo. Ausus est Lutherus de indulgentiis dubitare, sed de quibus alii prius nimis impudenter asseveraverant:—ausus est immoderatius loqui de potestate Romani Pontificis, sed de qua isti nimis immoderate prius scriperant:—ausus est Thomæ decreta contemnere, sed quæ Dominicani pene præferunt Evangelicis: ausus est in materia confessionis scrupulos aliquos 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 dissentiunt, postremo quæ subinde mutant, pro veteribus rescissis inducentes nova. Discruciatum hoc piæ mentes, cum audirent in scholis fere nullum sermonem de doctrina evangelica; sacros illos ab Ecclesia jam olim probatos auctores haberi pro antiquatis; immo in sacris concionibus minimum audiri de Christo; de potestate Pontificis, de opinionibus recentium fere omnia; totam orationem jam palam quæstum, adulationem, ambitionem, ac fœcum præ se ferre. His imputandum opinor, etiamsi quæ intemperantius scripsit Lutherus. He then speaks earnestly against the propensity of theologians to denounce right off as heresy whatever is peculiar.*

⁵⁷ Compare the *Chronicon Citiense* of the contemporary Paulus Langus, Benedictine in the monastery of Bosau, in *Pistorii Scriptt. Rerum Germanic.* i. 188: *Witebergæ anno quo hæc scribo dominicæ incarnationis 1520 ob florentissimum ac famatissimum theologiæ et omnigenæ sapientiæ studium feruntur mille quingentique studentes existere, fama cruditissimorum virorum Martini Lutheri Augustinensis, et Andreae Carolostadii Archidiaconi,—neonon Philippi Melancthonis rhetoris, sacræque theosophiæ Baccalaurei, græcæ et latine peritissimi, allecti et adunati. Et memorati quidem integerrimi, doctissimique duo illi hierophantes, Martinus ut luminare majus, Andreas ut luminare minus hujus Academiae, theologiæ studium et divini verbi triticum absque omni palæarum i. e. secularis philosophiæ syllogismorumve mixtura purissime tractant, et edocent sacram scripturam, et potissimum Christi Evangelium, Paulum Apostolum habentes pro archetypo et fundamento, cum ipso literarum studio timorem Dei, et civitatum virtutum semina verbo, exemplo et calamo in discipulorum pectora spargentes. Neque enim in hæc almi filia sapientiæ palæstra fatuus ille Peripateticorum princeps Aristoteles, vel impius Porphyrius, aut certe ille blasphemus Averroes, et similes orthodoxæ fidei spretores et irrisores cathedram ullam habent vel audientiam. Frederick the Wise replied to Valentine v. Teutleben at Rome, who had written to him of the unfavorable 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 Luther had offered to give account of himself, and to receive instruction. Adfirmant multi, D. Mart. Lutherum—in vitium ad has controversias de Papatu descendisse, videlicet eo pertractum a D. Eckio.—Et cum nunc Germania floreat ingeniis, et multis doctrina et sapientia præstantibus viris,—eumque etiam nunc vulgo Laici sapere incipiant, et studio cognoscendæ Scripturæ teneantur: multi judicant valde metuendum esse, si neglectis acquirissimis conditionibus a D. Luthero oblati, sine legitima cognitione, tantum ecclesiasticis censuris feriat, ne hæc contentiones et certamina multo magis exasperentur, ut postea non ita facile ad otium et compositiones res deduci possent. *Nam Lutheri doctrina ita jam passim in plurimorum animis in Germania et alibi infixæ radices egit, ut si non veris ac firmis argumentis et perspicuis testimoniis Scripturæ revincatur, sed solo ecclesiasticæ potestatis terrore ad eum opprimendum procedatur, non videatur res sic abitura, quin in Germania acerrimas offensiones et horribiles ac exitiales tumultus excitatura sit, unde nec ad sanctissimum dominum Pontificem, nec aliis quidquam utilitatis redire poterit.**

unjust violence. But Luther had already found very decided friends in other parts of his German fatherland;⁵⁸ several knights offered him refuge, and protection against persecution.⁵⁹ 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),⁶⁰ with particular refer-

⁵⁸ Jo. Botzhemus Abstemijs, doctor and canon at Constance, wrote to Luther, 3d March, 1520 (*Joh. v. Botzheim und s. Freunde, von K. Walchner. Schafhausen, 1836. s. 107*): Postquam orbi, aut saltem potiori orbis parti, h. e. bonis et vere Christianis amicus factus es, meus quoque amicus eris, velis, nolis. Quae scribis, ita mihi probantur, ut nulla proinde re gaudeam, ac fato meo propitio, quo factum, ut hoc tempore viverem, quo non humanae solum literae, sed et divinae pristinum nitorem recuperant, caet. Caspar Hedio, preacher at Basle, 23d June, 1520 (*Kappen's Nachlese, ii. 433*): Video, doctriam tuam ex Deo esse, carissime vir, dissolvi non potest, in dies efficacior, quotidie multos lucrifacit Christo, abducit a vitijs, asserit verae pietati.—Libellis vernaculis plurimum prodes, hisce enim vulgi judicium formatur, quod certe sequax est et tractabile, agnoscit fucum, cupit admoneri, intelligit beneficium, quae est gratitudinis pars. Cessandum ergo non est, ὡ σῶταρ, sed totis viribus conandum, ut jugum Christi facile et commodum nobis redeat. Tu dux esto, nos indivulsi milites erimus, si modo nostra opera quippiam possit prodesse, sive in concionibus publicis, quibus praesum jam, enarrans Evangelium Matthaei, sive in privatis colloquijs civium Basiliensium, denique in literis amicorum. In June, 1520, Hutten, too, broke off his feudal dependence upon the elector Albert, by which he had been hitherto debarred from declaring himself openly for Luther. He now urged him on with fiery letters (the first letter of the 4th June, 1520, in *Hutten'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 Gesch. im Zeitalter d. Ref. i. 415*. However, Hutten's violent views did not suit Luther. He wrote to Spalatin, sending at the same time Hutten's letters and works, 16th Jan., 1521 (*de Wette, i. 543*): Quid Huttenus petat, vides. Nollem vi et caede pro Evangelio certari: ita scripsi ad hominem. Verbo victus est mundus, verbo servata est Ecclesia, etiam verbo reparabitur.

⁵⁹ As early as January, 1520, Franz von Sickingen invited Luther to go to him; see *Hutten's Letter to Melancthon, 20th Jan.* (in *Kappen's Nachlese, ii. 425; Münch, iii. 337*): At nunc scribere Luthero ipse heros jubet, si quid in causa sua patiaturs adversi, nec melius aliunde remedium sit, ad se ut veniat, effecturum pro eo quod possit.—Lutherum amat Franciscus, primum quia bonus sibi ut ceteris videtur, et ob id invisus illis, deinde quia cum ex Comitibus de Solmis quidam commendavit literis. Afterward Sickingen repeated this invitation in a letter of his own to Luther, 3d Nov., 1520 (in *Walch, xv. 1948*). The Franconian knight, Sylvester von Schaumburg, offered Luther protection in a letter, 11th June, 1520 (*Walch, xv. 1942*), and exhorted him not to take refuge with the Bohemians: "For I, and a hundred nobles besides, whom I will call upon (so God please), will honorably hold to you, and protect you from danger against your opponents, so long as your good intentions shall remain uncondemned and unfuted by a general Christian council and assemblage, or by unsuspected and intelligent judges, or till you shall be better instructed." F. von Sickingen's *Thaten, Plane, Freunde und Ausgang, durch F. Münch* (Stuttg. u. Tübingen. 3 Bde. 1827–29. 8.), i. 166. *Von Buchholtz Gesch. d. Regierung Ferdinand I., Bde. ii. (Wien., 1831), s. 77.*

⁶⁰ *Walch, x. 296. Introduction.* "Grace and strength from God be with you. Most

ence to the external constitution of the Church. In October,

serene 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. *Secondly*, when any one would rebuke them with the Holy Scripture, they have replied that it belongs to nobody but the Pope to interpret the Scripture. *Thirdly*, if threatened with a Council, 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 unimpeded, through the whole body of Christendom, without regard to any one, 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

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, palls, 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 *Casus Reservati* 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 palfrey, 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 parish-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; yea, 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, troth 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 conquered 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 *Præclulum De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae*, upon the Catholic doctrine of the sacraments.⁶¹

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. 25. The universities also require a right strict reform. What are the universities, except *gymnasia epheborum et græcæ gloriæ*, 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 persons 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." 26. 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." 27. On secular transgressions; against too costly clothing, excess in foreign spices, usury, gluttony 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."

⁶¹ T. ii. Jen. fol. 259 ss. Fol. 260, b. Principio neganda, mihi sunt septem Sacramenta, et tantum tria pro tempore ponenda, baptismus, poenitentia, panis, et hæc omnia esse

per Romanam Curiam nobis in miserabilem captivitatem ducta, Ecclesiamque sua tota libertate spoliata. Quamquam, si usu scripturae loqui velim, non nisi unum sacramentum habeam, et tria signa sacramentalia. Fol. 262, b. Concludo itaque, negare *utramque speciem* laicis, esse impium et tyrannicum, nec in manu ullius Angeli, nedum Papae et Concilii cujuscunque.—*Prima ergo captivitas* hujus Sacramenti est quoad ejus substantiam seu integritatem, quam nobis abstulit Romana tyrannis. Non quod peccent in Christum, qui una specie utuntur:—sed quod illi peccant, qui hoc arbitrio volentibus uti prohibent utramque dari: culpa non est in laicis sed sacerdotibus.—Itaque non hoc ago, ut vi rapiatur utraque species, quasi necessitate praecepti ad eam cogamur, sed conscientiam instruo, ut patiatyr quisque tyrannidem Romanam, sciens sibi raptum per vim jus suum in Sacramento propter peccatum suum. Tantum hoc volo, ne quis Romanam tyrannidem justilicet, quasi recte fecerit, unam speciem laicis prohibens, sed detestemur eam, nec consentiamus ei. Tamen feramus eam non aliter, ac si apud Turcam essemus captivi, ubi neutra specie liceret uti.—*Altera captivitas* ejusdem Sacramenti mitior est, quod ad conscientiam spectat, sed quam multo omnium periculosissimum sit tangere, nedum damnare. Hic Viglephista, et sexcentis nominibus haereticus ero. Quid tum? Postquam Romanus Episcopus Episcopus esse desiit, et tyrannus factus est, non formido ejus universa decreta, cujus scio non esse potestatem, articulos novos fidei condendi, nec Concilii quidem generalis. Dedit mihi quondam, cum theologiam scholasticam haurirem, occasionem cogitandi D. Cardinalis Cameracensis libro Sententiarum IV. acutissime disputans, multo probabilius esse, et minus superfluum miraculorum poni, si in altari verus panis verumque vinum, non autem sola accidentia esse adstruerentur, nisi Ecclesia determinasset contrarium. Postea videns, quae esset Ecclesia, quae hoc determinasset, nempe Thomistica h. e. Aristotelica, audacior factus sum, et qui inter saxum et sacrum haerebam, tandem stabilivi conscientiam meam sententia priore, esse videlicet verum panem verumque vinum, in quibus Christi vera caro verusque sanguis non aliter nec minus sit, quam illi sub accidentibus suis ponunt. Quod feci, quia vidi Thomistarum opiniones, sive probentur a Papa, sive a Concilio, manere opiniones, nec fieri articulos fidei, etiamsi Angelus de coelo aliud statueret. Nam quod sine Scripturis asseritur, aut revelatione probata, opinari licet, credi non est necesse.—Permitto itaque, qui volet, utramque opinionem tenere; hoc solum nunc ago, ut serupulos conscientiarum de medio tollam, ne quis se reum haeresos metuat, si in altari verum panem verumque vinum esse crediderit. Sed liberum esse sibi sciat, citra periculum salutis alterutrum imaginari, opinari et credere, cum sit hic nulla necessitas fidei. Ego tamen meam nunc prosequor sententiam.—Est autem meae sententiae ratio magna imprimis illa, quod *verbis divinis non est ulla facienda vis*,—sed quantum fieri potest, in simplicissima significatione servanda sunt, et nisi manifesta circumstantia cogat, extra grammaticam et propriam accipienda non sunt, ne detur adversariis occasio, universam Scripturam eludendi.—Fol. 264, b. *Tertia captivitas ejusdem Sacramenti* est longe impiissimus ille abusus, quo factum est, ut fere nihil sit hodie in Ecclesia receptius ac magis persuasum, quam *Missam esse opus bonum et sacrificium*. Qui abusus deinde inundavit infinitos alios abusus, donec fide sacramenti penitus extincta meras nundinas, cauponationes et quaestuarios quosdam contractus e divino Sacramento fecerint. Hinc participationes, fraternitates, suffragia, merita, anniversaria, memoriae, et id genus negotiorum in Ecclesia venduntur, emuntur, paescuntur, componuntur; pendetque in his universa alimonia sacerdotum et monachorum.—Fol. 265, b. Est itaque Missa secundum substantiam suam proprie nihil aliud, quam verba Christi praedicta: *Accipite et manducate*, etc., ac si dicat: ecce o homo peccator et damnatus, ex mera gratuitaque charitate, qua diligo te, sic volente misericordiarum Patre, his verbis promitto tibi, ante omne meritum et votum tuum, remissionem omnium peccatorum tuorum, et vitam aeternam. Et ut certissimus de hac mea promissione irrevocabili sis, corpus meum tradam, et sanguinem fundam, morte ipsa hanc promissionem confirmaturus, et utrumque tibi in signum et memoriale ejusdem promissionis relicturus. Quod cum frequentaveris, mei memor sis, hanc meam in te charitatem et largitatem praedices et laudes, et gratias agas. Ex quibus vides, ad Missam digne habendam aliud non requiri, quam *fidem*, quae huic promissioni fideliter nitatur, Christum in his suis verbis veracem credat, et sibi haec immensa

bona esse donata non dubitet. Ad hanc fidem mox sequetur sua sponte dulcissimus affectus cordis, quo dilatatur et impinguatur spiritus hominis (haec est *charitas*, per Spiritum sanctum in fide Christi donata), ut in Christum, tam largum et benignum testatorem, rapiatur, fiatque penitus alius et novus homo.—Quin quod deploramus, in hac captivitate omni studio cavetur hodie, ne verba illa Christi ullus laicus audiat, quasi sacratiora, quam ut vulgo tradi debeant.—Neque enim Deus aliter cum hominibus unquam egit, aut agit, quam *verbo promissionis*. Rursus nec nos cum Deo unquam agere aliter possumus quam *fide in verbum promissionis* ejus. Opera ille nihil curat, nec eis indiget.—Fol. 268. Unde manifestus et impius error est, *Missam pro peccatis, pro satisfactionibus, pro defunctis, aut quibuscunque necessitatibus suis aut aliorum offerre seu applicare*. Quod facillime intelligis esse evidentissime verum, si firmiter teneas, Missam esse promissionem divinam, quae nulli prodesse, nulli applicari, nulli suffragari, nulli communicari potest, nisi ipsi credenti soli propria fide.—Fol. 270, b. *De Sacramento baptismi*. Ubi virtutem baptismi in parvulis not potuit Satan extinguere, praevaluit tamen, ut in omnibus adultis extingueret, ut jam fere nemo sit, qui sese baptismatum recordetur, nedum glorietur, tot repertis aliis viis remittendorum peccatorum et in caelum veniendi. Praebuit his opinionibus occasionem verbum illud periculosum divi Hieronymi, sive male positum, sive male intellectum, quo poenitentiam appellat secundam post naufragium tabulam, quasi baptismus non sit poenitentia. Hinc enim, ubi in peccatum lapsi fuerint, de prima tabula seu nave desperantes velut amissa, secundae tantum incipiunt niti et fidere tabulae i. e. poenitentiae. Hinc nata sunt votorum, religionum, operum, satisfactionum, peregrinationum, indulgentiarum, sectarum infinita illa onera, et de iis maria illa librorum, quaestionum, opinionum, traditionum humanarum, quos totus mundus jam non capit, ut incomparabiliter pejus habeat Ecclesiam Dei ea tyrannis, quam unquam habuit Synagogam aut ullam nationem sub caelo.—Fol. 272, b. Baptismus neminem justificat, nec ulli prodest, sed fides in verbum promissionis, cui additur baptismus.—Fol. 273, b. Nunquam fit baptismus irritus, donec desperans redire ad salutem nuleris: aberrare quidem poteris ad tempus a signo, sed non ideo irritum est signum. Ita semel es baptisatus sacramentaliter, sed semper baptisandus fide; semper moriendum, semperque vivendum. Baptismus totum corpus absorbit, et rursus edidit: ita res baptismi 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, cui possumus referre acceptum, quam uni tyrannidi Romani Pontificis!—Ipse solum id agit, ut suis decretis et juribus opprimat, et in potestatis suae tyrannidem captivos illaqueet. Obsecro, quo jure—Papa super nos constituit leges? Quis dedit ei potestatem captivandae hujus nostrae libertatis per baptismum nobis donatae? Unum, ut dixi, nobis in tota vita agendum est propositum, ut baptisemur i. e. mortificemur et vivamus per fidem Christi, quam et unice doctam oportuit, maxime a summo Pastore. At nunc, tacita fide, infinitis legibus operum et ceremoniarum extincta est Ecclesia, ablata virtus et scientia baptismi, impedita fides Christi. Dico itaque: *neque Papa, neque Episcopus, neque ullus hominum habet jus unius syllabae constituendae super Christianum hominem, nisi id fiat ejusdem consensu*: quidquid aliter fit, tyrannico spiritu fit. Ideo orationes, jejunia, donationes, et quaecunque tandem Papa in universis suis decretis, tam multis quam iniquis, statuit et exigit, prorsus nullo jure exigit et statuit, peccatque in libertatem Ecclesiae toties, quoties aliquid horum attentaverit.—Fol. 274, b. Unum hic addo, quod utinam cunctis queam persuadere, i. e., *ut vota prorsus omnia tollerentur* aut vitarentur, sive sint religionum, sive peregrinationum, sive quorumcunque operum, maneremusque in libertate religiosissima et operosissima baptismi. Dicit non potest, quantum detrahat baptismi, et obscuret scientiam libertatis Christianae opinio illa votorum plus nimio celebris. Ut interim taceam infanda etiam eaque infinita pericula animarum, quae vovendi ista libido, inconsultaque temeritas quotidie auget.—Fol. 275. Ego sane non prohiberim nec repugnaverim, si quis privatim arbitrio suo quippiam velit vovere, ne vota penitus contemnam aut damnem, sed publicum vitae genus hinc statui et confirmari, omnino dissuaserim. Fol. 275, b. Quare consulo primum magnatibus Ecclesiarum, ut omnia ista vota seu vitas votariorum tollant, vel non probent et extollant.—Nulli sua-

deo, imo omnibus dissuadeo ingressum eujusenque religionis aut sacerdotii, nisi sit ea scientia praemunitus, ut intelligat, opera quantumlibet sacra et ardua religiosorum et sacerdotum in oculis Dei prorsus nihil distare ab operibus rustici in agro laborantis, aut mulieris in domo sua curantis; sed sola fide omnia apud eum mensurari.—Ex his duos insignes errores Romani Pontificis cognoscimus. Prior, quod dispensat in votis, facitque id, quasi solus prae omnibus Christianis habeat auctoritatem.—Si enim votum dispensari potest, quilibet frater cum proximo, et ipse secum dispensare potest.—Posterior, quod rursus decernit, matrimonium dirimi, si alter altero etiam invito monasterium ingrediatur nondum consummato matrimonio. Fol. 276, b. *De Sacramento poenitentiae*: Primum hujus Sacramenti et capitale malum est, quod Sacramentum ipsum in totum aboleverunt, ne vestigio quidem ejus relicto. Nam cum et ipsum, sicut et alia duo, constet verbo promissionis divinae et fide nostra, utrumque subverterunt. Nam verbum promissionis, ubi Christus dicit Matth. xvi., *Quodcumque ligaveris*, etc.,—quibus provocatur fides poenitentium pro remissione peccatorum impetranda, suae tyrannidi aptaverunt. Universis enim suis libris, studiis, sermonibus non hoc egerunt, ut docerent, quid Christianis in his verbis promissum esset, quid credere deberent, et quantum consolationis haberent, sed quam late, longe, profunde ipsi potentia et violentia tyranniserent.—Non hoc contenta Babylonia nostra fidem quoque adeo extinxit, ut impudenti fronte eam negaret necessariam esse in Sacramento isto, imo antichristica impietate definiret, haeresim esse, si fidem necessariam quis esse assereret.—Obliteratis itaque ac subversis, promissione et fide, videamus, quid substituerint in locum earum. Tres partes dederunt poenitentiae, contritionem, confessionem, satisfactionem, sed sic, ut in singulis si quid boni inesset tollerent, et in eisdem quoque suam libidinem et tyrannidem constituerent. He repeats here what he had already taught in the Sermon on Indulgence and Grace (see Note 13, above), in the Resolutions Disput. Concl. 26. 7 (Note 22), and the Sermon on the Sacrament of Penance (Note 36). Then he treats, one after another, of the other Sacraments, and shows that they are not founded on the Word of God, but are inventions of men. With regard to marriage he inveighs, fol. 280, against arbitrary impediments to marriage, and, fol. 281, against separation without dissolution of the marriage. Fol. 284, de Sacramento Extremae Unctionis. With regard to the principal passage in support of it, James v. 14: Ego autem dico, si uspiam deliratum est, hoc loco praecipue deliratum est. Omitto enim, quod hanc epistolam non esse Apostoli Jacobi, nec apostolico spiritu dignam, multi valde probabiliter asserant, licet consuetudine auctoritatem, eujusenque sit, obtinuerit. Tamen si etiam esset Apostoli Jacobi, dicerem, non licere Apostolum sua auctoritate sacramentum instituire, i. e., divinam promissionem eum adjuncto signo dare. Hoc enim ad Christum solum pertinebat.—Nusquam autem legitur in Evangelio unctionis istius extremae sacramentum. Sed missa faciamus, et ista Apostoli, sive quisque fuerit epistolae auctor, ipsa videamus verba, et simul videbimus, quam nihil ea observaverint, qui sacramenta auxerunt.—Cur faciunt ipsi extremam et singularem unctionem ex ea, quam Apostolus voluit esse generalem?—Absolute dicit: *si quis infirmatur*, non dicit: *si quis moritur*.—Apostolus in hoc ungi et orari praecipit, ut infirmus sanetur et allevietur:—illi contra dicunt, non esse dandam unctionem, nisi discessuris h. e. ut non sanentur et allevientur.—Ulterius si unctio ista sacramentum est, debet sine dubio esse, ut dicunt, efficax signum ejus, quod signat et promittit. At sanitatem et restitutionem infirmi promittit:—quis autem non videt, hanc promissionem in paucis, imo nullis impleri?—Quare hanc unctionem eandem ego esse arbitror, quae Marci vi de Apostolis scribitur: *et ungebant oleo multos aegrotos, et sanabant*: ritum scilicet quendam primitivae Ecclesiae, quo miracula faciebant super infirmis, qui jamdudum defiebat.—Jacobus—promissionem sanitatis et remissionis peccatorum non tribuit unctioni, sed orationi fidei.—Prorsus non est dubium, si hodie quoque talis oratio fieret super infirmum, i. e. a senioribus, gravioribus et sanctis viris, plena fide, sanari quotquot vellemus. Fides enim quid non posset?—Fol. 285, b. Sunt praeterea nonnulla alia, quae inter sacramenta videantur censeris posse, nempe omnia illa, quibus facta est promissio divina, qualia sunt oratio, verbum, crux.—Proprie tamen ea sacramenta vocari visum est, quae annexis signis promissa sunt. Caetera, quia signis alligata non sunt, nuda promissa sunt. Quo fit, ut, si rigide loqui volumus, tantum duo sint in Ec-

The bull of condemnation⁶² against Luther, prepared in Rome,

clesia Dei sacramenta, Baptismus et Panis, cum in his solis et institutum divinitus signum et promissionem remissionis peccatorum videamus. Nam poenitentiae sacramentum, quod ego his duobus accensui, signo visibili et divinitus instituto caret, et aliud non esse dixi, quam viam ac reditum ad baptismum. Conclusion, Fol. 286: Auditum audio, paratas esse denuo in me bullas et diras papisticas, quibus ad revocationem urgear, aut haereticus declarer. Quae si vera sunt, hunc libellum volo partem esse revocationis meae futurae, ne suam tyrannidem frustra inflatam querantur. Reliquam partem propediem editurus sum talem Christo propitio, qualem haecenus non viderit nec audierit Romana sedes, obedientiam meam abunde testaturus in nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Amen.

⁶² The bull *Exurge, Domine*, in Raynaldus Ann. 1520, no. 51, and elsewhere. At the end of this year Hutten published it with some biting comments: they may be found, with the bull, in Vol. i. Jen. fol. 474; and in Hutten's Werke, edited by Münch, iv. 1. Luther's works, from which 41 articles were condemned as heretical, were to be burned; Luther and his adherents were to recant within 60 days, or else suffer according to the existing laws against heretics. Compare the letter of a Roman, of Jan., 1521, in Riederer's Nachrichten zur Kirchen- Gelehrten- u. Büchergeschichte, i. 179: Scias, neminem Romae esse, si saltem sapiat, qui non certo certius sciat, et cognoscat, Martinum in plurimis veritatem dicere: verum boni ob tyrannidis metum dissimulant, mali vero, quia veritatem audire coguntur, insaniant. Inde illorum oritur indignatio pariter et metus, valde enim timent, ne res latius serpat. Haec causa fuit, cur Bulla tam atrox emanaverit, multis bonis et prudentibus viris reclamantibus, qui suadebant, maturius consulendum, et Martino potius modestia et rationibus, quam detestationibus occurrendum esse.—Sed vicit indignatio et metus: asserebant enim factionis ejusce principes, non decere Rom. Pont. unicuique vilissimo homunculo rationem reddere debere, sed potius contra pertinaces vi utendum esse, ne ceteri quoque similia audent. Adducebant Jo. Hus et discipulum ejus Hieronymum, quorum poenam multos a simili hucusque temeritate deterruisse ajebant. Nisi igitur Martinus eadem via coerceretur, procul dubio multos similia ausuros. Fuere autem consilii hujus principales Cardinalis Cajetanus, parum Germanis favens, quia, ut ipse putabat, non tam honorifice, ut decebat, ab iis susceptus et numeratus fuisset.—Compertum igitur se habere dicebat, nisi igne et gladio Germani compescerentur, omnino jugum Rom. Ecclesiae excussuros. Accedebat Sylvester ille Prierias, et tota Praedicatorum factio, praecipue Capnionis inimici, qui nimiam Pontificis bonitatem inCUSabant, asserentes, si pridem Capnionis ausibus via regali obviasset, nunquam Martinum talia fuisse ausurum, haecque occasione sententiam contra libellum Capnionis extorserunt, quamvis paulo ante Pontifex quosdam exhortatus fuisset, ut Talmut imprimerent, ac ideo privilegiis exornasset.—Colonienses quoque ac Lovanienses, nec non plerique alii theologi Germani elanculum quotidie causam sollicitabant, omnimodam victoriam promittentes, uti tantum Romana signa (h. e. bullae plumbatae terribiles) fulsissent, sed et Principes quosdam Germanos talia quoque procurasse dicunt.—Super omnia vero mercator ille Fuckerus, qui plurimum ob pecunias Romae potest, utpote quem numerorum regem vocare solent, Pontificem et suae factionis homines exacerbat, non tantum invidia ductus, sed etiam de quaestu suo ac beneficiorum mercatura sollicitus, plurimorum Principum favorem Pontifici promittens, ubi vim contra Martinum intentaret, ac ejusce rei causa Eckium illum suum Romam misit, non ineptum Curiae Rom. instrumentum, si temulentia abesset: nam temeritate, audacia, mendaciis, simulatione, adulatione et caeteris vitiis Curiae aptis egregie pollet. Verum sola obstat ebrietas, Italici, ut nosti, perquam odiosa, sed et hanc favor et potentia Fuckeri conciliavit, et in virtutem convertit, nec defuere, qui illi applauderent, nil magis Germanos temulentos, quam temulentum decere legatum, asserentes, temeritatemque temeritate retundendam esse dicentes. Cunque collega sibi quaereretur similis, ad Aleandrum tandem inventum est, egregium profecto Oratorum par, et causae perquam conveniens, impudentiaque, temeritate et vitae flagitiis simile. Nemo enim bonus, imo nemo sanae mentis Germanae nationis tale onus suscepisset, et si qui erant, qui forsitan libenter suscepissent, timore tamen et periculi magnitudine deterrebantur.

15th June, 1520, appeared more like an instrument of personal hatred, since Dr. Eck was intrusted with its publication,⁶³ and arbitrarily extended its application to several friends of Luther mentioned by name.⁶⁴ In Germany the bull was received with almost universal antipathy, in some places with open resistance.⁶⁵

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 extinguat, et, ni fallor, in regio isto vestro conventu (Diet of Worms) nil potius, quam de Luthero, tractabitur, qui nobis plus obesse videtur, quam Turcus. Sollicitabitur igitur aetas Caesaris minis, precibus, blanditiisque fictis. Sollicitabuntur Germani laudibus majorum, muneribus et promissis.—Quod si minus haec succedent, Caesarem deponeamus, populos a subjectione debita liberabimus: alium, qui nobis placet, in locum suum eligemus, seditionem inter Germanos, quemadmodum nunc inter Hispanos, concitabimus; Gallum, Anglum et omnes terrae Reges ad arma convocabimus, ac nihil praetermitteremus, quod antecessores nostri contra Caesares et Reges non infeliciter facere consueverunt: tantum ut voti compotes evadere valeamus, nihil pensi apud nos erit, non Christus, neque fides, pietas, honestas, probitas, dummodo tyrannus nostra sit salva.

⁶³ See Walch, xv., 1675. J. B. Riederer's Beytrag zu den Reformationisurkunden betr. die Händel, welche D. Eck bey Publication der päpstl. Bulle wider den sel. D. Luther i. J. 1520 erreget hat, aus grösstentheils ungedruckten Nachrichten herausgegeben. Altdorf, 1762. 4 (under the new title Geschichte der durch Publ. d. päpstl. Bulle wider D. M. L. i. J. 1520 erregten Unruhen. Altdorf u. Nürnberg, 1776. 4). Supplementary matter may be found in Riederer's Nachrichten, i. 167, 318, 438, ii., 54, 179, 321. On the haughtiness of Eck's demeanor see—Erasmii Responsio Nervosa ad Albertum Pium, ann. 1529, in v. d. Hardt, Hist. Lit. Reform. i. 169: Plus invidiae conflavit pontificio nomini Cajetani libellus, nimis officiose scriptus, quam Lutheri convicia. Nec parum offecit ejus opinioni *διπλωματοφόρος* ille (Eck), tam insolenter se gerens, doctis ac magis (*magnis*?) etiam minitans, et omnia suis funis complens. Dixit apud me: *Pontifex Romanus tot duces, tot comites saepe dejecit, facile dejiciet tres pediculosos grammatistas*. Idem alias dixit: *Pontifex potest dicere Caesari Carolo: tu es cerdo*. Utrum hoc est tueri pontificii nominis dignitatem, an sinistre praedicando in odium pertrahere? Hujus collega (Jerome Aleander) dixit apud me: *bene invenienus illum ducenti Federicum*; idque prorsus eo vultu, quo solent tetrici literatores pueris minari virgas. Even Pallavicini, Hist. Conc. Trid. lib. 1, cap. 20, blames the choice of Eck for the publication of the bull.

⁶⁴ To Carlstadt and Dolseius in Wittemberg, John Sylvius Egranus, pastor in Zwickau, Bernhard Adelman v. Adelmansfelden, canon of Augsburg, Bilibald Pirkheimer and Lazarus Spengler at Nuremberg.

⁶⁵ Compare Miltitz's letter to the elector Frederick, Leipsick, on the Wednesday after Michaelmas, 1520 (at the end of Teutzel's Hist. Bericht v. d. Ref. Lutheri, herausgeg. v. Cyprian Th. i. s. 439): "Erhub mich ken Leipzk zu reiten, also fund ich Doctorem Echium mit einem grossen Geschrey und Pochen, underliess nicht, hat ihn zu Gast, zu erfahen, was sein Fürnehmen und Wille wäre. He traugt flugs und leichtfertig, hub an von seinen Befehlen zu reden, wie he Doctorem Martinum lernen wulde, wit sihrn spitzen Worten saget, dass he hatt die babestliche Bulle zu Meissen am XXiten Tage Sept., zu Mersburg am XXV., zu Brandenburg am XXIX. publiciren und anschlagen lassen.—Nicht angesehen das Geleit und seine Bulle haben gute fromme Kinder itzo die Michaelis an 10 Orten angeschlagen, welches ich Ew. Churf. Gn. och ein Copia zuschicke, und dorneben gedraut, dass Echius hat müssen ins Closter zum Paulern fliegen, und darf sich nicht schauen lassen.—Sie haben ein Lied von ihm gemacht, und singsen uf der Gassen. He ist hoch bekommert, der Muth und das Pochen ist ihm geleet, man schribt ihm alle Tage sintz 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,⁶⁶ confirmed by an interview with Erasmus,⁶⁷ persisted in his demand for an impartial investi-

ab. Es sind och über 50 Studenten von Wittenberg do, die sich unnütz machen uf ihn. —Ich hab Echio gesaget, dass he Unrecht gethan hat, die Bulle zu publiciren, dieweile die Sache in einer gütlichen friedlichen Handlung mit ihm gestanden; sullt billig mir vor geschrieben haben, was ich in der Sachen gehandelt hatt, zu forsteien. Schweig he stille, und ersoftzt, dass ihm led dobey ist. Ich kanns Ew. Churf. Gn. nicht schreiben, wie grausam man wider ihn ist. Ich hab gross Sorg, der Salvoconduct wird nicht helfen, he wird derschlagen." Soon after he wrote (*ibid.* s. 453): "Eckius ist zu Leipzig entrunnen 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 seltene Reformationsurkunde, intimatio Erphurdiana pro M. Luther Altkorf, 1761*, also in the *Neue Beyträge von theolog. Sachen, 1761*, s. 520): *Conclusum est, optimi lectores, longa post consilia impia et haeretica ab impiis quibusdam Scribis et Pharisacis—contra M. Lutherum, theologum acutissimum; ita ut jam inspirante diabolo affigendae sint literae publico conspectui, quibus praefati Luciferiani nuntii etiam excommunicando dictum Martinum ultra Tartara detrudere conantur. Nos vero almae Universitatis Magistri, Baccalaurii, theologiae veritatis professores—docemus et profitemur praesentium tenore, Martinum—bene et prorsus christiane hucusque scripsisse. Quamobrem vos omnes et singuli, nostrae dictae Universitatis gremiales, qui veritatem Christi—amatis, —consurgite, agite animosius in verbo Christi, defendendo, pugiles resistite, reclamate, immo manibus pedibusque rabidissimis illius Martini praedicti obtrectatoribus—repuginate. Verum quo pacto repugnandum sit, animadvertite. Quam primum tyrannica illa et plus quam diabolica excommunicatio papistica, licet injustissima, adversus innocentem Martinum et ejus adhaerentes valvis nostris affixa fuerit, turmatim—accedite, has ipsas daemonisticas excommunicationes in minimas particulas dilacerantes, discerpente, in altissimis veritatis zelatorem, Christum inquam, confidentes.—Insuper et exhortamur in domino Jesu Christo,—quatenus illam impiam et haeticam, Ecciana factione excogitatam bullam Papisticam—variis depingatis coloribus etiam nominatim scriptis perstringatis:—decernentes, omnes illos insectandos, qui maxima ducti impudentia—de publico suggestu clamant Lutherum haeticum fore, Hussitarumque erroris protestatorem, uti mentitis est impius Eccius, et Augustinus Alfeldianus, Pharisaeorum duces, caet. Even the University of Ingoldstadt 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)*, i. 54 ff. Many bishops likewise, and among them especially the bishop of Freisingen, made difficulties for a long time; *ibid.* s. 58.*

⁶⁶ On the negotiations of the two papal legates, Marinus Caracciolus and Jerome Aleander, with the Elector, compare the account of the eye-witness, Henrici Zutphanensis *Brevis Commemoratio rerum Colonia gestarum in causa Lutheri, 1520*, in *T. ii. Jen.* p. 314 b. (compare on this point Frick, in *Seckendorf's Historie des Lutherthums*, s. 280, 290, 310), and Spalatini *Annales Reformationis*, edited by Cyprian, s. 11 ss.

⁶⁷ 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 duobus, nempe quod tetigit coronam Pontificis et ventres monachorum.* Erasmus gave Spalatin some *Axiomata* 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, odium bonarum literarum, et affectatio tyrannidis. Modus agendi fonti respondet clamoribus, conjurationibus, acerbis odiis, virulentis scriptis. Personae, per quas res agitur, suspectae.—Quod Pontificis facilitate quidam abutuntur, notum est.—Res ad majus discrimen spectat, quam quidam existimant. Bullae saevitia probos omnes offendit, ut indigna mitissimo Christi vicario.—Lutherus videtur omnibus aequis aequum petere, cum offerat se disputationi publicae, et submittat se iudicibus non suspectis.—Lutherus nihil ambit, ideo*

gation. Miltitz's fresh attempt at reconciliation in Lichtenberg (11th October, 1520),⁶⁸ only resulted in Luther's sending to the Pope a letter full of bitter truth,⁶⁹ together with his work *De Libertate Christiana*, in which he unfolded with lofty enthusiasm the

minus suspectus.—Videtur in rem Pontificis, ut res per graves et non suspectos viros maturo consilio componatur: ita optime consulatur Pontificis dignitati. Qui haetenus scripserunt contra Lutherum, improbantur etiam a theologis, qui alias Lutherum adversantur. Mundus sitit veritatem evangelicam et fatali quodam desiderio videtur huc 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. 375; *Wirz Neuere Helvet. Kirchengesch.* i. 185), and is accordingly adopted into *Zwinglii Opp. ed. Schuler et Schulthess*, iii. 1: however, this is certainly an error. The whole style is that of Erasmus: it agrees with his proposals elsewhere (compare *Erasmi Ep. ad Peutingerum*, d. 9. Nov., 1520, *Ed. Lugd.* iii. 1, 590, Note 94, below): at the conclusion, the author says he had written—a summis principibus et profanis et ecclesiasticis invitatus, which agrees only with the view that Erasmus is the writer. The conjecture, in *Zwinglii Opp. l. c. p. 2*, is equally erroneous, that the *Apologia Christi Dom. nostri pro M. Lutherum ad urbem Romam*, which likewise belongs to this period (see *Kapp's Nachlese*, ii. 486), is also to be attributed to Zwingli, because it is found in one edition appended to that *Consilium*. It is by Hutten (*Kapp, ibid.* s. 497).

⁶⁸ See on this point Miltitz'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 Miltitz, dated back to the 6th September, *de Wette*, i. 497. Among other things: Quare, optime Leo, his me literis rogo expurgatum admittas, tibi que persuadeas, me nihil unquam de persona tua mali cogitasse: deinde me talem esse, qui tibi optima velim contingere in aeternum.—Sedem autem tuam, quae Curia Romana dicitur, quam neque tu neque ullus hominum potest negare corruptiorem esse quavis Babyloae et Sodoma,—sane detestatus sum, indigneque tibi, sub tuo nomine et praetextu Romanae Ecclesiae Iudi Christi populum: atque ita restiti, resistamque, dum spiritus fidei in me vixerit.—Facta est e Rom. Ecclesia, quondam 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 Ezechiele inter scorpiones habitas. Quid his monstris unus opponas? Adde tibi eruditissimos et optimos Cardinales tres aut quatuor, quid hi inter tantos? ante veneno omnibus pereundum vobis, quam de remedio statuere praesumeritis. Actum est de Romana Curia, pervenit in eam ira Dei usque in finem.—Palinodiam ut canam, b. P., non est quod ullus praesumat, nisi malit adhuc majore turbine causam involvere. Deinde leges interpretandi verbi Dei non patior, cum oporteat verbum Dei esse non alligatum, quod libertatem docet omnium aliorum. His duobus salvus nihil est, quod non facere et pati possim, ac libentissime velim. Contentiones odi, neminem provocabo, sed provocari rursus nolo: provocatus autem Christo magistro elinguis non ero. Poterit enim T. B. brevi et facili verbo, contentionibus istis ad se vocatis et extinctis, silentium et pacem utrinque mandare, id quod semper audire desideravi. When Miltitz sent a copy of this letter to Wilib. Pirckheimer, he wrote to him (*Erfurt*, Friday after Martinmas, 1520, in *Riederer's Nachrichten*, i. 170): "Es gehet uber 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.⁷⁰ But as the publication of the bull was still continued, he declared it to be a work of antichrist,⁷¹ renewed his appeal to a general council, and at length on the 10th December, 1520,⁷² 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. 1206): Constat, nullam prorsus rerum externarum, quocunque eenseanter 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: quodnam est verbum hoc, aut qua arte utendum est eo, cum tam multa sint verba Dei? Respondeo: Apostolus Paulus Rom. i. id explicat, scil. Evangelium Dei de Filio suo incarnato, passo, resuscitato, et glorificato per Spiritum sanctificatorem.—Fides sola est salutaris et efficax usus verbi Dei.—Verum haec fides subsistere prorsus non potest cum operibus, h. e. si per opera, quaecumque sunt, simul justificari praesumas.—Quare cujuslibet Christiani prima cura esse debet, ut posita operum opinione solam fidem magis ac magis roboret.—Haec est Christiana illa libertas, fides nostra, quae facit, non ut otiosi simus, aut male vivamus, sed ne cuiquam opus sit lege aut operibus ad justitiam et salutem. Haec prima fidei virtus esto, alteram quoque videamus. 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, sicut sponsam cum sponso.—Sequitur et omnia eorum communia fieri tam bona quam mala: fiet, ut Christi sint peccata, mors et infernus, animae vero gratia, vita et salus.—Bona opera non faciunt bonum virum, sed bonus vir facit bona opera; ita ut semper oporteat ipsam substantiam seu personam esse bonam ante omnia opera bona, et opera bona sequi et provenire ex bona persona.

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 Lügenger (liar) himself could invent, and that, if it cost a thousand necks, they must all come to it." Early in November appeared the work *Adversus execrabilem Antichristi Bullam*. T. ii. Jen. fol. 286, b.; in January, 1521: *Assertio omnium Articulorum M. Lutheri 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 unrechtlich verdammt worden," in Walch, xv. 1752 (he gives his opinion on this point against Spalatin, 21st January, in de Wette, i. 545: *vernacula Assertio melior est, quam sit latina*).

⁷² On the 17th November, 1520, T. ii. Jen. fol. 257. First he repeats the former Appeal (see note 30), then he renews it by appealing—ad futurum Concilium a praedicto Leone, primum tanquam ab iniquo, temerario, tyrannicoque iudice, in hoc quod me non convictum nec ostensis causis aut informationibus mera potestate iudicat. Secundo tanquam ab erroneo, indurato, per Scripturas sanctas damnato haeretico et apostata, in hoc quod mihi mandat fidem catholicam in Sacramentis necessariam abnegare. Tertio tanquam ab hoste, adversario, Antichristo, oppressore totius sacrae Scripturae, in hoc quod propriis, meris, nudisque verbis suis agit contra verba divinae Scripturae sibi adducta. Quarto tanquam a blasphemio, superbo contemptore Ecclesiae Dei, et legitimi Concilii.—Quocirca ero suppliciter—Carolus Imp., Electores Imperii,—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 sympathy; 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 Concilii, mihi meaeque appellationi adhaerere, Papae incredibilem insaniam aversari, tyrannidi ejus impiissimae resistere, aut saltem quiescere, et bullae ejusmodi executionem omittere et differre, donec legitime vocatus, per aequos judices auditus, et Scripturis dignisque documentis convictus fuero. See Carlstadt's Appeal of the 19th October, 1520, in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, 1719, s. 5 ff.

⁷³ See *Exustionis Antichristianarum Decretalium Acta*, T. ii. Jen. fol. 320. He threw the bull into the fire with the words: quia tu conturbasti sanctum Domini, ideoque te conturbet ignis aeternus. And he declared to his hearers on the next day at his lecture—*nisi toto corde dissentiat a regno Papali, non potestis assequi vestrarum animarum salutem*. Soon after appeared Luther's work: *Quare Pontificis Romani et discipulorum ejus libri a Doctore M. Luthero combusti sint*, Latin and German, T. ii. Jen. fol. 316, b. Walch, xv. 1927.

⁷⁴ In Bzovius ad h. a. Pfaff *Hist. Theol. Literaria*, T. ii. p. 55. *Gerdesii Hist. Reform.*, 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 Aleander and his hatred of the Germans, see the accounts of the contemporary, Jacobus Ziegler, in *Schellhornii Amoenitates Hist. Eccl. et Liter.*, ii. 351. His speech before the diet of the Empire is abridged in *Seckendorf, Comm. de Lutheranism*, p. 149; compare especially the *Geschichte der Nunciatur Hier. Aleander's auf dem Reichstage zu Worms 1521*, in *Münters Vermischte Beytrage zur Kirchengeschichte*, Copenh., 1798; s. 48 ff., with extracts from Aleander's dispatches 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 examples of his heaven-sent courage, in *de Wette*, i. 534, 548, 573 ff. From Franefort he wrote to Spalatin, who was then at Worms, 14th April, s. 586: *Venimus, mi Spalatine etsi nou uno morbo me Satan impedire molitus sit. Tota enim hac via ab Isenaco usque huc langui (compare Myeonii Hist. Reform., published by Cyprian, s. 38), 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 evulgatum intelligo. Verum Christus vivit, et intrabimus Wormatiam invitis omnibus portis inferni et potestatibus aëris*.

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 empire⁸⁰ followed against him and his adherents on

bus, et Imperii Ordinibus in Comitibus Principum Wormatiæ, 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, s. 13 ff., and Spalatin's Annalen, s. 38 ff. Compare also Luther's own account in the Table Talk, Walch, xxii. 2026. There is nothing extraordinary in the fact that Luther, when unconditionally required to revoke the contents of 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 Vestra et Dominationes Vestrae dignentur animum advertere, libros meos non esse omnes ejusdem generis. Sunt enim aliqui, in quibus pietatem fidei et morum adeo simpliciter et evangelice traetavi, ut ipsimet adversarii cogantur eos confiteri utiles, innoxios, et plane dignos lectione Christiana. Si itaque hos revocare inciperem, obsecro quid facerem, nisi quod unus ex omnibus mortalibus eam veritatem damnarem, quam amici et inimici pariter confitentur? Alterum genus est, quod in Papatum et doctrinam Papistarum invehitur, tanquam in eos, qui suis et doctrinis et exemplis pessimis orbem Christianum utroque malo, et spiritus et corporis, vastaverint. Si igitur et hos revocavero, nihil aliud praestitero, quam ut tyrannidi robur adjecero, et tantae impietati jam non fenestras, sed valvas aperuero:—praesertim si jactatum fuerit, id a me factum auctoritate Serenissimae Majestatis Vestrae, 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 fuisse acerbiorum, quam pro religione aut professione deceat. Neque enim me sanctum aliquid facio, neque de vita mea, sed de doctrina Christi disputo. Neque hos revocare integrum est mihi, quod ea revocatione iterum futurum sit, ut tyrannis et impietas meo patrocinio regnent et saeviant in populum Dei violentius, quam unquam regnaverint. Then he demanded an examination of his doctrine: paratissimus enim ero, si edoctus fuero, quemcunque errorem revocare, eroque primus, qui libellos meos in ignem projiciam. When it was now indicated to him that here there would be no disputation, but that he had only to declare simply whether he would recant or not; he replied: *Quando ergo Ser. Majestas Vestra, Dominationesque Vestrae simplex responsum petunt, dabo illud neque cornutum, neque dentatum, in hunc modum: Nisi convictus fuero testimoniis Scripturarum, aut ratione evidente (nam neque Papae, neque Conciliis solis credo, cum constet eos errasse saepius, et sibi ipsis contradixisse): victus sum Scripturis a me adductis, captaque est conscientia in verbis Dei, revocare neque possum, neque volo quidquam, eum contra conscientiam acre neque tutum sit neque integrum. *Hic stehe 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. s. 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 France, 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 Gerdessii Hist. Reform. ii. Monum., p. 34), 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.⁸¹ 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 Reformationzeit*, s. 1), was drawn up by Alexander (Pallavicini, lib. i. c. 28. Münter's *Beytrage 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. (*Ranke's Fürsten u. Völker von Südeuropa im 16ten u. 17ten Jahrh. Bd. 2, s. 87*): *Carlò, si excusò di non poter procedere piu oltre rispetto al salvocondotto, ma la verità fu che conoscendo, che il Papa temeva molto di questa dottrina di Luthero, lo volle tenere con questo freno.* *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 tragoediae ut quidam volunt finem, ut egomet mihi persuadeo, non finem sed initium. Nam video Germanorum animos graviter in sedem Romanam concitatos, nec video Caesaris edicta magni ponderis apud eos futura, quum post editionem Lutheri libri passim per vicos et plateas impune vendantur. Hinc facile conjectare poteris, quid absente Caesare futurum sit.* Erasmus, on the other hand, wrote to Peter Barbirius, 26th June, 1521 (*Lib. xv. Ep. 4*): *Lutheri tragoedia peracta est apud nos, atque utinam nunquam prodisset in theatrum: tantum hoc vererentur quidam, ne cupide vitata Scylla deferamur in Charybdim, et haec victoria quidam crudelius abutantur, quam expediat rei Christianae.*

⁸¹ Luther to Spalatin 14th May, in de Wette, ii. 5. Spalatin's *Annales*, s. 50. *Matthesius' 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. 28, 4. Münter's *Beytrage 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. 88: *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.*

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.⁸² At Wittenberg the alteration of the constitution of the church, according to the new principles, was forthwith commenced,⁸³ 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 Strobel's *Neue Beyträge*, iv. 1. 16 ff. At Constance the citizens hindered the execution of the edict of Worms by threats; see John of Botzheim 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. 2355. 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's Opp. ed. Bretschneider, 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* (P. 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 Thüringia, which met at Wittenberg at the end of the year 1521) *De libertate Monachorum Sententia* (T. ii. Jen. fol. 470, b.): *Primo, permittimus omnibus vel manere in monastica, vel deserere monasticen; 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 rulgatis ritibus Monachorum utantur, qui in nostris congregationibus vivunt, ut omnibus omnia fiamus Pauli exemplo, I Cor. ix. Tertio, sed ita moderemur caeremonias, tum utendo, tum abrogando, necubi vel fides cujusquam laedatur, vel in caritatem peccetur. Non est enim regnum Dei esca et potus, sed justitia, pax et gaudium in Spiritu sancto. Quarto, mendicitatem interdicimus, quam toties vetuit Scriptura, I Thes. iii. cum silentio operantes manducant panem suum. Interdicimus et Missis votivis, quando et ab omni specie mala abstinere nos Apostolus voluit. Quinto, quantum fieri potest, in Congregationibus nostris delignantur qui sint opti ad docendum verbum Dei, publice aut privatim: reliqui victum parent fratribus opera manuarum, quae forma fuit veterum Monasteriorum. Sexto, quia moderari caeremonias et ritus omnes per ratione temporum ac personarum visum est, volumus, ut Superioribus suis pareant 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 Grimma, at Whitsuntide, 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. Melancthon's Opp. ed. Bretschneider, i. 418). Carlstadt wrote *De Coelibatu, Monachatu et Viduitate* (Preface, 29th June, 1521, 4.), to prove the non-obligation of priest's celibacy and monastic vows. The marriage of Bartholomew Bernhardt 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 Reformationis matrimonium inierunt, nequitiam, 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 Cembergensis, qui nuper suae Ecclesiae consensu uxorem duxit, 1522.* 8. probably composed by Melancthon (also T. ii. Jen. fol. 438, b. Melancthonis 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 haughty 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."

⁸⁴ Three similar editions appeared in 1521, one in 4to, two in 8vo. This first edition was reprinted in H. v. d. Hardt, *Hist. Lit. Reform.*, p. iv. p. 28 seq. denno ed. J. Chr. Gu. Augusti. Lips. 1821. 8. G. Th. Strobel's *Litterargeschichte von Ph. M. Locis Theologicis, Altdorf u. Nürnberg, 1776.* 8.

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.⁸⁵ Not long after Carlstadt joined in these proceedings.⁸⁶ 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.⁸⁷ Only the Reformer

⁸⁵ See the letters of the Senate of the Academy to the Elector, of the 3d and 5th December, in Melancth. Opp. ed. Bretschneider, i. 487 seq.: where also the acts which follow are given most completely.

⁸⁶ Carlstadt gave notice on the Sunday before Christmas, in the Cathedral Church (Bretschneider, i. 512): "dass er auf das künftige Fest circumcisionis domini—offenbarlichen 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 seyn Kasel, Alben oder Chorrock zu genannter Mess anzuziehen."

⁸⁷ Compare on this point Spalatin's account in Schneider's Bibliothek der Kirchengesch. II. iii., partly reprinted also in Bretschneider, i. 533 seq. On the former proceedings in Zwickau, see Leben, Schriften, und Lehren Thomae Müntzers, 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. Hist. Gesch. der Wiedertäufer. Münster, 1836, s. 20. Melancthon gives the following account to the Electoral Commissaries v. Einsiedeln and Spalatin at Lichtenberg (Schneider, ii. 117; Bretschneider, i. 533): "Es sind in die Jo. Evangelistae (27 Dec.) zu mir zu Wittenberg kumen Claus Storek mit zweyen seiner Gesellen, mir angezeigt, wie sich etlich Empörung erhoben zu Zwickau, und sonderlich von wegen baptismi parvulorum und fidei alienae, und sich auf Doctorem Martinum berufen. Hab darnach insonderheit gehört einen unter den dreien, genannt Marcus Thomae, der mir gesagt, wie dass er, dergleichen auch Storek, senderliche und gewisse und offenbare Gespräch mit Gott habe, doch nyndert 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. Zwickavia excitatae sint. Sunt et illie in vincula conjecti, qui nescio quae novarunt. Ex horum motuum auctoribus huc advolarunt tres viri, duo lanifices, literarum rudes, literatus tertius est. Audivi eos. Mira sunt, quae de sese predicant; missos se clara voce Dei ad docendum, esse sibi cum Deo familiaria colloquia, videre futura, breviter, viros esse propheticos et apostolicos. Quibus ego quomodo commovear, non facile dixerim. Magnis rationibus adducor certe, ut contenti eos nolum. Nam esse in eis spiritus quosdam multis argumentis adparet, sed de quibus judicare praeter Martinum nemo facile possit. Proinde cum vertatur hic evangelii periculum, ecclesiae gloria et pax, modis omnibus efficiendum est, ut his hominibus Martini 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, ii. 119; Bretschn. i. 534): "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

solchen Schein weitere Beschwerden möchten vorgenommen werden. Diese Quaestiones aber de baptismo haben mich meines Bedünkens billig bewegt." (A little before: "Es haben Augustinus und derselbigen Zeit 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 Amsdorf by the Commissaries, that it was advisable they should not mix with the people; for it "wäre zu besorgen, ihr Vorgeben wäre mehr eine Verführung, denn ein Bestand in Wahrheit, weil sie von den Hauptsachern der Empörung und Aufruhr zu Zwickau seyn sollten, und zu fürchten,—sie möchten zu Wittenberg auch Empörung anrichten." Among the articles thus agitated at Zwickau was the baptism of infant children: "als nämlich, dass etliche zweifeln, ob der Glaube der Pathen dem Kind zu der Tauf behülflich; etliche verneinten, ohne den Glauben selig zu werden. Etliche geben an, als wäre die göttliche Schrift zur Lehre der Menschen unkräftig: denn der Mensch müsst allein durch den Geist gelernt werden. Denn hätt Gott den Menschen mit Geschrift wollen gelernt haben, so hätt er uns vom Himmel herab ein Biblien gesandt. Item für die Todten wäre nicht zu bitten, und andere grausame Unart, die der Stadt Zwickau einen unchristlichen Piekardischen Namen machten." 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 zweifele:" this only was suspicious, "dass die Leut zu Empörung geneigt, und zu Wittenberg auch Aufruhr möchten 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 Storeh and Marcus Thomaë, and two students, Marcus Stübner and Martin Cellarius, now continued to work at Wittenberg, and won over Carlstadt especially to their side: who also had been married 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 placeret, eos denuo baptismi initiandos esse.—Nihil recte et debito modo fieri gerique uspiam perhibebant, quod summa rerum esset penes malos.—Atque decrevisse Deum extinguere istud genus et sufficere alterum innocentia justitiæque et sanctitate præditum. Ad ejus exordium atque incrementa docere necessariam esse curam et diligentiam in procreanda sobole. Et ideo neminem ducere uxorem debere, ex qua non sciret se liberos pios, et gratos aeterno Deo, et ad communionem regni coelestis electos suscepturum esse. Id autem non aliter quam ipso Deo patefaciente sciri posse. Et jaetabatur præceptum donum Dei in illis coetibus prædictionis eventuum futurorum, et arcanorum judicii, ejus eximiae et salutaris rei in veritate nomen est graecum Prophetia. Compertum autem est, multis horum per quietem somni mirabilia visa, et species quasdam vigilantibus etiam aliquibus, sed paucis, oblatas esse. Cognitum etiam est, fuisse in coetu isto foeminas vaticinantes.—Et hoc erat in legibus istorum, ne quis in otio liberali bonis artibus et literis operam daret, neu aliunde scientiæ cognitionisque facultatem quaereret, quam ab aeterni Dei benignitate, cui adjumentis humanis nihil esset opus. According to the *Zeitung aus Wittenberg*, written in the middle of January (Strobel's *Miscellaneen*, 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 baptism of infants, as now administered, before they have reason, is no baptism." At Wittenberg 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,⁸⁸ 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. (Bretsch. 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 (Bretsch. i. 548); they taught, for instance (p. 548), "dass die Gemeine wohl Macht habe, in Nachlassigkeit der Oberkeit aus einem Mitleiden und Liebe Ichts (etwas) vorzunehmen," 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 sust, 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. 553): "Der Bilde halben haben wir beschlossen auf dem Rathhaus, dass sie sollen durch die Obrigkeit, welcher allein es anstehet, eignet und gebühret, abgethan 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. Frochel, 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 Carstadt 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 handicraftsmen, 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 Melancthon, 13th Jan., 1522 (de Wette, ii. 125): Venio ad Prophetas, ac primum non probo tuam timiditatem, cum et majori tam spiritu quam eruditione polleas, quam ego. Ae primum, cum testimonium perhibeant de se ipsis, non statim audiendi sunt; sed juxta consilium Joannis, spiritus probandi. Habetis consilium Gamalielis differendi: nihil enim adhuc audio ab

sinking into a destructive fanaticism. He suddenly came forth from his seclusion, in March, 1522;⁸⁹ his powerful preaching frightened away the false prophets, and quieted men's minds.⁹⁰

cis diei et fieri, quod Satanus non queat preestare vel aemulari. 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 eruentet in prophetis illis novis Cygnaeis.* 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 desery among you any love at all," etc.

⁸⁹ On the journey he wrote to the Elector, who had warned him against it (Melanchth. Epist. ed. Bretschneider, i. 559), on the 5th 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 Georges, 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 Wittemberg, see the true-hearted account of one of them, John Kessler, in the original in J. J. Berner's *Joh. Kessler genannt Ahenarius, Burger und Reformator zu St. Gallen.* St. Gallen, 1826. 8. s. 27.

⁹⁰ Luther arrived at Wittenberg on Friday the 7th of March, and preached every day from the Sunday *Invocavit* to *Remiscere* (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,⁹¹ 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.⁹²

62 ff. Luther wrote to Gaspar Güttel, 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 displicet in solis ceremoniis et externis faciebus laborasse eum, neglecta interim vera doctrina Christiana h. e. fide et charitate. Nam sua inepta docendi ratione eo populum perduxerat, ut sese 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 (*zum Kreuz*). 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 Marcus Stübner, Martin Cellarius, and a third to his presence (Camerarius in Vita Melanchth. § 15): Audivit Lutherus placide narrantem Mareum sua. Cum dicendi finem fecisset, nihil contra illa adeo absurda et futilia disserendum ratus Lutherus hoc modo monuit: viderent, quid agerent. *Nihil eorum, quae commemorassent, sacris literis niti, commentaque esse cogitationum curiosarum, aut etiam fallacis et fraudulentis spiritus delirans et perniciosas subjectiones.* Ibi Cellarius et voce et gestibus vesanis, cum et solum pedibus, et propositam mensulam manibus feriret, exclamare et indignari, ausum esse Lutherum suspicari tale aliquid de divino homine. At Marcus paulo sedatior, ut scias, inquit, Luthere, me spiritus Dei praeditum esse, ego, quid in animo tuo conceperis, sum indicaturus, idque est: *te incipere inclinari ad haec, ut meam doctrinam veram esse credas.* Cum Lutherus, ut ipse postea dixit, istam dedita opera sententiam cogitando esset complexus: *inccepit te Deus, Satana.* Post haec plus verborum faciendum Lutherus non putavit, et minantes gloriantesque eos dimisit.—Eo die oppido illi excesserunt, et Chembergo—litteras plenas maledictis 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 (l. c. 245).

⁹¹ 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 1532 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. Lucke's kurzgefasste Gesch. d. Luther. Bibelübersetzung, in the Zeitschrift für gebildete Christen der evangel. Kirche, 3tes Heft (Elberfeld, 1823), 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, 1835. 8 (vgl. Jen. A. L. Z. Marz, 1836, s. 321). Grotensend über D. M. Luther's Verdienste um die Ausbildung der hochdeutschen Schriftsprache in the Abhandlungen des Frankfurter Gelehrten-Vereins für teutsche Sprache. St. 1 (Frankf., 1818), s. 24 ff.

⁹² Coehlaeus, De Actis et Scriptis M. Lutheri ad ann. 1522, fol. 50, b.: mirum in modum multiplicabatur per chalcographos novum Testamentum Lutheri, ut etiam sutores, et mulieres, et quilibet idiotae, qui theutonicas literas utcuque didicerant, novum illud

Hadrian VI., a pious and strict man,⁹³ who mounted the papal

Testamentum, tanquam fontem omnis veritatis, avidissime legerent, quicumque Lutherani erant, illudque saepe legendo memoriae commendarent, in sinu secum portantes codicem. Ex quo tantam intra paucos menses sibi doctrinam arrogabant, 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 erubescerent. Quin immo repertae sunt mulierculae, quae propositis thematis editisque libellis theutonicis ausae fuerint ultro provocare, et quidem procacissime insultantes, ignorantiamque improperantes et contemptui habentes viros, non modo laicos atque privatos homines, verum etiam quoslibet Doctores et Licentiatos totius facultatis theologicae, ac totas etiam Universitates, id quod de Argula, nobili quadam muliere, compertum habetur (compare Lipowsky Argula v. Grumbach geb. Freien 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 statu conservandas; factum est, ut turba Lutherana longe plus operae impenderit discendis sacris literis ita translatis, quam impendit populus Catholicorum, ubi Laici eam curam potissime in sacerdotes et Monachos rejiciebant. Unde contigit nonnunquam, a laicis Lutheranis plures scripturae locos ex tempore citari in colloquiis, quam citarentur a presbyteris et Monachis catholicis. At jam dudum persuaserat Lutherus turbis suis, nullis dictis habendam esse fidem, nisi quae ex sacris literis proferrentur. Ilcirco reputabantur Catholici ab illis ignari scripturarum, etiamsi eruditissimi essent theologi. Quinetiam palam aliquando coram multitudine contradicebant eis Laici aliqui, tanquam mera pro concione dixerint mendacia aut figmenta hominum. Accedebant et alia incommoda. Nam cum antiqui theologi multis retro annis peritiam linguarum et politiores literas neglexissent; Lutherus mox ab initio per Philippum Melancthonem, et per Zuinglium, Oecolampadiumque 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 exultam, in partem suam traxit. Jvenes vero et ingenio alacres, et laborum patientes mox in sacris literis (quibus Lutherus unicuique tribuebat sensum, et eum solummodo literalem) ita profecerunt literaliter, ut vel XXX annorum theologi tam prompti in citandis scripturae locis non viderentur, quam erant illi. Qui et de peritia linguarum et de styli elegantia superbi- entes, mox quoslibet veteris farinae theologos non solum contemnere, verum etiam provocare coeperunt, maxime, quando ad populum verba faciebant. Quod si quis novitatibus eorum contradiceret, mox praetendebant lectionem graecam vel hebraicam, aut aliquem ex vetustissimis auctoribus, et confestim plenis convitiis plaustris invehebantur in graecarum et hebraicarum literarum ignaros theologos, quos odiose sophistas, asinos, porcos, animalia ventris, et inutilia pondera terrae vocitabant, superaddentes etiam ronchos et cachinnos immodestissime. Ac unum Lutherum, velut verum theologum populo commendantes, ejus adversarios velut ignaros, immo hostes veritatis, et ob alimoniam sibi praecisam aut imminutam Luthero invidentes, invidiosissime tradebant.

⁹³ He had taught the fallibility of the Pope in his *Comm. in libr. quartum Sententiarum* (reprinted, Romae, 1522, fol.). *Quaest. de sacra confirm.* certum est, quod (Pontifex) 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 historica de Hadr. VI. Traj. ad. Rhen., 1727. 4. p. 447): qui sane tam rudes ac palpabiles haereses mihi prae se ferre videntur, ut ne discipulus quidem theologiae, ac prima ejus limina ingressus, ita labi merito potuisset.—Miror valde, quod homo tam manifeste, tamque pertinaciter in fide errans, et suas haereses somniaque diffundens, impune errare, et alios in perniciosissimos 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

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),⁹⁴ only resulted in

would necessarily be strengthened by the letter of Wilibald Pirckheimer addressed to him (Pirckheimeri Opp., ed. Conr. Ritterhusius, p. 372; Gerdessii 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. 834; 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 worthy 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 (Bermannus, p. 501: *centum locos colligam ex Paulinis epistolis qui congruunt 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 Chiericati (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 only for the remission of church-penalties. See Pallavicini, lib. ii. c. 4.

⁹⁴ The legate, Francis Chiericati, 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 Plaunitz 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 Luther 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 ingenua fateri, quod Deus hanc persecutionem Ecclesiae suae inferre permittit propter peccata hominum, maxime sacerdotum et Ecclesiae Praelatorum.*—*Scimus, in hac sancta sede aliquot jam annis multa abominanda fuisse, abusus in spiritualibus, excessus in mandatis, et omnia denique in peruersum mutata: nec mirum, si aegritudo a capite in membra a summis Pontificibus in alios inferiores Praelatos descenderit. Omnes nos, i. e. Praelati et ecclesiastici declinavimus unusquisque in vias suas, nec fuit jam diu, qui faceret bonum, non fuit usque ad unum: quamobrem necesse est, ut omnes demus gloriam Deo, et humiliemus animas nostras ei, videatque unusquisque nostrum unde ceciderit, et se potius quilibet iudicet, quam a Deo in virga furoris sui iudicari velit. Qua in re quod ad nos attinet, pollicemur nos omnem operam adhibebituros, ut primum Curia haec, unde forte hoc malum processit, reformetur; ut sicut inde corruptio in omnes inferiores emanavit, ita etiam ab eadem sanitas et reformatio omnium emanet.*—*Quantum nemo mirari debet, si non statim omnia errata et abusus omnes per nos emendatos viderit: inveteratus nimium*

a new and importunate demand for the redress of the oft-repeated grievances of the German nation.⁹⁵ For the first attempts at reform

morbus est, nec simplex, sed varius et multiplex; pedetentim in ejus cura procedendum est, et prius gravioribus magisque periculosis occurrendum, ne omnia pariter reformari volentes omnia perturbemus.—Quod autem ultimis literis suis scribis, questos fuisse Principes istos, quod Concordatis eorum per hanc sedem derogatum sit; dices, nos de his, quae ante nos facta fuere, culpari nec posse, nec debere, nobisque ejusmodi derogationes, etiam dum in minoribus essemus, semper displicisse. Proinde nobis certissimam sententiam esse, etiamsi ipsi non requirent, illis nostri Pontificatus tempore penitus abstinere, partim, ut unicuique jus suum servemus, partim quia aequitas et humanitas exposcit, ut inclytam nationem nostram non solum non offendamus, sed etiam peculiare ei favores impendamus. De processibus vero, quos a Rota vocari, et ad partes remitti postulant, dices, nos cupere eis in hoc gratificari quantum honeste possimus; sed propter absentiam auditorum ab urbe pestis gratia, non posse nos de qualitate et habitudine ipsorum processuum ad praesens informari; reversis vero illis—facturos in gratiam ditorum Principum quicquid rationabiliter poterimus.—Item quia intelleximus, in Germania esse multos bonos et doctos viros pauperes, aliqua etiam praeclara ingenia, quae ex indignitate apostolicarum provisionum, histrionibus et stabulariis potius quam viris doctis fieri solitarum, a sedis hujus devotione aversa; cupimus, ut inquiras, quinam illi sint, eorumque nomina ad nos transmittas, ut occurrente beneficiorum Germanicorum vacatione, illos proprio motu providere possimus. Scimus enim, quantum Dei honori, et animarum saluti ac aedificationi obfuerit, quod jam diu beneficia ecclesiastica, maxime curam et regimen animarum habentia, data fuerunt hominibus indignis. Pirekheimer wrote on this point to Erasmus (Strobel's Vermischte Beytrage zur Gesch. d. Literatur Nürnberg, 1775, s. 165): Pollicetur multa, quae utinam velit, et quum velit, possit, et quum possit, re exequatur, quod multis impossibile videtur. In the letter to the German princes, which the legate brought with him (Raynald, 1522, no. 60, and Lutheri Opp. T. ii. Jen. lat. fol. 536, b.), he complains that the edict of Worms was not observed, and exhorts them to carry it into execution, with a reference to the treatment of earlier heretics, e. g. Huss at Constance. In order to produce a greater impression, he suggests the political dangers of the Lutheran heresy: An putatis, alio tendere istos iniquitatis filios, quam ut libertatis nomine omni obedientia sublata, quod cuique liberit facienda licentiam inducant? An ullius pensis iussa et leges vestras habituros creditis, qui sacros canones et Patrum decreta—non solum vilipendent, sed etiam diabolicae rabie lacerare et comburere non verentur? An denique vestris cervicibus parsuros, qui non tangendos Christos Domini contemere, caedere, trucidare ausi sunt? In vos, in vestras res, domos, uxores, liberos, ditiones, dominatus, templa, quae colitis, haec miseranda calamitas tendit, nisi mature obviam eatis! At the same time he addressed a violent letter to the Elector Frederick (Raynald, l. c. no. 73 ss.); and, besides this, letters to the town-councils of Bamberg (which Luther published with notes, T. ii. Jen. lat. fol. 538, b.), of Breslau (see Fibiger's ingerissenes Lutherthum), of Constance (Füssli's Beytrage zur Reformationsgesch. iv. 223), to Henry, Duke of Mecklenburg (Riederer's Nachrichten, iv. 202), and undoubtedly others to the separate Estates which have not been divulged.

⁹⁵ The answer of the Estates to the Pope may be seen in Latin in Goldast Constitutt. Imperial. i. 452, in German in F. Hortleder Von den Ursachen des Deutschen Krieges, i. 9, and Waleh, xv. 2550 (compare Ranke, Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter d. Ref. ii. 52 ff.): Quod sedis Apostolicae sententia in Lutherum lata, simulque Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis edictum non sit debitae executioni demandatum, non sine maximis, urgentissimisque rationibus, utputa ne peiora inde causarentur, etc., hactenus praetermissum est. Majori namque populi parti jam pridem persuasum est, et modo Lutheranis libris ac dogmatibus populorum opinio sic informata, ut jam pro comperto habeant, Nationi Germanicae 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).⁹⁶ His successor, Clement VII., immediately

jestatis edicti quidpiam acerbis attentatum esset, mox popularis multitudo sibi hanc suspicionem animo concepisset, ac si talia fiebant pro evertenda evangelica veritate, et sustinendis manutenuendisque malis abusibus impietatibusque. Unde indubie nihil aliud quam gravissimi tumultus populares, intestinaque bella speranda essent, quemadmodum ex multis ac variis rerum argumentis Principes aliique Ordines jam plane didicere et cognovere. Oportunioribus itaque remediis his malis, in hac potissimum temporum difficultate, succurrendum esse existimant. Then the Pope's promises were highly praised. Nam nisi istiusmodi abusus et gravamina, simulque *certi Articuli, quos saeculares Principes juxta haec specialiter designatos scriptis exhibebunt, fideliter reformarentur*, vera pax et concordia inter ecclesiasticos saecularesque Ordines, hujusque tumultus et errorum extirpatio per Germaniam minime speranda est. Then they pray for the abolition of the annates, asserting, Principes Germaniae in solutionem Annatarum ad aliquot annos sedi Apostolicae solvendarum ea lege ac conditione consensisse, ut illa in oppugnationem perfidissimi Turcae, et defensionem fidei Catholicae converterentur. But that time had long since passed, and this purpose was never regarded. They propose, as the best means of allaying all disturbances, quod Beatitudo Pontificis, accedente ad haec Sacrae Caesareae Majestatis consensu, liberum Christianum Concilium ad locum convenientem in Natione Germanica, quanto ocius et celerius quoad fieri possit, videlicet vel in Argentoratum, vel Moguntiam, Coloniam Agrippinam, vel ad civitatem Metensem, vel alium convenientem locum in Germania indiceret: nec ultra unius anni spatium (si possibile foret) haec Concilii convocatio et designatio differretur, et quod in tali Concilio eis qui interesse debent Ecclesiastici vel laicalis ordinis, non obstantibus quibuscunque juramentis et obligationibus, libere liceret loqui et consulere pro gloria summi Dei, et salute animarum, proque republica Christiana, absque aliquo impedimento; quinimo quilibet ad haec debeat esse obnoxius, etc. Till this could be brought about, a check should be placed upon innovating letters and sermons. The legate, in his reply (Goldast, l. c. 455), expressed himself as much dissatisfied with this answer, but he received a curt dismissal (l. c. 456): Quamvis Principes, et reliqui ordines Germanicae nationis iterum pro verbis verba dare potuissent, quum tamen aliis magis necessariis occupati essent, Pontificum oratorem priori responsione contentum esse jusserunt; donec gravamina nationis Germanicae summo Pontifici transmissa forent, ac inde manifestum fieret, num verba ejus tam blanda, facta etiam debita secutura essent. In the composition of the *Gravamina*, those of Worms (see Note 76) were the ground-work; these were only to be brought into a more convenient form. They were to have been given to the legate, as is expressly stated in the preface (in Georgi, p. 366); and this would have been done, si non praeter omnium expectationem abitionem suam hinc tantopere maturasset, ac inopinato ita decessisset (see the Peroratio in Georgi, p. 500); so they had to be sent after him. Veesenmeyer (Kirchenhist. Archiv, 1824, iii. 87) erroneously asserts the contrary; for the statement in the Peroratio, which is not the work of the first editor, but of the Estates, certainly outweighs all other testimony. See these *Gravamina* in Goldast, l. c. 456; J. F. Georgii Imperatorum Nationis Germ. Gravamina adv. Sedem Romanam, Francof. et Lips., 1725. 4. p. 365. On the many Latin and German editions of them, see H. G. Franci De Gravaminibus Norimbergensibus ab Erroribus Liberatis Epist. ad J. E. Kappium, Lips., 1731. 4.

⁹⁶ The judgment of the Roman clergy with regard to these concessions made to the Germans has been preserved in Pallavicini's Hist. Conc. Trident. lib. ii. c. 6, § 8: Est pariter veritati consentanea ea ratio, quam Suavis asserit a Soderino Cardinale propositam Pontifici: emendationem Datariae, aliorumque ecclesiasticorum Romae Magistratum, haeticorum conversioni parum esse conducibilem.—Quin ex eo quod ipsorum causa emendatum fuisset, plausum auctoritatemque apud populos sibi imputatum fuisse.—Atque ita experimento compertum esse, moderatis concessionibus irritum quidem populum quandoque placari posse, perduellem non posse: adeoque perduellionis incendium

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.⁹⁷ The legate only obtained an unsatisfactory decree for the observance of the edict of Worms, as far as was possible,⁹⁸ and now endeavored, by negotiations with the separate Estates and with individuals, to obtain somewhat

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

⁹⁷ 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. 226): In conventu Wormaciae Caesaris exiisse mandatum ejus rei, de communi ipsorum consilio promulgatum:—sibi igitur videri, priusquam aliud decernatur, de modo executionis deliberandum esse.—Quantum ad ipsorum postulata pertinet, an edita sint, ut Romam deferantur, omnino se nescire: tria solum exemplaria fuisse perlata Romam ad quosdam privatim: ex iis unum sibi contigisse: Pontifici autem et Cardinalium senatui non posse persuaderi, haec a Principibus ita fuisse decreta, sed existimare, privatos homines odio reipublicae Romanae in lucem emisisse: nullum etiam ejus rei se mandatum habere: neque tamen hoc sic accipiendum esse, quasi de eo potestatem non habeat agendi: sed in iis postulatis esse multa, quae et Pontificis derogent auctoritati, et haeresim redoleant, et a se tractari non possint: alia vero, quae non adversentur Pontifici, quaeque nitantur aequitate, non se recusare, quominus de iis et cognoscat et agat: sed tamen sibi videri, moderatius multo posse proponi, si quid erga Pontificem habeant. Pirkheimer 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 a Lutheran; see Strobel's *Vermischte Beytrage zur Gesch. der Literatur, Nürnberg, 1765*, s. 98.

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 beschehen, davon gemeiner Christenheit deutscher Nation nicht kleine Beschwerde erfolgt." On the repeated demand of the Emperor, the Estates determined, "demselben unserm Mandat gehorsamlich, wie sie sich dess schuldig erkennen, so viel ihnen möglich, zu geleben, 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 rechtem wahren Verstand u. Auslegung der von gemeiner Kirchen angenommenen Lehrern ohn Aufruhr 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 *Raynald*, 1524, no. 15 ss.). The Emperor accordingly, in an edict from Burgos, 15th July (Cyprian's *Nützl. Urkunden* appended to *Tentzel's Bericht*, Th. 2, s. 304), refused the demand for a council, and required, "pei vermeidung Crimins laesae Majestatis, unser u. des Reichs Acht u. Aberacht" the observance of the edict of Worms.

more.⁹⁹ 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.¹⁰⁰ 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.¹⁰¹

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,¹⁰² John Eberlin of Günzburg,¹⁰³ Michael Stiefel from Essling-

⁹⁹ 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 Melancthi*. § 26, ed. Strobel, p. 93). 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. Epistt.*, ed. Bretschneider, i. 657), and begins with the important remark: *Fallitur mundus, cum unum hoc agi a Luthero judicat, ut publicae caeremoniae aboleantur.—Verum non de caeremoniis dimicat Lutherus, majus quoddam docet, quid intersit inter hominum justitiam et Dei justitiam.* The legate also tried to win Melancthon by means of Erasmus; see *Erasmi Ep. ad Mel. post. Nonas Sept., 1525*, in Bretschneider, i. 672.

¹⁰⁰ Ranke's *Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter d. Ref.* ii. 158. These were the Archduke Ferdinand, the Duke of Bavaria, the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishops of Trent, Ratisbon, Bamberg, Spire, Strasburg, Augsburg, Constance, Basle, Freisingen, Passau, and Brescia. The Documents of the League are in Walch, xv. 2699; best in Strobel's *Miscellaneen*, ii. 118. The *Constitutio ad removendos Abusus et Ordinatio ad Vitam Cleri reformandam*, which belongs to it, issued by Campeggio, may be seen in the *Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum et Fugendarum*, ed. E. Brown, p. 422. Goldasti *Constitt. Imperial.* iii. 478.

¹⁰¹ Even the zealous Catholic Ortuinus Gratius says of it in his *Fasciculus l. c.*: *quae sicuti pauca complectitur, ita etiam a paucis est recepta.* Lampons against it are mentioned in Strobel'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."

¹⁰² For instance, by his *Wittenbergische Nachtigal*, 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 Veesenmeyer, in the *Kirchenhist. Archiv*, 1826, iii. 249.

¹⁰³ 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,¹⁰⁴ and others,¹⁰⁵ recommended them. In many parts of northern Germany, and the adjacent countries, they obtained the ascendancy: in East Friesland from 1519;¹⁰⁶ in some towns of Pomerania,¹⁰⁷ and of Livonia,¹⁰⁸ and in Silesia,¹⁰⁹ from 1522; in Prussia¹¹⁰ and Mecklenburg¹¹¹ from 1523; in Denmark and Sweden

mildness, belong especially the 15 Bundsgenossen. Strobel's *Nachricht v. Joh. Eb. v. G. Leben n. 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 Christförmigen, rechtgegründten Lehre D. M. Luther's," and was drawn into a correspondence about it with Thomas Murner at Strasburg. 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 Beytrage*, i. 1.

¹⁰⁵ Thus Kettenbach, a barefooted friar, wrote, "Practica practieirt aus der h. Bibel, 1523. 4." See *Altdorfsches literar. Museum*, ii. 51. In the year 1524 appeared: "Ain Sermon gepredigt vom Pauren zu Werdt bey Nürnberg von dem freyen Willen des Menschen, auch von Anrufung der Heiligen," composed by Diepold Peringer, a peasant from the district of Ulm, who had preached publicly at Kitzingen and Nüremberg, and was probably also the author of the following works: "Des Christl. Pauren getreuen Rath," and "Ain schöne Anlegung über das göttlich Gebet Vater Unser, das uns Gott selbst geeret hat. Das hat betracht ein armer Bauer, n. s. w.;" see Riederer's *Nachrichten*, ii. 71.—Utz Rychsner's (Urbanus Regius) *Gesprach zwischen einem Pfaffen n. 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 Veessenmeyer, in the *Kirchenhist. Archiv*, 1826, iii. 271.—Ain schöner Dialogus von einem Lanzknecht n. Predigermünich durch Wolfgang Zierer von Salzburg; see Veessenmeyer in Illgen's *Zeitschrift f. d. hist. Theologie*, ii. 2, 257.

¹⁰⁶ Gittermann's *Reformationsgeschichte v. Ostfriesland*, in the *Kirchenhist. Archiv*, 1824, iii. 23.

¹⁰⁷ It was propagated in Treptow, from 1520, by Bugenhagen, persecuted in 1521; see Johannes Bugenhagen, by Zietz, *Leipz.*, 1829, s. 43 ff. Illgen's *Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol.* v. i. 230; and the same work, new series, I. iii. 139. Stettin received two preachers from Wittenberg, Seckendorf, i. 240, b. Christian Ketelhodt preached at Stralsund from 1522; in April, 1523, a general storm against images ensued; see Sastrowen's *Leben*, edited by Mohnike, i. 36; Joh. Berckmann's *Stralsundische Chronik*, edited by Mohnike n. Zober (Stralsund, 1833), s. 33, 259. D. C. F. Fabricius, *Die Acht u. Vierzig oder: die Einführung der Kirchenverbesserung in Stralsund*. Stralsund, 1837. 8.—(v. Medem's) *Gesch. der Einführung der evangel. Lehre im Herzogth. Pommern*. Greifswald, 1837. 8. J. G. L. Kosegarten, *De Lucis Evangelicæ in Pomerania exorientis Adversariis*. Gryphisw., 1830. 4.

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 Jägerudorf; see Rosenberg's *Reform. Gesch. v. Schlesien*. Breslau, 1767.

¹¹⁰ See § 15, Note 3, below.

¹¹¹ First at Rostock, in 1523, by Joachim Schlüter (M. Joachim Schlüter erster evang. Prediger zu Rostock, ein Beitrag zur Reformationsgesch. geschr. durch Nicolaum Grysen 1593, neu herausgegeben v. K. F. L. Arndt, Lübeck, 1832. 8), at Wismar, by Henry Möllens, in 1524, Seckendorf, i. 295, a. Sculteti *Annales Evangelii Renovati*, ad ann. 1524. D. Schröder's *Kirchenhist. des evang. Mcklenburg*. Rostock, 1788, 2 Theile, 4.

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. ausführl. Bericht der daselbst erangenen Kirehenreform.* 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. Rötger's *Magdeburg. Reformationsgeschichte.* 2te Aufl. Magdeburg, 1792. 8.

¹¹⁵ Though the Franciscans, John Eberlin (see Note 103), Henry of Kettenbach (see Veeseemeyer'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 consistency in 1524, when Conrad Sam was called in at the request of the townsmen. 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 Reformation prevailed at Heilbronn also by means of Bernhard Lachmann, 1521, who was pastor there; see C. Jäger's *Mittheilungen zur Schwäb. u. Fränk. Reformationsgesch.* Bd. 1 (Stuttgart, 1828), s. 30 ff. In Kaufbeuern the signal for the introduction of reform was given by a tinman, 8th Sept., 1524, who interrupted the priest in a sermon of extravagant commendation of the Virgin Mary with the words "Pfaff, du lögst" (Priest, thou liest); see Wagenseil's *Beitrag zur Gesch. der Reform.* Leipz. 1830, s. 2.

¹¹⁶ The efforts for reform, which had been early undertaken, received a decided character 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 approval of the Senate; see A. Jung's *Beiträge zu der Gesch. d. Reformation.* 2te Abth. *Gesch. der Reform. der Kirche in Strasburg u. dem Elsass.* Strasb. u. Leipz., 1830, 8.

¹¹⁷ Henry of Zütphen preached the reformation here from 1522–24 in the Anseharikirche; John Timann from 1524, in the church of St. Martin. In 1525 the mass was every where abolished; see Pratzje, *Bremen u. Verdische Bibliothek*, B. 1, St. 2, s. 1; H. W. Rotermund vom *Anfange der Reformation im Erzstifte Bremen u. Stifte Verden.* Lüneburg, 1825.

¹¹⁸ Joh. Müllner's *Reformationsgesch. der freyen Reichstadt Nürnberg.* Nürnberg, 1770. 8. The two provosts, George Besler at St. Sebald, and Hector Pömer at St. Lawrence's, the Augustine prior, Wolfgang Volprecht, and Andrew Osiander, from 1522 preacher 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 stadtholder, at the Diets of Nuremberg, in 1523 and 1524; see *Altdorfishes 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 remained without result; see Strobel's *Miscellaneen*, iii. 45.

¹¹⁹ For a characteristic account of this struggle, see Ambrose Blarer's apology to the

town-council of Constance, A.D. 1523 (in Füssli's *Beyträge zur Reformationsgesch. iv.* 195). 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 unhallowed 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, so direct us in their footsteps that we may follow the example of their faith and virtuous living. They will imbitter 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 displeased 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.¹ 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.² At the same time, the clerical order was degraded by the unprincipled distribution of church-patronage.³ 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.⁴ 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, overthrows 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 many 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.

¹ Compare J. v. Müller's *Schweitzergeschichte*, Th. 5, Abth. 2, by Robert Glutz-Blotzheim (Zürich, 1816), s. 243 ff. Wirz, *Neuere Helvet. Kircheng.* i. 31 ff.

² Aushelm's *Berner Chronik*, vi. 91, in the year 1521: "Wie dann vornach bishar alle 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." Bullinger's *Reformationsgeschichte*, i. 4. Glutz-Blotzheim, s. 504. Wirz, i. 48. Niklaus Manuel von Grüneisen. *Stuttg. u. Tübingen*, 1837, s. 27. Compare the poem "Der alte u. der neue Eidgenosse," *ibid.* s. 461.

³ Glutz-Blotzheim, s. 501. Hottinger, continued by Müller and Glutz-Blotzheim, vi. 282. Grüneisen, s. 16.

⁴ Grüneisen, s. 26. Aushelm, 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.⁵ Thus the evil of foreign enlistment, which was perpetually denounced by patriots as the ruin of Switzerland,⁶ 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 Wyttenbach of Biel⁷ had been teaching from 1505, and Wolfgang Fabricius Capito, a native of Alsatia, from 1512 to 1520,⁸ 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.⁹

To this circle Ulrich Zwingli joined himself. He was born on

mit nūwer, unwārer Mūnz und zu Unzyt bezahlt, anders dann der Bund wyste. Auch so wāre nūt ze dulden, dass sie von Curtisanen betrūbt wurdint, dass des Babsts Gardknecht Pfrūnden erwerbint und die verkouftint; item, und dass die verwūrkten Priester um Diebstahl, Todtschlag, Ketzery, etc., dem Bischofen ūbergeben, usgelassen oder entrunnen wieder Mess hieltint, und andere priesterlicher Wūrdigkeit Aempter ūbtint. Ihnen sōllte zugelassen werden, sōliche ze strafen und abzewysen. Antwort der Legat, es wurde Besserung und Fūrschung beschehen, sōllint ein Zyt Geduld haben, und gemein Anligen der heil. Kīlchen bedenken."

⁵ When the Pope, in 1518, required 12,000 men at arms from the confederates for an expedition against the Turks, they declared themselves ready on condition (Anshelm, v. 341): "So wir nit uf sin sōllten, bis ander Christliche Fūrsen, Herren und Stānd, die uns vorgalm, uf sind, und wider den Tūrken ziehen." They promised 10,000 men, and added: "Wo babstliche Heiligkeit noch meh bedōrfe, wollint wir ihr nf ihre Gefallen noch 2000 Pfaffen us unserer Eidgenossenschaft auch nachlassen, dass die auch sōllint ziehen, damit die Zahl der 12,000 erfūlt werde."

⁶ Thus many persons advised, as early as the Diet of Lucerne, in 1495: "Aller fremden Herren mūssig zu gehn," Glutz-Blotzheim, s. 56. At Berne, the Carthusian, Franz Kolb, from 1512 preacher at the Vinzenzen-Mūnster, was very zealous against foreign enlistment, and left the town from chagrin at the ill success of his sermons; see the Reformatoren Berns im XVI. Jahrh., by G. J. Kuhn. Bern, 1828, s. 344 ff.

⁷ With regard to him, see Kuhn, s. 47 ff.

⁸ About him, see Jung's Gesch. d. Reform. d. Kirche in Strassburg, B. 1, s. 86 ff.

⁹ To this circle of Erasmusians, which is also known from Zwingli's earlier correspondence, belonged Capito, Beatus Rhenanus, Henricus Glareanus, the Franciscan, Conrad Pellicanus, Oswald Myconius in Basle, Joachim Vadianus, professor at Vienna, from 1518 at his native town of St. Gall, Wilh. Nesen at Basle, afterward at Paris, Joh. v. Botzheim, canon of Constance (see J. v. B. u. seine Freunde von K. Walehner, Schafhausen, 1836. 8). The extent to which progress in theology had been made among these men, even at an early date, is shown in the narrative of John Fabritius Montanus († 1566), in his funeral oration on Pellicanus; according to which he and Capito, as early as 1512, had come to an understanding at a private conference in Bruchsal upon the *commentum transubstantiationis*, and, with St. Augustine, received the bread as *Symbolum corporis* (see Miscellanea Tigurina, iii. 431 ss. Gerdesii Hist. Evangelii Renovati, i. 112 ss.); although this later account of it is evidently colored by opposition to the Lutheran opinion.

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 Wyttenbach¹⁰ his first impulse in the study of divinity. From 1506, when he was elected by the community of Glarus to be their pastor,¹¹ he devoted himself to a zealous study of the Latin classics and fathers of the Church.¹²

¹⁰ Leo Judae in Praef. ad Adnotatt. Zuinglii in N. T. 1539: D. Th. Wittenbachius—vir in omni disciplinarum genere exercitissimus, et qui propter multijugam eruditionem omnibus istius seculi doctissimis hominibus miraculo et stupori, et phoenix quidam habitus sit. Quo praeceptore Zuinglius et ego uno eodemque tempore circa A.D. 1505, Basileae literis operam navantes formati sumus, nec solum in cultioribus disciplinis, quorum erat excellentissimus, 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 praesagebat, ut de indulgentiis Papisticis et aliis rebus, quibus Romanus Pontifex stultum mundum aliquot jam saeculis dementaverat. Ex hoc hausimus quidquid nobis fuit solidae eruditionis, atque hoc totum ei debemus. Quum ergo a tanto viro semina quaedam verae religionis Zuingliano pectori injecta essent, et calcar additum, quo ad lectionem literarum, rejectis nugis sophisticis, excitaretur, ad Graecanicarum literarum studium statim accinetus Marte suo profecit, etc. Zwingli, in his Uslegen u. Grund der Schlussreden 1523, in the Uslegung des XVIII. Artikels (Werke v. Schuler u. Schulthess. Bd. 1, s. 254): Dann ich vorhin (vor Luther) von dem Ablass berichtet was, wie es ein Betrug und Farbe wär, us einer Disputation, die Doctor Thomas Wytembach von Biel, min Herr u. geliebter trüwer Lehrer, vor etwas Zyten ze Basel gehalten hatte, wiewol in minem Abwesen." In the *Amica exegesis ad Lutherum*, 1527 (Opp. ed. Schuler et Schulthess, iii. 544), he had already learned from Wyttenbach—solum Christi mortem pretium esse remissionis peccatorum. Rud. Gualterus (Zwingli's son-in-law, preacher at Zurich, † 1586), in Praef. ad Priorem Partem Homiliarum in Matthaeum (Miscell. Tigur. iii. 102), says of Wyttenbach: Non solum bonarum literarum et liberalium artium studia instauravit, sed multos, quoque Papisticae doctrinae articulos de Sacramentis, indulgentiis, votis monasticis publice damnabat, et junioribus dicere solebat, non procul abesse tempus, quo theologiam scholasticam aboleri, et doctrinam Ecclesiae veterem, ab orthodoxis patribus et scriptura sacra traditam, instaurari oporteat. On the other hand, Zwingli writes to Wyttenbach on the 15th June, 1523 (Opp. vii. 297): Quod quereris, frustra te aetatem tam tuam, quam nostram, in Sophistarum nugis detrivisse, non injuria facis: quanquam nihil est, cur nostra causa turberis. Dedimus haec jam olim temporum iniquitati; verum poenitendo nihil efficimus, quam quod aliis exemplo sumus, qui paulo sunt ingenio magis ingenuo, ne illi diutius quam par sit his haereant, a quibus nos esse avulsos, ut vehementer gaudemus, ita non parum dolit, sero nimis avulsos.

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 taken up 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. vii. i. 9), as—Apollineae lyrae moderatori, nostraeque tempestatis Ciceroni indubitato. Wilh. Nesen, 27th April, 1517 (Opp. vii. 21), writes to him: Tanta est tua eruditio candorque, ut inter extremas sortis homines sint merito connumerandi, qui te non eximium mirentur Musarum simul et Christi sacerdotem. Zwingli wrote first to Erasmus in 1514, and received a very friendly answer (Opp. vii. 10); how highly he prized it is shown by his letter to him, 29th April, 1515 (l. c. 12): Tu nobis amasius ille es, cui mi confabulati sumus, summum

As an eloquent preacher, he inveighed against the corrupt morals of his day;¹³ in 1510 he did the same in satirical and allegorical writings.¹⁴ Nevertheless, he was still quite devoted to the Pope: he received from him a pension as an influential preacher;¹⁵ and regarded the support which the Swiss rendered to the Pope as a dutiful protection of the Holy See.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ Thus his sermons, from

non capimus.—Nos peracti ad te itineris—scias tantum abesse ut poeniteat, ut magnum etiam fecisse nomen nos existimemus, non alia re magis gloriantes, quam Erasmus vidisse, virum de literis Scripturaeque sacrae arcanis meritissimum, quiq; Dei hominumque ita caritate flagret, ut quidquid literis impenditur, sibi impendi putet, pro quo item omnes bene precari oporteat, ut cum Deus O. M. incolumem servet, ut sanctae literae a barbarie sophismatique per eum vindicatae in perfectiorem aetatem grandescant, ne fenebrae adhuc tanto patre orbae ingratus durisque educentur. Ego enim—pro tua isthae in universos beneficentia, sero licet, tibi dudum quod Soerati Aeschines (quam imparem) donavi (viz., myself).

¹³ Myconius, De Zwinglii Vita, § 11, in Stäudlin's u. Tzschirner's Archiv f. Kircheng. i. ii. 8: Congredi coepit juxta Christi normam cum flagitiis quibusque perniciosissimis, ante omnia tamen cum pensionibus (sic appellamus munera Principum, quae certis milites parandi bellique conficiendi gratia dabantur hominibus), eo quod eas extirpare, et patriam reformare ad sanctitatem pristinam prorsus haberet in votis. Nam videbat, tum demum doctrinae coelesti locum futurum, ubi fons malorum esset exhaustus omnium. Compare his Narratio verissima civilis Helvetiorum Belli, *ibid.* s. 41.

¹⁴ The *Labyrinth* (Works, ii. ii. 243), against the manifold errors to which foreign lands lead men; *Fabelgedicht vom Ochsen und clichen Thieren* (*ibid.* s. 257), against foreign enlistment and pensions.

¹⁵ See Note 43, below.

¹⁶ This appears from his Relatio de Gestis inter Gallos et Helvetios ad Ravennam, Papiam, aliisque locis (in Freheri Rerum Germ. Scriptt. ed. Struvii, iii. 137 ss.), A.D. 1512: e. g., hunc itaque Christianorum matris (the Church of Rome) statum intuentes confederati, malo periculosoque exemplo futurum existimant, si cuilibet Tyrannorum (as the King of France) pro rabie communem Christifidelium matrem impune permittant incescere, sedulo raptim habitis conventibus strenue accisis Ecclesiae Italiaeque res resarcire statuunt. The Pope is to him *beatissimus Christi vicarius*, the conduct of Lewis XII. toward him, and his intention—Antipapam, ut ajunt, Caecodaemonis instinctu creare, are altogether to be condemned.

¹⁷ Zwingli Uslegen der Schlussreden im J. 1523 des XVIII. Art. (Works, i. 254): "For who stirred me up to preach the Gospel, and to expound an entire Evangelist? Did Luther do this? I had begun to preach before I had ever heard of Luther's name, and ten years before (so in 1513) I had begun to learn Greek with this end in view, that I might draw the doctrine of Christ from the original." (With this agrees Zwingli Ep. ad Joh. Vadianum, 23d Febr., 1513, Opp. vii. 9: Graecae, Latinae ignarus, animum applicui. Quare boni consule, ne oleum laborque pereant; et in manus post Chrysolorae Isagogen quid sumendum? Ita enim graecis studere destinavi, ut qui me praeter Deum amoveat nesciam, non gloriae,—sed sacratissimarum literarum ergo.) See also his essay Von der Klarheit des Worts Gottes. 1522. (Works, i. 79): "In my younger days I advanced as far as any of my contemporaries in human lore; and when, seven or eight years ago (1514-15), I felt moved to devote myself to Holy Scripture, philosophy and theology strove to entangle me in their disputes. But at last I thought within

the year 1516, assumed a thoroughly simple and biblical form.¹⁸ He began to discern many ecclesiastical errors and abuses;¹⁹ but he did not yet openly assail them.²⁰ 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,²¹ 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 1516,²² 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."

¹⁸ Zwingli *Uslegen der Schlussreden*, 1523; *Uslegung des XVIII. Art.* (Works, i. 253): "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."

¹⁹ E. g., Zwingli *Uslegung des XX. Art.* 1523 (Works, i. 298): "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."

²⁰ Myconius, § 13: *Interea gratiam evangelicam ita promulgabat, ut de Ecclesie Romanae abusu nihil, vel admodum parce commemoraret. Volebat, veritatem cognitam in cordibus auditorum agere suum officium: nam veris perceptis et intellectis haud difficulter falsa cognoscimus. Quamvis nec per tempus tum licuerit aliter: prius enim veritas in tanta hominum protervitate et malitia penitus fuisset amissa, quam abusus religionis sublatus. Accordingly, when, in the year 1522, Zwingli preached once more at Glarus, 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).*

²¹ *Anshelm*, v. 219, 225; *Glutz-Blotzheim*, s. 436.

²² Zwinglius ad Jo. Vadianum, dd. 13. Jun., 1517 (*Opp.* vii. 24): *Locum mutavimus, non cupidinis aut cupiditatis moti stimulis, verum Gallorum technis, et nunc Eremitis sumus. He remained still on the best terms with the government, Id. ad Stapferum,*

its,²³ he continued his studies after the method of Erasmus,²⁴ 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,²⁵ still he did not yet assail the doctrine of the Church.²⁶ True, Zwingle and his friends recognized more and more clearly the necessity of a Reformation in the Church;²⁷ but like their master, Erasmus, they still hoped that this might be effected by the ecclesiastical authorities.²⁸ Zwingle himself took some steps with this end in view, which were of course completely unsuccessful.²⁹

1522 (l. c. p. 237): *Apud meos Dominos Claronae tanta cum pace et facilitate versatus sum, ut nunquam aliquid litis intercesserit, atque adeo tanta cum gratia discessi, ut mihi Præbendam duos annos prorogaverint, spe ducti, me reversurum esse.*

²³ Besides the administrator Geroldseck, chiefly with the papal chaplain, Franz Zink, John Oechslin; see Schuler, s. 176 f.

²⁴ 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.

²⁵ The inscription over the entrance of the monastery—*hic 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 ff.); Wirz, i. 142) and others maintain; but to the year 1522, in which Zwingle and Leo Judæe 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.

²⁶ Salat, in his manuscript account (in Schuler, s. 357), says: "Er fing an zu rutteln, doch so listiglich, dass er nicht zu begreifen war, dazu man sich keines andern, dann dem Christenglauben gemäss und gleich versehen hatte." Compare Note 18.

²⁷ *Capito ad Bullingerum*, 1536 (ex MS. in J. H. Hottingeri *Hist. Eccl. sæc. xvi.* p. ii. p. 207): *Antequam Lutherus in lucem emererat, Zuinglius et ego inter nos communicavimus de Pontifice deieciendo, etiam dum ille vitam degeret in Eremitorio. Nam utrique ex Erasmi consuetudine, et lectione bonorum auctorum quaecumque judicium tum subolescebat. Compare Beatus Rhenanus ad Zwinglium, d. 6. Dec., 1518 (Opp. vii. 1, 57), complaints on the state of the Church: Sacerdotes—ethnicam aut judaicam doctrinam docent. De vulgo sacerdotum loquor. Neque enim me latet, te tuique similes purissimam Christi philosophiam ex ipsis fontibus populo proponere, non Scoticis aut Gabrielicis interpretationibus depravatam, sed ab Augustino, Ambrosio, Cypriano, Hieronymo germane et sincere expositam.—Utinam tui similes multos haberet Helvetia! Sic tandem facile posset, ut meliores mores nostrates induerent.*

²⁸ Cf. *Capitonis Epist. ad Christoph. Utenhemium, Episc. Basileensem*, prefixed to *Jo. Clichtovæi Elucidatorium Ecclesiasticum*. Basil., 1517. Reprinted in *Gerdessii Hist. Evang. Renov. i. Monum.* p. 123. In this letter of dedication the necessity of counteracting the immorality and ignorance of the clergy was inculcated upon the bishops.

²⁹ 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,³⁰ Zwingle, as well as many others, raised his voice against this abuse.³¹ This, however, was the less surprising, since even the Bishop of Constance regarded this trader in indulgences as an intruder.³² Zwingle remained in such high favor with the papal legate that he appointed him papal chaplain.³³

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,³⁴

“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.”

³⁰ 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 diss Augenblicks sind aller Berner Seelen, wo und wie joch abgescheiden, alle mit enandere us der höllischen Pyn des Fagfürs in die himmelsche Frönd des Himmelrychs ufgefahren.*” So says the eye-witness, Anshelm, v. 335 f., on the year 1518.

³¹ Hottinger, *Hist. Eccl. sæc. 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.

³² See Fabri *Epist.*, Note 38, below.

³³ He appointed him *Accolitus Capellanus*. The document, dated 1st Sept., 1518, is in Hottinger, *sæc. xvi. P. ii. p. 275*.

³⁴ Bullinger, i. 12. Zwingli *Uelegung 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

tion which Doctor Thomas Wytembach of Biel, my master and truly-beloved teacher, had held some time ago at Basle, albeit in my absence. So Luther's work, published at the same time, had helped me but little in my sermons on Matthew. But all persons who longed for the Word of God resorted to these sermons in such numbers, without intermission, that I wondered at it myself. Now I will thus speak with the enemies of the doctrine of Christ. Who charges me with being a Lutheran? When Luther's book on the Lord's Prayer came out, as I had shortly before commented upon this prayer in St. Matthew, I know well there were many pious persons who suspected erroneously that I had written the book, and prefixed Luther's name to it. Who, then, can charge me with being a Lutheran?" The order in which he proceeded with the other books of the New Testament, and his reasons for it, may be seen in his *Archeteles*, 1522 (Opp. iii. 48).

³⁵ Luther's works went from Basle through Switzerland. According to Froben's and Capito's Letters to Luther in Febr., 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 Füssli's *Beyrage*, iv. 174.

³⁶ In Bern, for instance, where Luther was well known as a reformer before Zwingle began to reform; see *Beatus Rhenan. ad Zuingl. dd. Basil.*, 26. Dec., 1518 (Opp. vii. 61): *Nudius tertius huc a Bernensibus missus est bibliopola, qui multum hic Lutheranorum exemplarium coëmit et illo deportavit. Gaudeo, mi Zuingli, vehementer, quoties video mundum respicere, et abjectis mataecologorum somniis solidam consecrari doctrinam. Idem a meis municipibus factum est. Quo magis miror Thuregensium negligentiam, qui moniti per Te facere cessent, quod alii sua sponte capessunt. Neque enim credere possum, Te illos non monnisse, aut rem non suscepisse apud eos, qui tibi in iudicando primas tribuunt.* (But Zwingle did not come to Zurich till the 27th Dec.) *Anselm, Berner Chronik*, v. 273, on the year 1517, speaks of Luther's first appearance as the "Urhah n. Anfang der wunderbaren Ernüwerung 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. 368: "At the very beginning of this year the steadfast Ulrich Zwingle 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 first 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 Zwingle, 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 every where consistent, and every where produce the same doctrine, faith, and fruit."

roused by Luther could not be without effect upon Zwingli also. True, he remained essentially faithful to his principle of overthrowing falsehood not by direct attack, but by proclaiming the opposite truths.³⁷ Still, so many weighty questions were brought by Luther before the public, that Zwingli 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,³⁸ 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.³⁹ 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; Müller-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 Zwingli, 7th June, 1519 (Opp. vii. 79): *Quid ad fratrem indulgentiarum coelipotentem attinet, meus mihi genius praesagit hunc eventum: neque enim tam frigidus circa praecordia sanguis obstitit, ut tam portentosas venias a sede apostolica nunquam profectas crederem. Quid aliud ejusmodi veniarum licitatores effrontes agunt, quam ut ecclesia passim vel a Christianis irrideatur?*

³⁹ Zwingli *Uslegung des XVIII. Art. 1523* (Works, i. 255): "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? Yea, 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 equaled 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 aught 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;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: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.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.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."

⁴⁰ Beatus Rhenanus ad Zuinglium, d. 7. Maj., 1519 (Opp. vii. 74): non paulo gratius fuit, quod ore nobis retulit Simon noster, pergere te videlicet in asserendo Christianismo, quem partim impietas manifesta, partim fallax superstitio non istic modo, sed ubi vis gentium, indignis modis conspurcarunt. Et quanquam, ut non caret aemulatione virtus, obstrepant quidam, tamen a proposito tuo, quod instantur urges, adhuc nemo te retrahere potuit. In qua re constantiam tuam admirari subit, qua nobis apostolici illius seculi virum repraesentas. Obgannunt quidam, rident, minantur, petulantur incessant; at tu vere Christiana patientia suffers omnia. Glareanus ad Zuingl., d. 7. Jun., 1519 (l. c. p. 78), audio, nescio quas contentiones esse tibi cum monachis, hominibus, a quibus plus quam ab aspidum veneno cavendum est. Obesse possunt, prodesse paucis volunt.

⁴¹ Wirz, i. 176. The principal duty of the *Leut-priests* was the increase and management of the revenue; Schuler, s. 227.

⁴² Bullinger, i. 32. The report of the Council of Zurich to their subjects, 1524, in Füssli's Beytrage, ii. 237: "Our preachers have, however, for four or five years preached among us the holy gospels and the Word of God; at first, as ye say, their doctrine seemed strange and new, since it was unlike that taught us by our forefathers. For this reason there have been among us, both priests and laymen, ten-fold different opinions, and in consequence divisions sprung up, principally among those who went little to hear sermons. Accordingly, before we knew or heard of Luther's doctrine, we issued a public charge to all *Leut-priests*, parochial clergy, and preachers in our city and canton, that they should all be free (as even the papal law allowed) to preach the holy gospels and epistles of the Apostles, in conformity with the Spirit of God, and the divine Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and whatsoever they could cite and prove from Scripture; but that they should be silent about other incidental innovations and ordinances. The greater part of the preachers, to the best of our belief, have faithfully done this."

⁴³ Zwingli Uslegung des XXXVII. Art. 1523 (Works, i. 354): "But that the expedition to the Pope (the reinforcement granted by the Zurichers in 1521) happened in consequence of my efforts, can not be laid to my charge with truth by any man. For at the very time I was at open enmity with the papists, and they had broken with me in this wise: Three whole years before this time I had preached the gospel of Christ with earnestness; thereupon the Pope's cardinals, the bishops, and legates, of whom the city was never free at that time, often exhorted me with professions of friendship, with entreaties, with threats, with promises of great gifts and benefices. However, I would not yield to them, but resigned under my own hand, in the year 1520, a pension of fifty

gerly for the burning of Luther's works,⁴⁴ but did not venture either to attack the council for its decree or Zwingli for his sermons. He thought he had attained his principal object when Zurich steadfastly refused to join the league,⁴⁵ which all the rest of the cantons concluded with France on the 5th May, 1521: but Zwingli had greatly contributed to this result by his sermons against foreign enlistment in general.⁴⁶

As Zwingli, 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.⁴⁷ When questioned by the council, under the direction of Zwingli, the clergy censured the transgression as capricious, but persisted in the statement that the rule was an ordinance of man.⁴⁸ The Bishop of Constance accordingly sent a commission to Zurich to command the observance of the ceremonies (Apr., 1522). However, the council took Zwingli's part, and demanded more satisfactory orders from the bishop.⁴⁹ This event

florins, which they paid me annually (they were now ready to give me a hundred florins, but I would not receive them), which I had refused in the year 1517, but from which they would not release me for three years after." Zwingli's Reply to Val. Compar (Works, ii. 1, 8): "Antonius Puccius [the papal legate] held a parley with me for the fourth time at Zurich, with great promise; to whom I spoke right out about the matter and its bearings, and that I would, with the help of God, carry out the doctrine of the Gospel, and with it would weaken the papacy, etc.; but all this did not help the matter."

⁴⁴ Especially at the Diet of Baden, 1520; see Myconius ad Zuïngli, d. 2. Nov., 1520 (Opp. vii. 153).

⁴⁵ Anshelm, vi. 25 ff.; Müller-Hottinger, vi. 36 ff.

⁴⁶ Zwingli'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. 30. With regard to Zwingli'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 Zuïnglii Epist. ad Erasmus Fabricium de Actis Legationis ad Tigurinos missae, diebus vii. 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 seditiosas docere, germanice *widerwärtig und aufrührig lehren*; nempe nihil praeceptio-num 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 manuductio—ad virtutes. Immo virtutum fontem esse, *ein Ursprung*, —ceremonias. Quadragessimam item doceri non servari oportere: in hac enim urbe ausos esse quosdam sese a reliquis Christianis separare, et a Christiana ecclesia.—Carnes

occasioned Zwingle's first reforming work, "*Von Erkiesen und Freyheit der Spysen*."⁵⁰

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,⁵¹ and the Diet of Lucerne forbade all preaching likely to cause disquiet.⁵² 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,⁵³ and in

enim eos in quadragesima edisse non sine totius reipublicae Christianae scandalo. Quod tametsi literae evangelicae aperte non permittant, audere tamen eosdem asserere ex Evangelicis et Apostolicis 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 potuissemus, 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 ullum Helvetiorum pagum, pacatum et quietum esse, id quod omnes boni cives acceptum ferrent Evangelio. Quod deinde objectum sit, nullas humanas nec praeceptiones nec ceremonias servari oportere doceri; ingenue agnoscam, ceremoniarum justam partem ac praeceptionum me cupere abolitam esse, quod praecepta sint magna parte talia, quae etiam Petrus in Actis neget ferri posse.—Imo ceremonias haud quicquam aliud agere, quam et Christo et ejus fidelibus os oblinere, spiritus doctrinam abolere, ab invisibilibus ad elementa mundi avocare, quod tamen brevibus dici nequeat et explicari.—Carnibus esse quosdam ausos vesci minime malos, qui nec inficiuntur; sed quandoquidem divina lege a carnibus non sit eis interdictum, in testimonium fidei potius edisse quam in ullius contumeliam. Quod hinc pateat: nam mox, ut docti sint a nobis, rationem scandali haberi debuisset, destiterunt, unde nec ista legatione opus fuisse, remittente sua sponte malo, si modo malum est. Hoc tamen vehementer nos admirari, quod, dum annum jam XVI. in dioecesi Constantiensi evangelizem, haecenus tamen non resciverim, aliquo misisse Constantienses tam splendidam legationem, quae scrutaretur quonam pacto Evangelicum negotium in deceret. 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—"verschaffen wolle, es sey bey päpstlicher Heiligkeit, bey den Cardinälen, Bischöfen, Concilien, oder sonst rechten, Christlichen, gelehrten Leuten, damit man eine Erläuterung und Bescheid gebe, wie und welcher Gestalten man sich in solchem Falle halten solle, dardurch wider die Satzungen Christi nicht gehandelt werde." The people were to be exhorted, "dass hinfüro niemand in der Faste ohne merkliche Ursach Fleisch esse, sondern dass man ein Erläuterung kraft des mit U. G. Herrn von Costnitz Botschaft gemachten Abscheids erwarte."

⁵⁰ Works, i. 1.

⁵¹ 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. Kulm's Reformatoren 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 *Archeteles* (Opp. iii. 33). There is a letter to the council of Zurich, in May also, in Füssli, iv. 125.

⁵² 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."

⁵³ "Ein fründlich Bitt und Ermahnung etlicher Priester der Eidgenossenschaft, dass

the *Apologeticus Archeteles*, directed to the Bishop of Constance in August.⁵⁴ As the celibacy of the clergy had led to the grossest abuses in Switzerland, Zwingli 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 Zwingli 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 Zwingli's wish

man das heilig Evangelium predigen nit abschlahe, noch Unwillen darob empfach, ob die Predigenden Aergermass zu vermyden sich ehelich vermahlind." Werke, i. 30.

⁵⁴ *Apologeticus Archeteles appellatus, quo respondetur paraenesi a Rev. Dom. Constantiensi ad Senatum Praepositurae Tigurinae, quem Capitulum vocant, missae.* Opp. iii. 26.

⁵⁵ *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 conniveat* (Opp. iii. 17), signed by Balthasar Trachsel, pastor at Weiningen, in the Grafschaft Baden; George Chalybeus (Stäheli), Zwingli's assistant; Werner Steiner of Zug; Leo Judae, Lent-priest at Einsiedeln; Erasmus Fabricius (Schmid), prebendary at Zurich; Simon Stumpf, pastor at Högng, near Zurich; Jodocus Kilchmeyer, prebendary at Lucerne; Huldreich Pistoris (Pfiester), pastor at Uster, on the Greifensee; Gaspar Megander (Grossman), preacher at the Hospital of Zurich; John Faber (Schmid), chaplain at Zurich; Huldreich Zwingli.

⁵⁶ The diet at Baden (Nov., 1522) delivered over the pastor Weiss to the bishop; Ballinger, i. 80; Anshelm, vi. 99; Wirz, i. 315; compare *ibid.* s. 321 ff.

⁵⁷ Thus he heard from Jacob Stapfer in Chur, a foreign pensionary; see Jac. Salandronius ad Zuingl. d. 26. Aug., 1522 (Opp. vii. 220): *Effutivit nescio 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 urgeretur) accepisse. Praeterea dixisse inter concionandum: Ave Maria dicere esset dicere: Gott grüss dich Gretlin, etc.—Non credis, quot suo impudentissimo ore alienarit alias tibi faventissimos. Objicitur illi: o nobis, ut seis, hi, hi sunt mores Evangelicorum.* A similar story was circulated in Schwyz; see Balth. Stapfer to Zwingli, 19th Oct., 1522 (l. c. p. 236), and Zwingli's answer, p. 237. Compare Zwingli's *Entschuldigung etlicher Huldr. Zwingli zugelegter Artiklen*, doch unwarlich, an die edlen, strengen, frommen, wysen gmeiner Eidgenossenschaft Rathsboten in der Stadt Bern v. 3ten Jul., 1523 (Werke, ii. ii. 299), and his *Ein flyssige und kurze Underrichtung, wie man sich vor Lügen hüten und bewahren soll*, of the 25th June, 1524 (*ibid.* s. 322).

⁵⁸ Bernh. Weiss in Füssli, iv. 38: "Deshalb predigten die Monchen in der Stadt alenthalben von den Heiligen:—deswegen reidten 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.

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.⁵⁹

The same political reasons which had led the Pope to overlook other arbitrary acts of the Swiss in church matters⁶⁰ induced him to take no notice of these great movements. Zurich was the only canton which steadfastly refused the league with France,⁶¹ and still, in 1521, granted soldiers to the Pope;⁶² while the rest of the cantons supported France, and treated the papal legate in Switzerland with hostility.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,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

⁵⁹ See Bullinger, i. 84.

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 Fryheit 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.

⁶¹ See note 45.

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 besindt 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.

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.

⁶⁴ Dated 23d Jan., 1523, in Bullinger, i. 83; in Zuinglii *Opp.* vii. 266: *Remittimus—Ennium, Episcopum Verulanum, ad istam invictam, nobisque et huic sanctae sedi conjunctissimam nationem, ut de maximis rebus—cum illa 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 amemus ac diligamus, ac peculiarem quandam in te fidem habeamus, mandavimus eidem Episcopo,—ut tibi separatim nostras literas redderet, nostramque erga te optimam voluntatem declararet. Hortamur itaque devotionem tuam in Domino, ut et illi omnem fidem habeat, et quo nos animo ad honores tuos et commoda tendimus, eodem tu in nostris—rebus procedas, de quo gratiam apud nos invenies non mediocrem. Myconius l. c. adds to this: Non ad hunc solum Papa scripserat, verum etiam ad eximium D. Franc. Zingium (see Note 23), ut sibi et sedi apostolicae virum lucrifaceret. Dumque rogitarem a Franciseo, quid pro illo pollicitus esset Papa; serio respondit: omnia certe praeter sedem Papalem.*

had brought together the doctrines he had preached in sixty-seven articles;⁶⁵ and he so defended them on that day against the Vicar-

⁶⁵ 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, yea, 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 any thing 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 every where 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 *Käs* and *Ankenbrief* (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 Cows, Clothing, and Signs*. XXVI. That God hates nothing more than hypocrisy; so He has taught us that all that is done for appearance' sake before men is mere hypocrisy and perversion; hence cows, 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 church-music 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

manner.⁶⁶ By this disputation, by the explanation of his articles, soon after (in July) published by Zwingle,⁶⁷ and by the preaching of Zwingle, and his friend, Leo Judæ, who came to Zurich in the beginning of 1523 as *Leut-priest* at St. Peter's,⁶⁸ men's minds were more and more won over to the Reformation; and many wished to see it carried out in practice.⁶⁹ For them it was not enough that the council allowed nuns to leave their convents (17th June),⁷⁰ that several of the clergy married without hinderance,⁷¹

upon their persons; unless it happen that they conduct themselves so perversely as to be no longer endurable. LXVI. All ecclesiastical 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.

⁶⁶ 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 Ueerrichtung" (Wirz, ii. 45): but seven young men of Zurich replied to this with a satirical refutation, "Das Gyrenrupfen" (Geyerrupfen 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 Beyträge, 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."

⁶⁷ Uslegen und Gründ der Schlussreden oder Artikel, in Zw. Werke, i. 169.

⁶⁸ 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.

⁶⁹ Compare the complaints of the chaplain Widmer at Zurich, an adherent of the ancient order, to Henry Göldli 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."

⁷⁰ Füssli's Beyträge, 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.

⁷¹ First Wilh. Rööbli, pastor at Wytikon, 28th Apr., 1523; see Bernh. Weiss in Füssli,

that a German baptismal service was introduced in the city (10th Aug.),⁷² and that the cathedral chapter, at its own request, received new and suitable ordinances (19th Sept.).⁷³ 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.⁷⁴

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;⁷⁵ and they dreaded the power of this example. In Lucerne,⁷⁶ Freiburg, and Zug, there was violent exasperation against the Reformation, from a stiff adherence to the old order of things;⁷⁷ the Bernese aristocracy opposed the attempts at ecclesiastical innovation, out of regard for their own authority.⁷⁸ Although in

iv. 45. He was followed by others, and among them by Leo Judæ, 19th Sept., 1523, and Zwingle, 2d Apr., 1524. Bullinger, i. 108.

⁷² Weiss in Füssli, iv. 47. This baptismal service is in Zwingle's Works, ii. ii. 224.

⁷³ Bullinger, i. 113. The Christian Constitution is also in Füssli, i. 1.

⁷⁴ In September, 1523, Lawrence Hochrütiner broke in pieces the sacred lamp in the cathedral church; soon after the same thing was done in several chapels (see the examination in Müller-Hottinger, vi. 498); but the overthrow of a great crucifix by the cobbler, Nicholas Hottinger, at the end of September, attracted the most attention. Compare especially Füssli, ii. 33; Wirz, ii. 124; Müller-Hottinger, vi. 387, 450.

⁷⁵ The Bernese envoy, Gaspar of Mülinen, said, at the diet in Berne, July, 1523 (Füssli, ii. 26): "Dear confederates, beware in time lest the Lutheran cause, and they who are embarked in it, gain the upper hand; for their preachers have brought their city (Zurich) to such a state, that if the nobles themselves wished to retrace their steps they could not do so. Matters are come to such a pitch that a man is not safe in his own house. It is necessary that a man should take other men to his house to protect him with arms from all mischance; the cause has advanced so far that their peasants in the country will pay neither tribute nor tithe, and there is such a division in this city and the whole canton that the like has never been seen before." Compare the letter of the Council of Zurich to that of Constance, Donnerst. nach Othmer (November), 1523, in Füssli, v. 71: "It has been reported to us that certain godless persons, enemies to the evangelical doctrine, have stated before you that disquiet prevails among us in consequence of preaching, so that all ranks are expecting a rebellion; and that we are repenting that we have so fully received the evangelical doctrine." All this is untrue, "since, by the grace of God and His divine doctrine, there has never been, for a long time, greater peace and friendship between the lower and higher orders than at the present day."

⁷⁶ At Lucerne, during a diet, the people burned Zwingle in effigy, Febr., 1523; Müller-Hottinger, vi. 433.

⁷⁷ Müller-Hottinger, vi. 394, 410, 418.

⁷⁸ According to Anshelm, vi. 199, it was the vicar-general, Faber, who, in connection with the rest of the prelates, "has made enemies and opposers of the evangelical doctrine, yea, even tyrants, out of by no means the least of the confederate nobles, as, for

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,⁷⁹ proclamations were issued against all ecclesiastical innovations.⁸⁰

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.⁸¹ 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.⁸² Zwingle, the Abbot Von Cappel, and Conrad Schmid, commander of the Knights of St. John at Küssnacht, were to preach for this purpose in the country districts; and, besides this, Zwingle was to compose his *Christian Introduction*,⁸³ 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 title, 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."

⁷⁹ Pastoral of the 10th July, 1523, in Simler, i. 789 (in German in Füssli, iv. 135).

⁸⁰ Anshelm, vi. 200. "After the aforementioned 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 Zuinglium, die Jovis post Margaretae, 1523. Opp. vii. 302.) 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.

⁸¹ Bullinger, i. 126. All the Swiss bishops and cantons were invited to this conference, but only Schafhausen 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.

⁸² Zwingle recommended this course during the conference—see his Works, i. 531 f.; as did the commander, Conrad Schmid, *ibid.* s. 533 ff. On these decrees, made immediately after the conference, see Zuinglius ad Vadianum, d. 11. Nov. (Opp. vii. 313); Bullinger, i. 135.

⁸³ "Eine kurze Christenliche Ynleitung;" prefixed to it is a mandate of the council of 17th Nov.; in Zwingle's Works, i. 541.

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.⁸⁴ 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.⁸⁵

Even a solemn embassy from the diet to Zurich (in Febr., 1524) could no longer impose any restraint,⁸⁶ much less the Pope's refusal to pay arrears of debt till after the abolition of the innovations.⁸⁷ 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.⁸⁸ One after another all

⁸⁴ Proofs of this may be seen in the decisions of the council, Füssli, ii. 31 ff.

⁸⁵ The verdict of the council of the 19th Dec. (Bullinger, i. 139; Füssli, 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 Füssli, 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."

⁸⁶ 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, Füssli, ii. 231-261): but this made the confederates less favorable than before to the innovations: Anshelm, vi. 230.

⁸⁷ See Wirz, i. 41, and the investigations prefixed to Zwingle's Judgment on these transactions, 1526, in Zw. Werke, ii. ii. 387. The Pope's manifestoes were always of the same import as the brief to the Zurichers, 11th Dec., 1525 (l. c. p. 390): *Quod si id, quod Deus avertat, in his novis et impiis erroribus perstare propositum vobis haberetis, quomodo possemus non solum erga vos uti liberalitate, sed pecunias ulla, etiamsi maxime vobis debita essent, juste et pie persolvere? Cum alienis a fide recta, nec quae ipsorum quidem patria et avita bona sunt, illis jure relinqui debeant.*

⁸⁸ 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; Füssli, 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;⁸⁹ the monasteries were suppressed, and changed into schools and almshouses.⁹⁰ The council secured the assent of its subjects by a public invitation to declare their opinion upon these proceedings;⁹¹ 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.⁹² 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 (Füssli, ii. 60): the work was begun on the 20th of June, and was quietly finished in thirteen days (Bernh. Weiss in Füssli, iv. 49). Compare Zwingle's account in his answer to Valentine Compar. 1525 (Works, ii. i. 58).

⁸⁹ The feast of Corpus Christi was abolished (Füssli, ii. 59): a list of all that was done away with in 1524 is given by Bullinger, i. 160; Bernh. Weiss in Füssli, 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."

⁹⁰ The abbess of Frauenmünster surrendered her convent to the council on the 30th Nov., with the reservation of a pension; Füssli, 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. Füssli, ii. 76, 78; iv. 79. With regard to the appropriation of monastic property, see Müller-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).

⁹¹ The Bericht des Rathes zu Zurich an ihre Unterthanen, was sich die Zeit hero für Veränderungen in der Religion zugetragen haben (of the 7th July, 1524; see Müller-Hottinger, vi. 478 A.); in Bullinger, i. 177. Füssli, ii. 228. The answers, all approving, are in Füssli, iii. 105.

⁹² After Zurich had begun the Reformation, Schaffhausen and Appenzel 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. 231. 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 Müller-Hottinger, vii. 48. St. Gall, Basle, 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.⁹³ This same year produced, for the establishment of the Reformation among the learned, Zwingle's work, *De Vera et Falsa Religione*;⁹⁴ 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.⁹⁵

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.⁹⁶ 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 Füssli, i. 293.

⁹³ The youth received the communion on Maundy-Thursday, the middle-aged on Good Friday, the aged on Easter Sunday; see Bernh. Weiss in Füssli, iv. 64. Anshelm, vi. 324. Bullinger, i. 263. The liturgy used on the occasion may be seen in Zwingle's Works, ii. ii. 233. Why Zwingle delayed so long may be seen in Anshelm, vi. 203, on the year 1523: 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 1531. See Hottinger's Helvet. Kirchengesch., iii. 224.

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. 387. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 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-

⁹⁷ Matthias Graf, *Gesch. der Stadt Mühlhausen*, 2ter Theil. His *Gesch. der Kirchenverbesserung zu Mühlhausen*. Strasburg, 1818. 8.

⁹⁸ Compare Valerius Anshelm's *Berner Chronik*, vi. 101 ff. *Die Reformatoren Berns im XVI. Jahr*. Nach dem Bernerschen Mausoleum umgearbeitet von G. J. Kuhn. Bern, 1828. Bertold Haller oder die Reformation von Bern, von Melethior Kirchhofer. Zurich, 1828. 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' *Fassnacht*; another, on the contrast between the character of Jesus Christ and that of his so-called vicar, the Pope of Rome, on the old *Fassnacht*. Between these, on Ash-Wednesday, the Roman Indulgence, with the *Bohnenlied*, 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 Mannel Fastnachtspiele*. Bern, 1836. 8; also in Niclaus Manuel, von Dr. C. Grüneisen. Stuttg. u. Tübingen, 1837. 8. s. 339.

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

eclesiastical usages, and all controversy, were forbidden and punished with severe penalties.¹⁰³ 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.¹⁰⁴ Haller, on the other hand, and those of like opinions, were allowed to preach the simple Gospel, though the government of Berne, 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 Berne. 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 Wytttenbach preached the Gospel, following the example of Berne, dismissed eight married priests, and Wytttenbach among them, from their offices. But in 1525 the citizens carried through the free preaching of the Gospel, and procured the restoration of Wytttenbach.¹⁰⁵

In Basle,¹⁰⁶ 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 Berne; see Anshelm, vi. 209.

¹⁰⁵ Bullinger, i. 155. Nachricht von der Kirchenreformation in Biel in Füssli, ii. 265 ff. Wytttenbach's Leben, in Kuhn, s. 53 ff.

¹⁰⁶ Christ. Wursteisens (professor at Basle, † 1588) Basler Chronik. Basle, 1580. fol.; from Book vii. cap. 11 onward. Ochs Geschichte von Basel, Bd. 5, s. 429 ff. Lebensgeschichte D. Joh. Oecolampads (von Sal. Hess). Zurich, 1793. 8.

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, 1523:¹⁰⁷ yet they appointed disputations for Oecolampadius, 30th August, 1523,¹⁰⁸ for William Farel, and Stephen Stör, *Leut-priest* of Liestal, 15th and 16th February, 1524;¹⁰⁹ and conceded to Oecolampadius those conditions as to reform under which he accepted the ministry of St. Martins in 1524.¹¹⁰

So, too, in Schafhausen the Reformation was favorably introduced by Sebastian Hofmeister, a barefooted friar, after 1522,¹¹¹ and in St. Gall by two laymen, Joachim Vadianus and John Kessler,¹¹² 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. Jussus est aliud tempus prorogare. Nunc permissum est disputare, quum volet. P. 310. Oecolampadius heri 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 Füssli, iv. 243. Farel's thirteen theses impugn the false, and point out the true way of salvation; see Füssli, 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. Füssli, ii. 151.

¹¹⁰ His condition was, according to Wursteisen, vii. 13, "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, tapers, 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."

¹¹¹ Life of Sebastian Wagner, called Hofmeister, by Melch. Kirchhofer, Zurich, 1808. His Schafhauserische Jahrbücher, from 1519 to 1529. Schafhausen, 2te Aufl., 1838. 8.

¹¹² The principal source is the Chronicle of Kessler, extant in manuscript, *Sabbathus*

§ 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 Angliæ*, 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

(see Kessler von Bernet, s. 9, 80, 113), of which the old history of the Reformation in St. Gall, in Simler's *Sammlung*, i. 115 ff., is an abridgment. *Ildef. v. Arx, Geschichten des Cantons St. Gallen*, Bd. 2 (St. Gallen, 1811), s. 477 ff. *Joh. Kessler, genannt Athenarius, Bürger und Reformator zu St. Gall*, by J. J. Bernet. St. Gallen, 1826. 8.

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, 1834. 8.

³ Walch, xix., *hist. Einleit.*, s. 1 ff.

sympathy; but at the same time, he took good care that his own case 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.⁴ 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.⁵ Zwingle

⁴ See § 1, Notes 32, 56, 67; cf. Erasmi Ep. ad Leonem X. dd. 13. Sept., 1520 (Opp. ed. Lugd. iii. 1, 578): *Esse video, qui quo magis communirent factionem suam, conati sunt causam bonarum literarum, causam Reuchlini, meamque causam cum Lutheri causa conjungere, cum his nihil sit inter se commune.—Lutherum non novi, nec libros illius unquam legi, nisi forte decem aut duodecim pagellas easque carptim. Ex his, quae tum degustavi, visus est mihi probe compositus ad mysticas literas Veterum more explanandas, quando nostra haec aetas immodice indulgebat argutis magis quam necessariis questionibus.—Ferre primum omnium odoratus sum periculum esse, ne res exiret in tumultum, a quo sic abhorruis semper ut nemo magis. Proinde minis etiam egi 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 expedit in loco. Semper autem plurimum refert, quam in tempore, quam commode et attemperate eam proferas. Quaedam inter se fatentur theologi, quae vulgo non expedit efferri. P. 601: Si corrupti mores Romanae curiae postulant ingens aliquod ac praesens remedium, certe meum aut mei similitum non est hanc provinciam sibi sumere. Malo hunc, qualis qualis est, rerum humanarum statum, quam novos excitari tumultus, qui saepenumero vergunt in diversum, atque putabatur.*

⁵ Erasmi Ep. ad Petr. Barbirium dd. 13. Aug., 1521 (l. c. p. 656): *Quum Lutherana tragoedia semper in pejus glisceret, mire quidam conati sunt me illi admiscere.—Utinam tam immunis essem ab omnibus vitiis, quam sum ab hoc alieno negotio.—Mihi sane adeo est invisa discordia, ut veritas etiam displiceat seditiosa.—Si tibi narrem, a quibus, et quibus modis sollicitatus sim, ut adjungerer negotio Lutheranum, quibus technis quidam conati sint me pellicere, quibus odiis quidam huc me conati sint propellere, tum demum intelligeres, quam mihi displiceant dissidia.—Non ignorabam, quam pertinacibus odiis me insectarentur quidam apud nos odio bonarum literarum. Perspiciebam esse tutius in alteram factionem secedere. At mihi stat, semperque stabit sententia, vel membratim discerpi potius, quam fovere discordiam, praecipue in negotio fidei.*

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 suoque loco dictum est, ille dicit immodice.—Si hoc est congruere, congruet vinum aceto. Sed dices: hactenus non scripsisti quicquam adversus Lutherum. Id quo minus fecerim, duo praecipue fuerunt in causa, otii penuria, et imperitiae propriae conscientia.—Si pius est nocere causae Lutheri, fortassis magis illi nocui, quam quisquam eorum qui odiosissime reclamantur, quique hominem convitiis libellis prosciderunt. Primum, violentum illum ac seditiosum scribendi modum constanter—improbavi. Non destiti—dehortari plurimos, ut ab ea factione sese abstinerent. Nullis studiis adduci potui, ut vel paululum ipse memet admiscerem. Haec, opinor, plus fregerunt vires ejus factionis quam quorundam tumultus.—Nae ego praeclarum interim operae pretium fero, qui utrinque lapidor? Apud nostros falsissimo titulo traducor Lutheranus, apud Germanos male audio, ut Lutheranae factionis adversarius. *Ad Paul. Bombasium*, dd. 23. Sept., 1521 (p. 664): Quominus hactenus libris editis cum Luthero pugnarem, plurimae sunt causae, quas hic non est necesse percensere: sed illa praecipua fuit, quod mihi prorsus defuit otium legendi, quae scripsit Lutherus.—O mi Bombasi, proclive dictu est: scribe adversus Lutherum. Sed ad hoc pluribus rebus est opus, quam ad plaustrum fabricandum, ut inquit Hiesodus. Video, quam varia, quam morosa sint hominum judicia.—Egi diligenter cum Hieronymo Aleandro, daret mihi facultatem legendi quae scripsit Lutherus. Nam hodie Sycophantarum et Corycaeorum plena sunt omnia. Parnegavit se id posse, nisi nominatim impetraret a summo Pontifice. Primum igitur hoc mihi velim impetres Brevi quopiam. *Ad Episc. Palentinum*, dd. 21. Apr., 1522 (p. 713): Sunt isthic, qui reclamante ipsorum conscientia me faciant Lutheranum, nimirum illud agentes, ut me suis odiis violentem nolentem protrudant in castra Lutheri. Me vero ab Ecclesiae catholicae consortio nec mors distrahet, nec vita.—Novi Pontificis docta prudentia, et provida sinceritas, simulque divinus quidam nostri Caesaris animus me in summam spem vocat, fore ut haec pestis sic tollatur, ne quando possit reviviscere. Id fiet, si radices amputentur, unde hoc mali toties repullulat. Quarum una est odium Romanae Curiae, ejus avaritia ac tyrannis jam coeperat esse intolerabilis. Et aliquot humanae constitutiones, quibus Christiani populi libertas gravari videbatur. His omnibus citra tumultum orbis Caesaris auctoritas et novi Pontificis integritas facile medebitur. Compare his correspondentia me faciant Lutheranum, § 1, Note 93, above. With this may be compared his letter to Zwingle, dd. 31. Aug., 1523 (*Zwingle Opp.* vii. i. 308): Lutherus proponit quaedam aenigmata in speciem absurda: omnia opera sanctorum esse peccata, quae indigna ignoscantur Dei misericordia; liberum arbitrium esse nomen inane; sola fide justificari; hominem prope nihil ad rem facere. De his contendere, quomodo velit intelligi Lutherus, non video quem fructum adferat. Deinde video in plerisque ei addictis miram pervicaciam, et in Lutheri scriptis quantum maledicentiae, saepe praeter rem! Ista me cogunt subdubitare de spiritu illorum, quem ob causam, cui favco, velim esse sincerum.—Ego florentissimam regionem (Brabant) reliqui, *ne miscerer negotio Pharisaeico*: nam alia lege non licuisset illic vivere.—Satis admonui Episcopos, satis Principes vel in libello de Principe, homo nullius auctoritatis. Quid me velles facere praeterea? Etiamsi vitam contemnerem, non video, quid esset insuper faciendum. Tu in nonnullis dissentis a Luthero. Dissentit et Oecolampadius. An ergo propter illius doctrinam objicam me meosque libros periculis? Omnia recusavi, quae mihi hoc nomine offerebantur, ut adversus illum scriberem. A Pontifice, a Caesare, a Regibus et Principibus, a doctissimis etiam et carissimis amicis huc provoco. Et tamen certum est, me non scribere, aut ita scribere, *ut mea scriptio non sit placitura Pharisaeis*.—Lutherus scripsit ad Oecolampadium, mihi non multum esse tribuendum in iis, quae sunt Spiritus. Velim hoc ex te discere, doctissime Zwingli, quis sit ille Spiritus. *Nam video mihi fere omnia docuisse, quae docet Lutherus, nisi quod non tam atrociter, quodque abstini a quibusdam aenigmatibus et paradoxis.* Erasmus von Rotterdam v. S. Hess, ii. 77. *Leben des Erasmus von A. Müller*, s. 282.

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 iudicium me tantillum movet: nihil alienum opinione sui apud me faciunt: quin et hoc veritus sum, ne quando mihi cum alterutro negotium fieret, quando Erasmum a cognitione gratiæ longinquum esse viderem, qui non ad crucem, sed ad pacem spectet in omnibus scriptis. Hinc omnia putat civiliter et benevolentia quadam humanitatis tractanda gerendaque: sed hanc non curat Behemoth, neque hinc quicquam sese emendat. Memini, me, dum in præfatione sua in N. T. de se ipso diceret: gloriam facile contemnit Christianus, in corde meo cogitasse: O Erasme, falleris, timeo. Magna res est gloriam contemnere, caet.*

⁸ Zwinglius ad B. Rhenanum, d. 25. Maj. 1522 (Opp. vii. i. 193): *Accepimus paucis ante diebus, duellum inter Erasmum atque Lutherum futurum: propendunt enim omnia ad dissidium: stimulari hunc a Wittenbergensibus, ut adulatorem aliquando prodit; illum a Romanensibus, ut hæreticum sibi damnosissimum extinguat. Quæ res quantum mali datura sit Christianis, conjectura non opus habes.—Scis enim, quantæ ab utriusque parte stent copiæ, quantaque sit utriusque vel pugnandi vis, vel eludendi solertia. He 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 Zwingli, 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. Huttenicæ Adspergines* (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. i. 793, 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: *veneror pietatem vestram, quod favetis Evangelio, pro quo provehendo ego jam tot annis tantum exhaurio laborum, tantumque sustineo invidiæ.—Certe Evangelico negotio non parum obfuerit, si vileant homines, per occasionem Evangelii Reipublicæ disciplinam fieri deteriores.—Pro meo erga bonas literas et erga rem Evangelicam affectu sincerissimo visum est hoc admonere. Ea res vehementer displicuit ipsi etiam Luthero et Melancthoui, qui intelligunt nullos*

from its adherents.¹⁰ From this time Erasmus complains incessantly of the hostility of the Evangelicals.¹¹ The haughty style

homines magis officere negotio Evangelico, quam tales.—Pro Evangelio provehendo plurimum laborum et invidiæ sustinui. Omnia recusavi quæ mihi Principes obtulerunt, ut scriberem adversus Lutherum, imo mea malui perdere, quam ad affectus quorundam scribere contra meam conscientiam. Tantum isti foederi (the Evangelical Church) nolui dare nomen, quum multis aliis de causis, tum ob hoc, quod quaedam in libris Lutheri non intelligerem, quaedam omnino non probarem, præsertim cum in ista conjuratione viderem quosdam esse, quorum mores et molimina mihi viderentur longissime abesse a spiritu Evangelico. Nullus usquam a me laesus est, vel quia faverit Luthero, vel quia parum faverit. Thus wrote Erasmus in August, 1524, although as early as September his work against Luther had appeared. Compare Ulrich v. Hutten gegen Desid. Erasmus u. D. Er. gegen U. v. H. zwey Streitschriften, übersetzt, mit den nöthigen Notizen versehen u. beurtheilt von D. J. J. Stolz. Aarau, 1813. Ulrich v. Hutten von Wagenseil, Nürnberg, 1823, s. 129. Hutten's Werke von Münch, iv. 646. Erasmus Leben v. Hess, ii. 116. Erasmus Leben von Müller, s. 307. [Ulrich von Hutten, von Dr. Dan. Fr. Strauss. 2 Thele. Leipz., 1858.]

¹⁰ In defense of Hutten and the Reformation against the *Spongia*, as Hutten had died before its publication, on the island of Ufnau, in the Lake of Zurich, in Aug., 1523, Otto of Brunfels wrote at Strasburg his Ad Spongiam Erasmi pro Hutteno Responsio (Hutten's Works by Münch, iv. 497), and Erasmus Alberus his Judicium de Spongia Erasmi (l. c. p. 555). Luther gave his opinion with regard to this controversy (to Hausmann, 1st Oct. 1523, de Wette, ii. 411): Equidem Huttenum nollem expostulasse, multo minus Erasmus extersisse. Si hoc est spongia abstergere, rogo, quid est maledicere et conviciari? Prorsus frustra sperat Erasmus sua rhetorica sic omnibus ingeniis abuti, quasi nemo sit, imo quasi pauci sint, qui sentiant, quid alat Erasmus.—Incredibilem et nominis et auctoritatis jacturam fecit hoc libro. Luther's opinion upon Erasmus in general (to Oecolampadius, 20th Jun., 1523, de Wette, ii. 352): Quid Erasmus in rerum spiritualium judicio sentiat, aut simulet, testantur ejus libelli abunde, tam primi quam novissimi. Ego etsi aculeos ejus alicubi sentio, tamen quia simulat, se non esse hostem palam, simulo et ego, me non intelligere astutias suas, quanquam penitus intelligatur, quam ipse credat. Ipse fecit ad quod ordinatus fuit. Linguas introduxit, et a sacrilegis studiis revocavit. Forte et ipse cum Mose in campatribus Moab morietur: nam ad meliora studia (quod ad pietatem pertinet) non provehit. Vellemque mirum in modum, abstinere ipsum a tractandis Scripturis sanctis et paraphrasibus suis, quod non sit par istis officiis, et lectores frustra occupat et moratur in Scripturis descendis. Satis fecit, quod malum ostendit: at bonum ostendere (ut video) et in terram promissionis ducere non potest. Sed quid ego de Erasmo tam multa? nisi ut illius nomine et auctoritate nihil movearis, atque adeo gaudeas, si quid ei displicere sentias in re ista scripturarum, ut qui vel non possit, vel non velit de iis recte judicare, sicut paene totus jam orbis incipit de eo sentire. Erasmus was much vexed at this letter, a sight of which he soon obtained; see his letter to Zwingli, 31st Aug., Note 5, above.

¹¹ *Ep. ad Stanisl. Turzonem Ep. Olomucensem*, dd. 21. Mart., 1523 (Opp. iii. i. 766): Sunt, qui me impudentissime etiam in aula Caesaris traduxerint ut Lutheranum. Illic fremunt in me Lutherani, quod ab eo dissentiam, meumque nomen in publicis professionibus suis lacerant, libellos insuper dentatos minitantur. *Ad Sylvestrum Prieratem*, 1523 (l. c. 777): Aleander nihil non facit adversus Lutherum, at si pernosces rem omnem, solus Erasmus plus fregit vires et animos illius factionis, quam omnia Aleandri molimina.—Id an vobis isthie [*Romæ*] persuasum sit, nescio: certe Lutherani hic intelligunt, qui mihi uni imputant, quod illis non succedit, jamque dentatis libellis in me debacchantur tanquam in adversarium, et vere sum. *Ad Jo. Canium*, 1524 (l. c. 795): ignoras, quantum malorum hic sustineam a Lutheranis. Ego puto, mortem esse leviolem his quæ patior.—Lutherani in neminem magis fremunt, quam in Erasmus.

in which Luther offered him peace¹² 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.¹³ And so, to assail the formidable Luther in the weakest

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 aegre tuli admodum, quod editis libellis in aliquot locis pro illorum gratia captanda, aut furore mitigando, nos acerbissime momorderis et perstrinxeris. Quando enim videmus, nondum esse tibi a Domino datam eam fortitudinem vel et sensum, ut monstris illis nostris libere et fidenter occurras nobiscum, nec ii sumus, qui a te exigere audeamus id, quod vires et modum tuum superat. Quia imbecillitatem tuam et mensuram doni Dei in te toleravimus et venerati sumus.—Sic hactenus stilum cohibui, utcunque pungeres me, cohibiturumque etiam scripsi in literis ad amicos, quae tibi quoque lectae sunt, donec palam prodires. Nam utcunque non nobiscum sapias et pleraque pietatis capita vel impie vel simulanter damnes aut suspendas, pertinaciam tamen tibi tribuere non possum neque volo. Nunc autem quid faciam? utrinque res exacerbata est. Ego optarem (si possem fieri mediator) ut et illi desinerent te impetere tantis animis, sinerentque senectutem tuam cum pace in Domino obdormire. Id sane facerent mea quidem sententia, si rationem haberent tuae imbecillitatis, et magnitudinem causae, quae modulum tuum dudum egressa est, perpenderent: praesertim cum res jam eo pervenerit, ut parum sit metuendum periculum nostrae causae, si Erasmus etiam summis viribus oppugnaret, nedum si aliquando spargit aculeos et dentes tantum. Rursus si tu, mi Erasme, illorum infirmitatem cogitares, et a figuris illis rhetoricae tuae salsis et amaris abstineres, etsi omnino neque posses neque aures nostra asserere, intacta tamen dimitteres et tua tractares. Erasmus answered on the 5th May (Fortg. 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 perpetior, et hactenus omnium venor occasionem, ut Evangelium fiat omnibus commune. Caeterum quod tu imbecillitatem voees aut ignorantiam, partim constantia est, partim iudicium. Tua quaedam legens valde pertimesco, ne qua arte deludat Satanus animum tuum: rursus alia sic non capio, ut velim hunc metum meum esse falsum. Nolim profiteri, quod ipse mihi nondum persuasi, multo minus quod nondum assequor. Hactenus rectius consului negotio Evangelico, quam multi qui se jactant Evangelii nomine. Video, per hanc occasionem exoriri multos perditos et seditiosos; video pessumire bonas literas ac disciplinas; video discindi amicitias, et vereor, ne cruentus exoritur tumultus. Si tuus animus sincerus est, precor ut Christus bene fortunet quod agis: me nulla res corrumpet, ut sciens prodam Evangelium humanis affectibus. Nihil adhuc in te scripsi, facturus id magno Principum applausu, nisi vidissem hoc absque iactura Evangelii non futurum: tantum eos repuli, qui conabantur omnibus modis Principibus passim persuadere, mihi tecum foedus esse, et mihi tecum per omnia convenire, et in libris meis esse quicquid tu doceres; haec opinio vix etiam nunc potest ex illorum animis revelli. Quid scribas in me, non magnopere laboro: si mundum spectem, nihil mihi accidere posset felicius.—Si paratus es omnibus reddere rationem de ea, quae in te est, fide, quare aegre feras, si quis discendi gratia tecum disputet? Fortasse Erasmus scribens in te magis profuerit Evangelio, quam quidam stolidi scribentes pro te, caet.*

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. (Cutbert. Tonstallus ad Erasm. dd. 7. Jul., 1523, Opp. iii. i. 771). With what fear Erasmus undertook the work, and how highly he estimated his compliance with the King's wish, may be seen in his Ep. ad Henricum Regem Angliae, dd. 4. Sept., 1523 (l. c. p. 773): *Molior aliquid adversus nova dogmata, sed non ausim edere, nisi relicta Germania, ne cadam, priusquam descendam in arenam.*

part of his theological system, he wrote his work *De Libero Arbitrio*, in September, 1524.¹⁴ Luther replied with his usual bitterness in the work *De Servo Arbitrio* (Dec., 1525).¹⁵ Erasmus repaid, in like coin, in his *Hyperaspistes* (1526).¹⁶ Thus the renowned Erasmus¹⁷ now passed over into the ranks of the enemies

¹⁴ Opp. ed. Lugd. ix. 1215. See the double-tongued expressions with which he accompanied it, Erasmus ad Henricum Angl. Regem, dd. 6. Sept., 1524 (l. c. p. 816): *Quid non audeam tuae felicissimae Majestatis fretus auspiciis? Jacta est alea, exiit in lucem libellus De Libero Arbitrio, audax, mihi crede, facinus, ut nunc res habent Germaniae. Exspecto lapidationem, et jam nunc aliquot rabiosi libelli provolarunt in caput meum. Sed consolabor meipsum exemplo Majestatis tuae, cui non pareit istorum immanitas. Decretum erat et aliqui facere ad quod per literas hortaris, et religione Christianae juvanda immori, sed tamen alacrior id faciam, posteaquam tua Majestas currenti, quod ajunt, calcar addere dignata est. Ad Melanchthonem eod. die (l. c. p. 819): Miraberis, cur emiserim libellum De Libero Arbitrio. Sustinebam triplex agmen inimicorum. Theologi et bonarum literarum osores nullum non movebant lapidem, ut perderent Erasmum. Hi Monarchis omnibus persuaserant, me juratissimum esse Lutherum. Itaque amici, videntes me periclitari, spem praebuere Pontifici et Principibus, fore ut aliquid ederem in Lutherum. Eam spem et ipse pro tempore alui. Et interim isti non expectato libello coeperant me libellis lacessere. Nihil igitur restabat, nisi ut ederem quod scripseram: alioqui et Monarchas habuissim infensos, quibus visus fuissim dedisse verba.—Postremo quoniam epistola Lutheri (Not. 12) jam est in manibus, qua pollicetur se cohibiturum calamum in me si conquiescam; viderer ex pacto non edere. Ad haec qui Romae profiteantur literas ethnicas, ipsi *ἔθνικώτεροι*, mire fremunt in me, invidentes, ut apparet, Germanis. Itaque si nihil edidissim, praebuissim ansam et theologis, et Monachis, et illis Romanensibus figulis,—ut facilius persuaderent Pontificibus ac Monarchis quod persuadere conabuntur: postremo hos furiosos Evangelicos habuissim iniquiores. Nam ipse rem tractavi modestissime. Et tamen quod scribo, non scribo adversus animi sententiam, quanquam ab hac quoque libenter discessurus, ubi persuadebitur quod rectius est. Many persons took offense at Luther's strong Augustinianism. George, Duke of Saxony, in a letter to the King of England, dd. 7. Id. Maj. 1523, designated as Luther's fundamental error (Seekendorf, Comm. de Luther. i. 277), quod bonorum et malorum necessitatem a Deo pendere statuat, errore ne Ethnicis quidem tolerando, quo omnis humanae rationis vis, omne consilium, jus denique omne, quod vel praemium bonis, vel poenam malis decernit, tollatur.*

¹⁵ T. Witenb. ii. 457; Jen. iii. 160.

¹⁶ Opp. ed. Lugd. x. 1249.

¹⁷ As to the effect of his controversial work he writes, ad Jac. Sadoletum, d. 25. Febr., 1525 (Opp. iii. i. 854): non paucos revocaui a factione damnata, et jam passim redduntur literae, quibus declarant se persuasos libello *De Libero Arbitrio* ab hoc Lutheri dogmate descivisse. On the other hand, ad Hier. Emser, 1527 (l. c. p. 1056): Quid mea diatriba civilius? Quid profecit tamen, nisi quod Lutheranos excitavit ad majorem insaniam! 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 Carpensis, 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: Quid in eum posses, modo velles, declarasti libello tuo *De Libero Arbitrio*, quo Lutherum non exagitas, non perturbas modo, sed prosternis, enecas.—Quod si idem praestiteris dogmatibus in caeteris, jam non erit, quod suspicari possint homines, nullo pacto convenire tibi cum Lutherum. Si autem praeterieris, hoc edito libello potius suspicionem adauxisti. Putabunt enim multi, si aequè in caeteris dissensisses, pariter caetera te fuisse 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; 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

rum, quae silentio probare videaris, hoc uno tantum improbat. On the controversy of this prince with Erasmus, see Hess's *Life of Erasmus*, i. 843.—Following Erasmus, his decided friends separated entirely from the Reformation, e. g., John of Botzheim, Canon of Constance (see J. v. B. by K. Walchner. Schaffhausen, 1836, s. 65 ff.).

¹³ Compare *Erasmi Consilium Senatui Basil. in Negotio Lutherano*, datum A. D. 1525 (in *Erasmus Leben* by Hess, ii. 577, in German, in *Wursteisen's Basler Chronik*, B. vii. cap. 13), e. g., *Si Tigurinis persuaderi possit, ut imagines, formam Missae—reponerent, donec ex publico orbis consilio statueretur super his, valde pertineret ad totius Helvetiae concordiam. Et tamen si id non possit persuaderi, nolim hac gratia moveri bellum, sed expectare potius occasionem. De sumptione Eucharistiae, si id pio affectu petatur ex consensu regionis tribus verbis, impetrabitur a Pontifice, cujus auctoritas certe ad hoc valebit hic, ut excludat seditionem civilem. De esu carnis idem sentio. Si rogetur Pontifex publico vestrae regionis nomine, nihil erit difficultatis.*

¹⁹ Luther against the *Himmliche Propheten*, in Walch, xx. 227.

²⁰ He defended his boisterous principles of Reform in a letter addressed to the recorder of Joachimsthal: "Ob man gemach fahren, und des Ergernüssen der Schwachen versehenen soll in Sachen, so Gottis Willen angehen, 1524. 4." (reprinted in *Füssli's Beytrage*, 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. 2433), 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 entschlossen haben. Item die Handlung D. M. Luther's mit dem Rath und der Gemeinde der Stadt Orlamunde, am Tage Bartholomai daseibst geschehen" (by Mart. Reinhard, preacher in Jena), 1524. 4., in Walch, xv. 2422 and 2435.

²¹ Andreas Bodenstein's *sonst Carlstadt genant Lebensgeschichte* v. J. C. Füsslin, Franf. u. Leipz. 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. 138, 378, 2852.

Luther had, in former times, wavered with regard to this doctrine.²² 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 intermixture 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.²³ 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,²⁴ by

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, xix. 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."

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. 326), Carlstadt had drawn his doctrine of the Lord's Supper from a work *De Eucharistia*, which Henry Rodius, president of the House of Brethren at Utrecht, had received from Cornelius Hoenius (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. 326, 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

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;²⁵ 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.²⁶ Zwingle had long cherished this doctrine in secret.²⁷ 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. 3): "Eat the bread, for this my body is the 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 Zanehii Opp. in Gerdesii Serinium v. 227): Hoc ego, fratres, ingenue dico, et coram Domino sic sentio, optandum piis, ut nihil unquam contra Lutherum de Eucharistia scriptum esset.—Jam in spiritualement manducationem posuerat omnia, corporalem ultro admodum extenuabat, fiduciam in externum opus submoverat: ubi autem Carolostadius virum commovit, sicut persuaserat sibi, Carolostadium velle externum verbum et Sacramenta penitus e medio tollere, ita totus erat in evehendis istis, sicut nihil in eo non vehemens: indeque factum, ut nos ipsi, et nostri Oecolampadius et Zwinglius putaremus, cum externis rursus justificandi vim tribuere, quod ille tamen nunquam sensit.

²⁵ 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 Melancthon ad Camerarium, dd. 26. Jul., 1529 (Mel. Opp. ed. Bretschneider, i. 1083), writes of Erasmus, whom he calls Pothinus (Ποθεινός Desiderius): Vide quantum judicii sit nostris inimicis: illum amant, qui multorum dogmatum semina in suis libris sparsit, quae fortasse longe graviores tumultus aliquando excitatura fuerant, nisi Lutherus exortus esset, ac studia hominum alio traxisset. Tota illa tragoedia περί δειπνον κυριακῶν ab ipso nata videri potest. Quam non iniquus esse videri alicubi possit Ario et illius factioni, quam nos hic constantissime improbavimus. Quae litera in libris est magnopere digna viro Christiano de justificatione, de jure Magistratum?—Sed tollant eum, qui non norunt.

²⁷ 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 Wytttenbach, 15th June, 1523 (Opp. vii. i.

it:²⁸ 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.²⁹

297); but here Zwingle unfolds it as a secret: Ex his omnibus, puto, sententiam nostram, doctissime praeceptor, capis, non quod etiam nunc ita doceam: vereor enim, ne porci in nos conversi dirumpent tum doctrinam, tum doctorem: non quod tanti faciam tumultuosam hanc vitam, sed ne, quod recte sancteque doceri poterit, dum intempestive doceretur, damni quiddam aut tumultus Christo daret. Before the public at large, at that time, he only denied transubstantiation, in his explanation of the Articles (July, 1523), and taught that the body and blood are received by faith only (Uelegung des XVIII. Artikels, in Zw. Works, i. 251).—However, in 1521, the work issued by Cornelius Honius (see Note 24) had already fallen into his hands and won his assent; see Lud. Lavateri Hist. de Origine et Progressu Controversiae Sacramentariae de Coena Domini. Tiguri, 1564, p. 1, b. Factum quoque est, ut Joannes Rhodius et Georgius Saganus, pii et docti viri, Tigurum venirent, ut de Eucharistia cum Zwingli conferrent. Qui cum ejus sententiam audivissent, dissimulantes suam; gratias egerunt Deo, quod a tanto eorum liberati essent, atque Honii Batavi epistolam protulerunt, in qua est in verbis institutionis Coenae Dominicae per *significat* explicatur, quae interpretatio Zwinglio commodissima videbatur. In the year 1525 Zwingle published this work: Epistola Christiana admodum ab annis quatuor ad quandam, apud quem omne judicium sacrae scripturae fuit (Luther), ex Batavis missa, sed spreta, longe aliter tractans coenam dominicam, quam hactenus tractata est, per Honnium Batavum; reprinted in Gerdesii Hist. Ev. Ren. i. Monum. p. 231. Melancthonis Epist. ad Aquilam, dd. 12. Oct., 1529 (Bretschneider, iv. 970), is also worthy of notice; Cinglius mihi confessus est (in Marburg), se ex Erasmi scriptis primum hausisse opinionem suam de Coena Domini.

²⁸ Erasmus ad Mich. Budam Episc. Lingonensem, dd. 2. Oct., 1525 (Opp. iii. i. 892): Exortum est novum dogma, in Eucharistia nihil esse praeter panem et vinum. Id ut sit difficillimum refellere, fecit Jo. Oecolampadius, qui tot testimoniis, tot argumentis eam opinionem communit, ut seduci posse videantur etiam electi. Ad Bilib. Pirkheimer, dd. 6. Jun., 1526 (p. 941): Mihi non displiceret Oecolampadii sententia, nisi obstaret consensus Ecclesiae. Nec enim video quid agat corpus insensibile, nec utilitatem allaturum si sentiretur, modo adsit in symbolis gratia spiritualis. Et tamen ab Ecclesiae consensu non possum discedere, nec unquam discessi. Ad eund., dd. 30. Jul., 1526, p. 945: Pellican, who had come to Zürich early in 1526 as professor of Hebrew, assured his friends in this place of Erasmus's agreement with them in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper: and the three letters in which Erasmus reproaches him for so doing (p. 963 ss.) were not calculated to refute this assurance; compare Erasmus's Life by Hess, ii. 264. 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. 352; 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 domini, tamen Deus illum errorem nulli poterit imputare. Quum eum adoramus in Eucharistia, semper subest tacita exceptio, si illic vere est. Nobis enim non constat, an sacerdos 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 göttl. Schrift, der Neuerungen wegen an dem Nachmale des Herrn zu Strasburg vorgenommen, Ibid. s. 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,³⁰ but soon after also in public.³¹ To refute Carlstadt, Luther wrote against the *Celestial Prophets* in 1525;³² Bugenhagen's work, *Contra Novum Errorem de Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis Christi*,³³ was directed against Zwingle. Carlstadt, oppressed by want, and the suspicion of being concerned in the Peasants' Rebellion,³⁴ soon yielded once more, and returned repentant to Saxony;³⁵ but the controversy awakened by him was continued by both parties in a violent series of works. Zwingle defended his doctrine in several works;³⁶ Oecolampadius joined him;³⁷ but he met with opponents in the Swabian preachers, led by John Brentz and Erhard Schnepf.³⁸ Luther himself first appeared against the Swiss party

640. 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 *significat*. 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 dieturi simus, quicquid tandem adduxerimus.* And in conclusion: *Adjuro te per Christum Jesum, qui judicaturus est vivos et mortuos, ut hanc epistolam nulli hominum communcies, 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. 261.

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. 2468). Compare Füssli, *Leben Carlstadt's*, s. 92; *Leben Munzer's von Strobel*, s. 76.

³⁵ Walch, xv. 2466.

³⁶ Especially "Eine klare Ueerrichtung 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. Ecel. Wirtembergicæ*, p. 41). He sought to prove a trope in the word *corpus*: *Hoc est figura corporis mei.*

³⁸ *Clarissimorum virorum, qui anno 1525 Ilalæ Suevorum convenerunt, syngramma et pium et eruditum super verbis coenæ dominicæ ad Jo. Oecolampadium, dd. 21. Oct., 1525, commonly called Syngramma Suevicum* (composed by Brenz; see Walch, xx., *Hist. Einleit.*, s. 34), also in Pfaff, l. c. p. 153.

in a Preface³⁹ 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 Apertanus, the first evangelical preacher at Emden, immediately adopted this doctrine; see Sittermann, in Vater's Kirchengesch. Archiv, 1824, iii. 36, 43.

⁴¹ See Note 29.

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

⁴³ Historie Thomae Münzer's von Phil. Melancthon (Luther's Werke von Walch, xvi. 199). Leben, Schriften u. Lehren Thomae Müntzer's von G. Th. Strobel. Nürnberg u. Altdorf, 1795. 8. Thomas Münzer von L. v. Baczko, in Woltmann's Zeitschrift, Geschichte u. Politik, 1840, ii. 1. Hast, Gesch. der Wiedertaufer Münster, 1836, s. 58. Old mystic writings, as for instance the prophecies of the Abbot Joachim and Tauler's works, had produced a strong effect upon him, Strobel, s. 7 ff. A contemporary writes of him (Tentzel's Hist. Bericht v. Cyprian, ii. 334): "Thomas Münzer and his followers were carried away by a misunderstanding of Tauler's doctrine of the spirit and ground of the soul, for he read him constantly."

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 1524,⁴⁶ and withdrew beyond Nuremberg to Waldshut, on the borders of Switzerland, where he had already formed connections by letter.⁴⁷ In Switzerland there were also many persons who longed for a speedier and more thorough reformation of the Church,⁴⁸ and who particularly insisted upon the rejection of infant baptism, about which Zwingle had for some time been in doubt.⁴⁹

been sprinkled with water, Strobel, s. 43, 154, 159. In his history of the Anabaptists, Bullinger thus states Münzer's doctrine (Füssli's *Beyträge*, v. 136): "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 sanftlebende Fleisch zu Wittenberg, welches mit erklärter Weyse durch den Diepstal der heil. Schrift die erbermliche Christenheit also ganz jämmerlichen besudelt hat." 4. Strobel, s. 64, 162.

⁴⁷ Especially with Conrad Grebel. On his letter to Munzer at Altstadt, on the 5th Sept., 1524, see Zwingle's Works, ii. i. 374. [On Grebel, see Heberle, *Die Anfänge 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, Nielas 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. XVIII. (Works, i. 239), 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 Tounf, vom Wiedertounf, und vom Kindertounf" (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;⁵⁰ who soon spread from this place over the whole of Switzerland. Unfortunately, at this very time the great insurrection of the peasants⁵¹ 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.⁵² The refusal to instate 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,⁵³ 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 (Fussli, ii. 64).

⁵⁰ At this time the susceptibility to fanaticism was still further increased by external oppression. This town had called Balthasar 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.

⁵¹ There is a list of works on the subject in Strobel's *Beyträge zur Literatur*, ii. 43. Especially *Petri Gnodalii Seditio repentina vulgi, praecepit Rusticorum anno 1525 exorta*. Basil, 1580. 8., also in Schardii *Scriptt. Rer. Germ.* ii. 1031. G. Sartorius, *Gesch. des Deutschen Bauernkrieges*. Berlin, 1795. 8. *Materialien zur Gesch. des Bauernkrieges, 3 Lieferungen*. Chemnitz, 1791-94. F. F. Oechsle, *Beiträge zur Gesch. des Bauernkrieges in den Schwäbisch-Fränkischen Grenzlanden*. Heilbronn, 1830. W. Wachsmuth *der Deutsche Bauernkrieg*, in his *Darstellungen aus der Gesch. des Reformations-Zeitalters*, Th. 1, Lief. 1. Leipzig, 1834. 8. *Das Breisgau im Bauernkriege*, in *Schreiber's Taschenbuch f. Geschichte u. Alterthum in Süddeutschland*. Freiburg, 1839, s. 233. Ranke's *Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter der Ref.* ii. 182.

⁵² Oechsle, s. 74 ff. Wachsmuth's *Aufstände und Kriege der Bauern im Mittelalter*, in *Raumer's Hist. Taschenbuch*, Jahrg. 5. 1834, s. 281. Ranke's *Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter der Reform.* 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 Spire; in 1513, the *Arme Konz* in Wirtemberg; in 1514 in the diocese of Augsburg and in Carinthia; in 1517 in the Windische Mark.

⁵³ "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*, ii. 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

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. II. 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 unreasoning 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 to 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

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.⁵⁴

been rightfully purchased. XI. In the eleventh place, we will entirely abolish the custom called *Todfall* (right of heriot), 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 recede therefrom, 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, Schelhorn's *Reformationsgesch. der Stadt Memmingen*, s. 80: it was probably John Heuglin, matrin-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.

⁵⁴ 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 can not 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 ravings, 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 cvii. 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, Dent. 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,⁵⁵ was in a short time accomplished, but for the most part with frightful cruelty. This agitation extended into Switzerland also: in the dominions of Zurich, Basle, and Schafhausen, peasants came before their rulers with importunate demands, but they were soon reduced to submission by measures of forbearance.⁵⁶

In this great insurrection of the peasants no traces of Anabaptist fanaticism were seen, although Münzer had some part in its commencement.⁵⁷ But the Anabaptists in several places were thereby encouraged to adopt violent measures in order to carry out their fanatical plans. Early in 1525 Thomas Münzer made his appearance again in Thuringia, where, supported by his former allies,⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ But the revolt was once more subdued

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 Mansfield, in Walch, xvi. 99.

⁵⁶ Anshelm, vi. 306. Bullinger, i. 265. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 14 ff.

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 Hugefeldus 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 Thomae 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,⁶⁰ afterward it espe-

to the miners of Mansfeld (in Walch, xvi. 150): E. g., "Let not your sword cool in blood; forge Pinkepank 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 Müntzer with the sword of Gideon*.

⁶⁰ The hot-headed party first betook themselves secretly to Zwingle and Leo Judæ (see Zwingle's *Aussage vor den Nachgängern*, d. i. *Untersuchungsrichtern*, in Füssli, i. 228. And his account in the work *Vom Touf, vom Wiedertouf u. 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; Zwinglii *Elenchus*, p. 363. On this point they had several conferences with Zwingle; they appeared to yield, but soon after actually commenced rebaptizing: Zwinglius, l. c., states this fact with the remark, nihil per omnem de infantium baptismo pugnam de catabaptismo proposuisse; videri hunc catabaptismum 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 Oecolampadius of Jan., 1525, designates this as the position of the question (*Epistolæ Oecolampadii et Zwinglii*, at the beginning of lib. ii.). Hubmeyer thus states his way of proceeding at this time in Waldshut: *Loco baptismatis ego curo convenire Ecclesiam, inducens infantulum, ac lingua vernacula interpretor Evangelium: Oblati sunt parvuli Matth. xix. Subinde imposito nomine orat tota Ecclesia flexis genibus pro parvulo.—Si vero sunt parentes adhuc infirmi, qui volunt omnibus nervis baptizari prolem; hanc baptizo, in opere infirmus sum cum infirmis oculis ad tempus, dum erudiantur 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 entire denial of infant baptism, and so to rebaptizing, Zwingli Von d. Predigtamt, Works, ii. i. 306: "They first came from Zurich." The first man who allowed himself to be baptized by Grebel in Zurich was George Blaurock (Füssli, ii. 338); afterward many persons were baptized by Blaurock and Manz in Zollikon, where John Brödlly was minister (*ibid.* s. 266), and now the fanaticism of the party broke out openly. Zwinglii *Elenchus* (Opp. ii. 364): *Magnis examinibus in urbem advolet, posita zona, salice aut reste cincti, in foro atque triviis, ut ipsi jactabant, prophetantes. De antiquo dracone, quem me volebant, deque ejus capitibus, quibus reliquos verbi symmystas, omnia implebant. Justitiam atque innocentiam omnibus commendabant, ab eis peregre nimirum profecturi; communia se habere jam omnia et gloriabantur, et aliis, ni idem fecerint, ultima comminabantur. Per plateas *Vae, Vae*, portentose, *Vae Tiguro!* clamabant. Quidam Jonam imitati adhuc quadraginta dierum inducias urbi dabant. In Lent, 1525, Brödlly and William Roubli being driven from Zollikon, betook themselves to Schaffhausen; the latter afterward went to Waldshut (see Brödlly'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,⁶¹ but it also affected other cantons. The authorities proceeded at first with great leniency. An attempt was made to reclaim the erring by writings,⁶² and several religious conferences.⁶³ As, however, civil order continued to be threatened,⁶⁴ 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 Simmler, i. 129).

⁶¹ See Alt. Ref. gesch. v. St. Gallen, in Simler, *ibid.* Their excesses (see s. 141 ff., Bullinger, i. 323) at length proceeded so far that Thomas Schugger struck off the head of his brother Leonard, as by the command of God; see J. F. Franz, *Die schwärmerischen Gräuelsenen der St. Galler Wiedertäufer*. Ebnat im Toggenburg, 1824. 8.

⁶² Zwingle especially dedicated his work *Vom Tauf, vom Wiedertauf, und vom Kindertauf*, of the 27th May, 1525, to the community of St. Gall (Works, ii. i. 230). Hubmeyer wrote in answer *Von dem christl. Tauf der Gläubigen*. Then followed: Ueber Doctor Balthazar's *Taufbüchlin wahrhafte gründete Antwort durch Huldr. Zwinglin*, in Nov., 1525 (Werke, ii. i. 337).

⁶³ At Zurich, on the 17th Jan., Zwingle ad Vadianum, dd. 19. Jan. (Opp. vii. 385; Bullinger, i. 238), on the 20th March (Bullinger, i. 239), on the 6th to the 8th Nov., 1525 (Bullinger, i. 294; Muller-Hottinger, vii. 34; Zwingle's Works, ii. i. 340). At Basle on Whit-Monday, 1525 (Simler, i. 492).

⁶⁴ On the doctrinal views of the Anabaptists, see Bullinger, in Füssli, v. 131. Zwingli in *Catabaptistarum 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 benefices 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 wicked 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, inasmuch 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 Testaments, 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 (Zwingleus, l. c. p. 433: *Catabaptistae decent mortuos dormire et corpore et animis usque in diem judicii, propterea quod dormiendi verbo ignorant Hebræos pro moriendi verbo uti*). The preachers yield too much to the governing powers, of which Christians have no need, as they only entail suffering. A

to capital punishment.⁶⁵ 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, accordingly they require no tribunal. A Christian makes use of no court. Christians put no man to death. Their punishment is not with imprisonment and the sword, but only by exclusion. 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 Yea, yea, 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; tertio publice pro ecclesia debent corrigi juxta praeceptum Domini. Hoc autem fieri debet juxta ordinationem—divini spiritus ante fractionem panis, ut omnes unanimiter—unum panem frangere atque edere possimus, et de uno calice bibere*).—They naturally disowned the name of Anabaptists, as they declared infant-baptism invalid; they rather called this Anti-baptism (Füssli, iii. 229). But they wished to restore the sacraments in general to their original institution; see the Confession of George Blaurock (Füssli, 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; Zwingli, 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 Hubmeyer ad Oecolampad. in Jo. Oecol. et Huld. Zwinglii Epistoll. lib. ii. init.; Jac Kautz, in Füssli, v. 150). But they often celebrated it in their own houses, imitating more exactly the Supper as it was instituted (Füssli, i. 267, ii. 362 ff.). But their doctrine of the Spirit was of principal importance; Zwingl. l. c. p. 436: *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 Füssli, v. 139): 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. 435: *tam Daemonem quam impios omnes beari: this Hans Denk taught at St. Gall* (Simler, i. 139). The insane doctrines of the Anabaptists of St. Gall were censured even by Grebel and Manz; see Franz, *Schwärmer. Grauelseenen*, 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). Füssli (*Kirchen u. Ketzehistorie der mittlern 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.

⁶⁵ Immediately after the first conference (see Note 63), in January, 1525, a decree of the Council was issued at Zürich, that all persons should have their children baptized or leave the canton (Füssli, i. 189). Soon afterward the principal authors of disturbance were thrown into prison (*ibid.* s. 205 ann.); they succeeded in breaking out of their prison, and now announced that, like the Apostles, they had been set free by an angel (Füssli, i. 249, Ann., 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 every where punished with death;⁶⁶ but its victims bequeathed to the faithful an encouraging history of martyrdom,⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸

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 Städte 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, 265); Hubmeyer was burned to death at Vienna in 1529 (Schelhorn Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica, Ulm, 1738, p. 150. II. Schreiber's Taschenbuch für Geschichte u. Alterthum in Süddeutschland. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1839, s. 1).

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

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

⁶⁸ Erasmi Hyperaspistes, lib. i. (Opp. x. 1256): Habemus fructum tui spiritus, res usque ad cruentam stragem progressa est, et metuinus atrociora, ni Deus propitiatus averterit.—Non agnoscis hosce seditiosos, opinor, sed illi te agnoscent, et jam comperitum est, multos, qui se jactabant Evangelii nomine, fuisse seditionis crudelissimae instigatores. Quorum conatus si successisset, fortassis extitissent qui probarent, quod nunc re male gesta detestantur. Tu quidem libello in agricolas saevissimo suspicionem abs te depulisti, nec tamen efficis, quo minus credant homines, per tuos libellos, praesertim germanice scriptos, in oleatos et rasos, in Monachos, in Episcopos, pro libertate evangelica contra tyrannidem humanam, hisce tumultibus fuisse datam occasionem. Nondum tam male de te sentio, Luthere, ut existimem, te huc destinasse tua concilia, sed tamen jam pridem cum hanc fabulam ordieris, e calami tui violentia cepi conjecturam, rem huc exituram. Cochlaeus ad ann. 1523, fol. 64 b. Nulla unquam factio fuit ita seditiosa, pestilens, nefaria, quae sic religionem omnem tollere, leges omnes obruere, mores omnes bonos corrumpere, respublicas omnes evertere machinata sit, ut nunc ista conjuratio Lutherana, quae et sacra omnia profanat, et profana contaminat. Quae ita Christum praedicat, ut ejus Sacramenta conculcet; ita Dei buccinat gratiam, ut arbitrii libertatem destruat; ita fidem extollit, ut operibus bonis detrahat, et invehat peccandi licentiam; ita misericordiam sublevat, ut justitiam deprimat; et malorum omnium causam inevitabilem non in Deum aliquem malum, quod Manichaei saltem commenti sunt, sed in unicum illum vere bonum rejiciat. Qui cum ad hunc modum impie divina tractarit, velut a coelo dejectus serpens, virus effundit in terras, in Ecclesia commovet dissensionem, leges omnes abrogat, Magistratus omnes enervat, laicos in sacerdotes concitat, utrosque adversus Pontificem, populos adversus Principes: nec aliud plane molitur, quam ut (quod omen avertant Superi) Germaniae primum populus tanquam pro libertate bellum indicat Proceribus, deinde ut Christiani contra Christianos, spectantibus et irridentibus Christi hostibus, pro Christi fide ac religione depugnent,

§ 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 Grossmüthige*, ii. 83). Philip replied to this charge in 1528 (*ibid.* s. 85): "Your highness writes that 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 Strasburg 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. Grossmüthige*, iii. 13, in Neudecker's *Urkunden*, s. 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 armes communes de tous Roys, Princes et Potentats Chrestiens à la repulsion et ruine desdits mescreants infideles, et extirpation des erreurs de la Secte Lutherienne, et des autres Sectes reprovées. 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 alienez du grene de la saintete Eglise. Raumer's *Gesch. Europa's seit dem Ende des funfzehnten Jahrh.* i. 310 ff.

³ 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.⁴ Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, also declared for it;⁵ 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.⁶

Philip of Hesse, a young, energetic, and keen prince, at once endeavored to form a league of the evangelical princes against the imminent dangers;⁷ 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.⁸

⁴ 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 Veessenmeyer, 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 Theil., 1754; and Gieseler's Essay, in the Zeitschrift f. gebildete Christen, Heft i. s. 105.) 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.

⁵ Philip was first made more fully acquainted with Luther's doctrine by Melancthon, whom he met upon a journey in May, 1524 (§ 1, Note 99). See Camerarius, De Vita Melancthonis, ed. Strobel, p. 94. For his further instruction Melancthon wrote "Ein Kurzer Begriff d. ernenten Christl. Lehr, an den durchl. Fursten Landgr. zu Hessen," 1524; in Latin, Epitome Renovatae Ecclesiasticae Doctrinae, in Melancthon. Opera, ed. Bretschneider, i. 703. In March, 1525, the Landgrave already declared to the Elector of Saxony "that he would rather lose body and life, land and people, than yield God's Word." See Philipp d. Grossmüthige, Landgr. von Hessen, by Chr. von Rommel, vol. 1, Biography; 2, Notes; 3, Documents. Giessen, 1830. Cf. Bd. i. s. 130 ff.; Bd. ii. s. 90 ff.

⁶ See below, § 15, Note 3.

⁷ Rommel, i. 138; iii. 10.

⁸ 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. 526. To this compact, concluded at Gotha the end of Febr., 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 offentlich am Tag, was viel und mancherley Praktiken eine Zeit hero, sonderlich von den Geistlichen, und ihren Anhängern im heil. Reich gesucht und fürgenommen seynd worden, dasselbig heil. göttlich Wort wiederumb zu verdrucken, zu vertilgen, und ganzlich aus der Menschen Herzen und Gewissen, so es möglich gewest were, zu reizen." 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, 1526.⁹ 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.¹⁰ Besides this, there was danger from the Turkish invasion of the borders of Germany; the King's brother-in-law, Louis, King of Hunga-

Leib und Gut, Land und Leute, und alles Vermögen bey einander zu setzen, auch einer dem anderen, der darüber angegriffen, überzogen, oder beschwert wollte werden, aufs stärkste, so wir immer vermögen, auf unser eigen Kosten und Schaden zuziehen, und zu Hülf und Rettung kommen wollen." To this Torgau league were added, in Magdeburg, 12th June, 1526, Philip, Otho, Ernst, and Francis, Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg, Henry, Duke of Mecklenburg, Wolf, Prince of Anhalt, Gebhard and Albert, Counts of Mansfeld (Hortleder, in the work referred to above, cap. 3, Walch, xvi. 532), and, on the 14th June, the city of Magdeburg (Hortleder, cap. 4 and 5, Walch, xvi. 533). Albert, Duke of Prussia, joined the league by a special compact with the Elector, dated Königsberg, 29th Sept., 1526; Hortleder, cap. 6, Walch, xvi. 538.

⁹ Raumer's *Gesch. Europas seit dem Ende des 15ten Jahrh.* i. 313. The original document (in Dumont, iv. i. 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 *Jnd. 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 l. 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 palam, quod abs te sollicitatus, antequam ex Hispaniis domum rediret, novum foedus inierit, et indicio cognovi te solvisse illum a jurisjurandi vinculo quo mihi tenetur. Deinde bellum intulisti prius quam literae, quibus illud denuncias, mihi essent redditae, et eo spectasti, quomodo non solum Italia tota me depelleres, verum etiam ab Imperii dignitate dejiceres.—Sed vide, quanta sit rei indignitas. Meis a regnis atque provinciis plus emolumentum atque annuae pecuniae Romam defertur, quam ex reliquis populis omnibus. Id demonstrari potest ex illis Germaniae principum postulatis, quando de curia Romana graviter conquesti, remedium adhiberi volebant: ego autem pro mea in Ecclesiam Romanam observantia querimoniam 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 aequo 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 aliis nonnullis.* Mogunt., 1527. 4. (cf. Schelhorn *Amoenitates Hist. Eccl. et Liter.*, ii. 378), reprinted in Goldasti *Politicis imperialibus*, Part xx. sec. viii. f. 863, and Part xxii. sec. i. f. 984. Cf. Ranke, *Fürsten u. Völker von Südeuropa*, ii. 100 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 Spires¹¹ 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

¹¹ The Acts in Walch, xvi. 243. Veesenmeyer, Die Verhandlungen auf d. Reichstag zu Speyer im Jahre 1526, die Religion betreffend, in Vater's Archiv, 1825, i. 22; cf. Ranke's Deutsche Gesch., ii. 354.

¹² See Spalatini Annales, in Myconii Scriptt. Rerum Germ., ii. 658.

¹³ In Walch, xvi. 266: "Und erstlich, nachdem Kayserlicher Majestät Instruction vornehmlich ausdrückt und inhält, dass auf diesem Reichstag in Sachen, den heil. Christl. Glauben,—auch die Ceremonien—belangend, keine Neuerung oder Determination beschehen—sollen: und dann ermessen und erwogen, dass der Zwispalt nicht die geringste Ursach sey der vorgegangenen Empörung des gemeinen Mannes, darzu alles Unfriedens, so sich jetzunder in Deutscher Nation erhalt:—demnach, und damit in solchem ein einhelliger gleichmässiger Verstand in dem Christlichen Glauben gemacht, auch Fried und Einigkeit in Deutscher Nation zwischen allen Ständen gepflanzt und erhalten werde: so haben wir—solches nicht—besser—zu beschehen—befinden mögen, dann durch ein frey Generalconcilium, oder aufs wenigste Nationalversammlung, welche in einem Jahr oder anderthalben aufs längst in Deutschen Landen vorgenommen werden soll. Damit dann solches also zum förderlichsten Fortgang erlange, so haben wir—eine treffentliche Botschaft—zu Kais. Majestät abgefertiget,—dass Ihre Kais. Majestät die schwere Last Deutscher Nation, solches Zwispalts und Misshehlung halben, gnädiglichen beherzigen und bedenken, sich zum förderlichsten in eigener Person heraus in Deutsche Nation verfügen, Einschens haben und verschaffen wollte, damit angezeit Generalconcilium, oder zum wenigsten eine Nationalversammlung in bestimmter Zeit—vorgenommen werden möchte.—Demnach haben wir—uns jetzo—einnüthiglich verglichen und vereiniget, mittlerzeit des Concilii, oder aber Nationalversammlung, nichtsdestoweniger mit unsern Unterthanen, ein jeglicher in Sachen, so das Edict, durch Kaiserl. Majestät, auf dem Reichstag zu Worms gehalten, ausgegangen, belangen möchten, für sich also zu leben, zu regieren, und zu halten, wie ein jeder solches gegen Gott und Kaiserl. Maj. hoffet und vertraut zu verantworten."

of Bohemia, by putting him at variance with the Dukes of Bavaria, separated the most violent enemies of the Gospel.¹⁴ 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., 1526.¹⁵ An imperial army took Rome by storm,¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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;¹⁸ also by announcing that an evangelical university

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, 1816. 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. 433).—At Munich, a minister, George Wagner (Carpentarius), was burned, Feb. 8, 1527. Special attention was aroused by the execution of Leonhard Käser (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 *Spalatin's Annales*, p. 97; cf. Winter's *Gesch. d. Evang. Lehre*, in *Baiern*, i. 235. 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).

¹⁸ *Rathschlag Melanchthons über Einrichtung des Gottesdienstes an den Landgrafen*, Sept., 1526 (Opp. ed. Bretschneider, i. 818). Francis Lambert, formerly a Franciscan

would be founded in Marburg, which was actually opened July 1, 1527.¹⁹ 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;²⁰ a general Church Visitation was appointed, 1527 to 1529, and a suitable order of worship established.²¹ 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 Hessesica ab eo proposita et asserta* (republished 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 Colonienses*, *Colloquii ann. 1526*, Hombergi in Hassia habiti *Historiam exponens*. Erphord., 1527 (reprinted in the *Unschuld. Nachrichten*, 1714, s. 30, and cum Adnot. G. C. Draudii. Giessae, 1730. 4.). The Church order here agreed upon appeared under the title *Reformatio Ecclesiarum Hassiae juxta certissimam sermonum Dei regulam ordinata in ven. Synodo—Hombergi celebrata* (in F. C. Schmincke *Monum. Hass.*, ii. 588). Rommel's *Philipp d. Grossmüthige*, i. 143, ii. 103.

¹⁹ L. Wachler *De Originibus, Progressu, Incrementis et Mutationibus, quas Acad. Marburg. experta est, spec. i. Marburgi*, 1809. 4. W. Justi, *Grundzüge einer Gesch. der Univ. zu Marburg*, in the periodical, *Die Vorzeit*, 1826, s. 1 (also reprinted separately, Marburg, 1827. 8.). D. a Coelln *Progr. Recolitur Memoria Professorum theologiae Marburgensium Philippo Magnanimo regnante*. Vratislav., 1827. 4.

²⁰ Luther to Spalatin, Febr., 1529 (de Wette, iii. 424): *Miserrima est ubique facies Ecclesiarum, rusticis nihil discentibus, nihil scientibus, nihil orantibus, nihil agentibus, nisi quod libertate abutuntur, non confitentes, non communicantes, ac si religione in totum liberi facti sint: sic enim papistica neglexerunt, nostra contemnunt, ut horrendum sit Episcoporum papisticorum 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 illarum pastores non nisi quatuor inventi sunt a Visitoribus, qui missas adhuc veteri ritu celebrarent. Viginti fere rudes et inepti, multique concubinarii et potatores deprehensi sunt*. Erhardus Matthiae Hainae in aede parochiali evangelico more docebat, in filiali, quam vocant, missificabat. Luther accordingly, from an early date, appealed to the Elector John to regulate the ecclesiastical order, 31st Oct., 1525, in de Wette, iii. 39, 30th Nov., 1525, s. 51, 22d Nov., 1526, s. 135; the two last epistles enforce the need of a visitation of the Churches.

²¹ 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, 1528.²² In the cities of Brunswick²³ and Hamburg²⁴ 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,²⁵ 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*,²⁶ 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 Pach, of a Catholic

²² J. W. v. d. Lith, Erläuterung der Reformationshistorie v. 1524–28 aus dem hochfürstl. Brandenburg-Onolzbachischen Archiv. Schwobach, 1733, s. 244 ff. Lebensbeschreibung Lazari Spenglers v. U. G. Haussdorf. Nürnberg, 1741, s. 48 ff. The twenty-three Visitation-Articles of Schwabach, probably written by A. Osiander, appeared under the title "Visitacio der Pfarrher auf dem Land, 1528," and are reprinted in v. d. Lith, s. 247 ff.

²³ Ph. J. Rehtmeyer's der berühmten Stadt Braunschweig Kirchenhistorie, iii. 53. C. G. H. Lentz Braunschweig's Kirchenreformation im 16ten Jahr. Wolfenbüttel u. Leipzig, 1828, s. 97 ff. Johannes Bugenhagen, von J. H. Zietz. Leipzig, 1829, s. 95 ff. The Church-order for Brunswick, drawn up by Bugenhagen, appeared in low German at Wittenberg in 1528, and in high German at Brunswick in 1531.

²⁴ Stephan Kempe's (preacher, † 1540) wahrhafter Bericht die Kirchensachen in Hamburg vom Anf. des Evangelii betr. herausgeg. von Strauch. Hamburg, 1828. 8. Staphorst's Hamburg. Kirchengeschichte, Th. 2. F. Munter's Kirchengesch. von Danemark u. Norwegen, iii. 656. Zietz, s. 109 ff. Ueber die Hamburgische Kirchenordnung, Zietz, s. 114.

²⁵ First published in Latin: Articuli, de quibus egerunt per Visitatores in regione Saxoniae, Wittenb., 1527. 8. Then in German, revised by Luther, and with a preface by him, under the title "Unterricht der Visitatorn an die Pfarrherrn im Kurfürstenthums zu Sachsen." Wittenburg, 1528. 4., in Walch, x. 1902. Cf. Chursächsische Visitations-Artikel vom Jahre 1527 und 1528, in both Latin and German, published, with a historical Introduction, by G. Th. Strobel. Altdorf, 1777. 8.

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*. Leipz., 1829–30. 4.

league secretly framed at Breslau,²⁷ May 12, 1527, had at least the effect of preserving the vigilance of the evangelical princes, and making their Catholic opponents cautious.²⁸ 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 Spire,²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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 Saxony, and the dukes of Bavaria. The document is in Spalatin's Annals, s. 102 b.; Hortleder, 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 Hortleder, cap. 3 ff.; Walch, xvi. 464; cf. Neudecker's Urkunden, s. 25, 60, and his Actenstücke, i. 29. On the contemporaneous literature, see the Altdorfsche liter. Museum, Bd. i. St. i. s. 43. The original document of the league could hardly have been invented by Pack; it was probably a project drawn up by a counselor of Ferdinand. Luther to Joh. Hess (de Wette, iii. 351): Ducis Georgii Proceres plane fatentur, fuisse foedus hoc non omnino chimaeram, sed literas et exemplum prae manibus haberi, quod nunc vellent falso Principum nomine et sigillo fictum videri. Rommel's Philipp der Grossmüthige, i. 210; ii. 202.

²⁸ The Landgrave, at the head of an army, forced the Bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg 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 Hitzkirchen, June 11, 1528, was forced to renounce ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Saxony and Hesse to the tune of peace in religious affairs. See the agreement in C. Ph. Kopp, hessische Gerichtsverfassung, Th. 1, s. 107; No. 46 in the *Beylage*.

²⁹ Historie 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. Karl V., wie auch ferner dem zu Augspurg übergebenen Glaubensbekenntniß, aus Fürstl. Sächs. Archiv-Actis u. bewährten Historicis verfasst, und mit denen darzu gehörigen Documentis illustrirt von J. J. Müller. Jena, 1705. 4. A. Jung's Gesch. 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 Anhang meist ungedruckter Actenstücke. The most important documents are also in Walch, xvi. 315 ff.

³⁰ In Walch, xvi. 328. 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 Spire (see Note 13), as follows: "Nachdem—derselbige Artikel bey vielen in grössern Missverstand und zu Entschuldigung allerley erschrecklichen 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 obgedachtem Kais. Edict (von Worms) bis anhero blieben, nun hinfüro auch bey demselben Edict bis zu dem künftigen Concilio verharren, und ihre Unterthanen darzu halten

gical estates presented a Protest, April 19, 1529, and in addition, on the 22d of April, an Appeal;³¹ 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 Gefährde nicht abgewendt werden mögen: so soll hinfüro 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 unsers Herrn Jesu Christi entgegen, bey den Ständen des heil. Reichs Deutscher Nation nicht angenommen, noch hinfüro 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 remonstrances of the evangelical estates and their Appeal; in Müller, s. 52; Walch, xvi. 364; Jung, Aetenstücke, s. lxxix. 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, denselben unsern Herrn und Gott—vor allem anzusehen verpflichtet und schuldig seyen, der unzweifelichen Zuversicht, Ew. Königl. Durehlauchtigkeit, Liebden, und ihr die andern werdet uns—darin frendlich—entschuldiget halten, dass wir mit—euch—in dem nicht einig seyn, noch in solehem dem mehrern, wie etlichemalen auf diesem Reichstag hat vorgewandt werden wollen, gehorehen, in Bedacht und Ansehen, dass wir solehes vermög des vorigen Speyrischen Reichsabschied, der sonderlich in dem angezogenen Artikel lauter darthut, dass solcher Artikel durch eine einmüthige Vereinigung (und nicht allein den mehreren Theil) also beschlossen worden; darum auch ein solcher einmüthiger Beschluss von Ehrbarkeit, Billigkeit und Rechtswegen anders nichts, dann wiederum durch eine einhellige Bewilligung geändert werden soll, kann und mag, zusamt dem, dass auch ohne das in den Sachen, Gottes Ehre und unserer Seelen Heil und Seligkeit belangend, ein jeglicher für sich selbst vor Gott stehen und Rechenschaft geben muss; also dass sich des Orts keiner auf des 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, i. 234; Melanct. ad Camerarium, d. 17. Maj., ed. Bretschneider, i. 1067 sq.), brought about also a protest against the issuing of any such decision by the diet; especially because those "so dieselbe Sache berühren, nicht erfordert noch verhort worden sind; und ist wahrlich wohl zu bewegen und zu betrachten, wann solche schwere und wichtige Artikel ausserhalb des künftigen Concilii vorgenommen, oder darin ohne nothdürftig und gebühlich Verhöre aller der, so die Sach berührt, ein Erkenntniß oder Ordnung zu machen unterstanden, zu was Glimpf und Unrichtigkeit solehes Kais. Maj.—uns und andern Ständen des Reichs gekehrt 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 darzu 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,³² and in the way in which their ambassadors were received at Piacenza,³³ 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.³⁴ His efforts, however, were wrecked by the hesitation of the Lutheran theologians, to whom a league with the Sacramentarians appeared altogether objectionable.³⁵ All in

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

³² 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 doctrinaque Christiana omnino deviaverint, aliosque in eundem errorem deducere conentur; nec minus Caesareae Majestati cordi sit, ut huic pestifero morbo congruum antidotum praeparari 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 decet dexteritate et industria omnem operam possibilem adhibebunt in hujusmodi erroribus, si fas sit, sedandis, errantiumque animis allieciendis, ut ad rectos Christianae religionis tramites redeant, ipsamque religionem, et fidem, apostolicamque sedem verbo aut facto laedere seu perturbare non praesument. In qua re ipse etiam sanctissimus Dominus noster salubribus illis spiritualibus antidotis commisso gregi, ovibusque errantibus, tanquam communis pastor et pater consulens, omnem possibilem medelam pariter adhibere conabitur. Quod si pastoris vocem non audiverint, Caesarisque mandata neglexerint, et in hisce erroribus obstinati et pertinaces permanserint; tam Caesar, quam Ser. Hungariae et Boemiae Rex contra illos eorum potestatis vim distringent, illatamque Christo injuriam pro viribus ulciscuntur; curabitque sua Sanctitas, ut caeteri Christiani Principes, et potissime qui id foedus 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.

³³ Müller, s. 143 ff. Walch, xvi. 542 ff.

³⁴ Diets at Rothach (1st June), Salfeld, and Schleiz; see Müller, s. 228.

³⁵ 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. 230, with the conclusion, there wanting, in de Wette, iii. 465). In the last he says: "Zum andern ist fährlich des Landgrafen halben, weil es ein unruhiger Mann ist. Mocht er abermal, wie er jenes Mal that, etwas anfahren, Stift, Klöster sturmen ohn unsern Willen: so mussten wir hinnach, und mitthun oder mitgethan [haben] alles, was er that.—Zum vierten ist unchristlich der Ketzerey halben wider das Sacrament: denn wir sie nicht können im Bund haben, wir mussten solche Ketzerey mit helfen stärken und vertheidigen, und wenn sie vertheidigt 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 representations³⁶ of the Landgrave; in like manner, the Conference of Marburg, which he brought about between the Swiss and Saxon theologians, Oct. 1, 1529,³⁷ failed in

kel läugnet, denn Arius oder der einer.—Spricht man abermal: dieser Bund betreffe nicht die Lehre, sondern soll wider äusserlicher Gewalt, die man wider Recht furnimmt, dieweil jene sich auf Erkenntniss erbieten: Antwort: Das halt nicht; denn man weiss, dass uns der Widertheil um keiner Ursache willen angreifen will, denn um der Lehre willen. Drüm lasst sichs nicht gläuben, dass wir wider unrecht Gewalt solchen Bund machen. Und dass sie sich auf Erkenntniss erbieten, hilft uns nichts; denn wir wissen und halten, dass sie Unrecht haben, und mugen solchs nicht mit ihnen in Zweifel oder Erkenntniss setzen, darum wir nicht mit gutem Gewissen können mit ihn handeln, wir mussten solch ihr Erbieten auf Erkenntniss auch bewilligen und bestätigen, und also gleich mit ihn von unserm gewissen Erkenntniss auf ihren Zweifel oder ungewissen 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.

³⁶ Compare his Epistle to the Elector, July, 1529, in Müller, s. 258; Walch, xvi. 645: "Es ist auch vonnöthen, dass wir uns nicht so hiederlich von einander trennen lassen, ob schon unsere Gelehrten um leichter oder sonst disputirlicher Sachen willen, daran doch unser Glaube oder Seligkeit nicht gelegen, zweihellig seynd. Denn so das, würde es alle Jahre neue Zwiespalt gebären; 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 seyñ 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 guer Liebe und wir uns von einander thun müssen," etc. The Landgrave personally was undeniably inclined to the doctrine of Zwingle, as was also his admirable theologian, Francis 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. 473, after the original in Neudecker, s. 92). So, too, Melancthon (who, even on the 14th May, advised the electoral prince to refuse them permission to go; ed. Bretschneider, i. 106f), cf. his Epistle to the Landgrave, l. c. p. 1077 (after the original in Neudecker, s. 90). The *Opinion* on the conference, usually ascribed to Luther, is by Melancthon; see de Wette, iii. 475; Bretschneider, i. 1055 sq.—*Reports about the Marburg Conference from the Lutheran side*; Melancthon, 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, l. c. p. 1102; Justus Jonas to Reiffenstein, Latin., l. c. p. 1095; Jo. Brentius to Schradinus, Latin., in Pfaffii Acta et Scripta publ. Ecclesiae Wirtembergicae, p. 203; Andreas Osiander 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 kürzerer Bericht, *ibid.* 77; Oecolampadii Epist. ad Hallerum, *ibid.* 83. The fullest account is in Heinr. Bullinger's Reformationsgesch., ii. 223 (also in Füssli'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. Gerbellius, his wife, and Agricola, 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 eatenus dicere, Christi corpus veraciter esse in coena praesens, at spiritualiter tantum, ut eos fratres dignaremur appellare, et simulare ita concordiam: hoc quod Zwinglius palam lachrymans coram Landgravio et ordinibus rogabat, dicens in haec verba: Es sind keine Leut auf Erden, mit denen ich lieber wollt eins seyñ, denn mit den Witten-

effecting the desired result; the fifteen articles there compared³⁸ 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.³⁹ Subscription to

bergern. Summo studio et contentione egerunt, ut viderentur nobiscum concordēs, ita ut hanc vocem nunquam ex me possent ferre: *vos habetis alium spiritum quam nos*. Ardebant toti, quoties hæc audiebant. Tandem id concessimus, ut articulo ultimo ponitur, ut fratres quidem non essent, sed tamen charitate nostra, quæ etiam hosti debetur, non spoliarentur. Ita indignissime affecti sunt, quod fratris nomen non potuerunt obtinere, sed pro hæreticis discedere cogerentur, tamen sic, ut pacem interim haberemus mutuis scriptis, si forte Deus illis aperuerit cor. Melancthon ad Agricola, dd. 12. Oct., 1529 (ed. Bretschneider, i. 1108): Magnopere contenderunt, ut a nobis fratres appellarentur. Vide eorum stultitiam! Cum damnent nos, cupiunt tamen a nobis fratres haberi! Nos nolumus eis hac in re assentiri. The characteristics of the theologians who were present, as given by Justus Jonas, are interesting (l. c. p. 1097): In *Zwinglio* agreste quiddam est et arrogantulum; in *Oecolampadio* mira bonitas naturæ et clementia; in *Hedione* non minor humanitas et liberalitas ingenii; in *Bucero* calliditas vulpina, perverse imitata prudentiam et acumen. Docti sunt omnes, nihil dabile est, præ quibus Papistæ non sunt adversarii habendi. Sed *Zwinglius* iratis Musis et invita Minerva videtur versatus in literis.

³⁸ They were drawn up by Luther; see Osiander, in Riederer, ii. 120. They were subscribed, Oct. 3, by the theologians there present, and immediately published in several places by Zwingli (Füssli's Beyträge, 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 (Chyträus, Seckendorf, etc.), contain only fourteen articles; the 14th, upon infant baptism, being omitted. The last article reads: "Wir gläuben und halten alle von dem Abendmahl unsers lieben Herrn Jesu Christi, dass man beyde Gestalt nach der Einsetzung brauchen soll; dass auch die Messe nicht ein Werk ist, damit einer dem andern, todt und lebendig, Guade erlange; dass auch das Sacrament des Altars sey ein Sacrament des wahren Leibes und Blutes Jesu Christi, und die geistliche Niessung desselbigen 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 zum Glauben und Liebe zu bewegen durch den heiligen Geist. Und wiewol 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 christliche 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."

³⁹ That such articles were laid before them is presupposed in the Saxon-Brandenburg instructions for the Schwabach Convention, see in Müller, s. 282. That the Schwabach Articles were drawn up in Marburg by the theologians, see in Riederer's Nachrichten, i. 48. At the Convention in Marburg they were only presented in writing; in 1530 they appeared in print, but without Luther's knowledge, under the title, "Die Bekentnus M. Luther's auf den itzigen angestellten Reichstag zu Augsburg einzulegen, in 17 Artikel verfasst. Coburg, 4;" they were violently attacked by the Catholics, and then published by Luther himself with a preface. In this preface (Walch, xvi. 778) he says: "Wahr ist, dass ich solche Artikel habe stellen helfen (denn sie sind nicht von mir allein gestellet), nicht um der Papisten willen, noch auf diesem Reichstag einzulegen. Die wissen aber wohl drum, um welcher willen sie gestellet sind. Hätte mich auch nicht versehen, dass sie sollten an Tag kommen, vielweniger dass sie mit solchem Titel

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 Zwingli, at once receded from the negotiations,⁴⁰ yet those parties who remained could not come to any agreement among themselves.⁴¹

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.⁴² But as the Emperor, at his coronation in Bologna,⁴³ 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 Ausführh. 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. These Seventeen Schwabach Articles (also in Waleh, 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 theologians 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 Smaleald, in Strobel's *Miscellaneous*, iv. iii.; the decree of Dec. 3, in Müller, s. 333, Waleh, xvi. 690; the proceedings at the Diet of Nuremberg, Jan. 6, 1530, in Müller, s. 336, Waleh, xvi. 695. Strasbourg, however, Jan. 5, concluded a defensive league with Zürich, Bern, and Basle; Sleidanns, lib. vii. ed. Am Ende, p. 392.

⁴² From Ferdinand's Epistle, addressed to the Emperor just before (in Bucholz's *Gesch. d. Regierung Ferdinand I.*, iii. 432), 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; Waleh, 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: "further wie der Irrung und Zwiespalt halben in dem heil. Glauben und der christl. Religion gehandelt und beschlossen werden mug und solle: und damit solchs dester besser und heilsamlicher geschehen muge, die Zwietrachten hinzulegen, Widerwillen zu lassen, vergangne Irrsal unserm Seligmacher zu ergeben, und Fleiss anzukehren, alle eins jeglichen Gutbedunken, Opinion und Meinung zwischen uns selbs in Liebe und Gutlichkeit zu horen, zu verstehen, und zu erwegen, die zu einer einigen christlichen Warheit zu brengen und zu vergleichen, alles so zu beiden Theilen nit 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 Schardii *Scriptt. Rerum Germ.*, ii. 266.

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.⁴⁴ In order, however, in accord-

⁴⁴ Cf. *Oratio de Congressu Bononiensi Caroli Imp. et Clementis Pont.* in Ph. Melancthonis *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 existimetis hanc narrationem fingi,—sed vere institutam esse hanc deliberationem, adhuc multi norunt, qui interfuerunt, qui et sententiae summam et verba quaedam nostris amicis narrarunt.* Qua de re sententiae summam fideliter recitabo, etiamsi verba omnia referre non possum.—Coelestinus (*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 ejus exemplum desideratur, non est tamen nobis obscurum et ignotum, haec ipsius praecipua capita fuisse, et clarissimum virum in hanc fere sententiam verba fecisse.* Accordingly, all three of the orations are rhetorical amplifications of the materials; and it is therefore remarkable that Müller, s. 402, and Waleh, 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 haeretici in viam reducantur omnem operam danto, et Pontifex sacra remedia adhibeto: quod si pertinaces persistierint, Caesar et Ferdinandus eos armis cogunto, et Pontifex, ut caeteri christiani Principes ipsos pro viribus juvent, operam dato.* On the circumstances, see *Andr. Mauroceni Hist. Venetae lib. iv.* (in *Raynald. 1530, No. 49*): *Concilium novatores petebant: —is erat perversorum hominum—livor, illud in Pontificem odium, ut non ad confirmandam, sed potius ad convellendam religionem concilium postulare viderentur. Quae res Clementem permovebat, ne tam facile Caesari Germanorum nomine concilium petenti assentiretur, veritus ne illo ad labefactandam et penitus convellendam pontificiae majestatis auctoritatem abuterentur. Quocirca nonnunquam moras necebat.—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 armis occurrendum esse sibi in animum induceret. Qua de re non modo graviter cum Imperatore egit, pecuniaeque vim obtulit, verum ea se mente esse, Reipublicae (Venetae) Oratori significavit, cunctosque Christianos Principes ad pium pro avita religione bellum suscipiendum impellendos censere: quae gravissima in re Senatus sit sententia, exquirere, consilium ab illius prudentia petere. Senatus, qui a bello atque armis abstinendum arbitrabatur, ne jaetata diu Christiana republica hac tempestate in majores procellas ac turbines incideret, Pontificis egregiam mentem extollebat:—caeterum ad aleam belli nisi necessitate adactos descendere minime probare.—Tanta in re vel Senatus auctoritate vel rationibus permotus Pontifex belli consilia abiecit; cum praesertim ea temporum conditio esset, ut potius in communem hostem arma vertenda, quam in propria viscera saeviendum esset, cum indies Solimannum ingentibus copiis in Pannoniam reversurum, Viennam oppugnatarum rumor afferret: neque Caesar ab iisdem consiliis abhorrebat, potiusque concordiae rationes inveniri, quam armis decerni cupiebat, in id summopere intentus, ut Ferdinandum fratrem procerum suffragiis Romanorum Regem 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 (*Coelestini Hist. Comitiorum ann. 1530 Augustae celebratorum i. fol. 42, verso ff.*), *Italos in eo totos esse, omnesque suas actiones et conatus tantum eo dirigere, ut Germania vi et armis opprimatur, funditus deleatur et eradicetur. Rumorem illic quoque surrexisse, Romanum Imperatorem conjunctis cum Pontifice viribus et foedere facto Lutheranos ilico oppressurum, ac nisi paruerint, vi 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),⁴⁵ but also took with him to the diet the theologians, Spalatin, Melancthon, 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 suspensè.

§ 5.

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

- I. *On the History of the Diet of Augsburg.* Documents collected in Müller's *Historie v. der Evangel. Stande Protestation* (see § 4, Note 29), in Walch, xvi. 841 ff. Dr. K. E. Förstemann's *Urkundenbuch zu der Gesch. des Reichstages zu Augsburg im J. 1530*, 2 Bde. Halle, 1833–35. 8. On a codex in the former university library of Helmstadt: *Acta in Comitibus Augustanis anno 1530*, see Henke et Bruns *Annales Literarii*, ann. 1784, vol. ii. p. 97.
- 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.

⁴⁵ Letter of the Elector to Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen, and Melancthon, Mar. 14, 1530 (in Förstemann's *Urkundenbuch zu d. Gesch. des Reichstags 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 Kirchenbräuchen und Ceremonien erhellet, zum furderlichsten dermassen gefasst werden, damit wir vor Anfang solches Reichstags beständiglich und gründlich 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 Ergermiss Handlung leiden mugen und kommen." 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. Anzeig.*, 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 Torgavienses*. According to Bretschneider, p. 981, the *articuli non concedendi* were the first of these (s. 93), and the last eight are lost.

complete in different parts of Melanchth. Epistt. ed. Bretschneider, ii. 50 ss., used in D. C. Fikenscher's *Gesch. des Reichstags zu Augsburg*, 1530. Nürnberg, 1830. 8. Reports of the ambassadors of Heilbronn, Ulm, and Esslingen, are used in Dr. C. Pfaff's *Gesch. des Reichstags zu Augsburg*, 1530. Stuttgart, 1830. 8. Immediately after the diet appeared, with the imperial privilege, the Catholic representation: *Pro Religione Christiana Res Gestae in Comitibus Augustae Vindelicorum habitis*. 1530. 4. (reprinted in Cyprian's *Hist. der Augsburg. Confession*, Appendix, s. 85). To refute it, the Saxon chancellor, Dr. Gregorius Brück, wrote a *History of the Diet*, which has only recently been published in Förstemann's *Archiv f. d. Gesch. der kirchl. Reformation*, Bd. i. Heft 1. Halle, 1831. 8. Spalatin's *Annalen*, edited by Cyprian, s. 131-289.

III. *Later Works*. *Historia der Augsb. Confession durch Dav. Chytraeum* (Prof. in Rostock). Rostock, 1576. 4. Newlich vermehrt. Rostock, 1576. 4 (Latin, by Matth. Ritter, preacher in Frankfurt a. M., 1578). *Hist. Coniutorum anno 1530 Augustae celebratorum*, in quatuor Tomos distributa, per Georg. Coelestinum (provost in Köln, on the Spree). Francof. cis Viadrum, 1577 fol. Both works contain many documents. Chr. Aug. Salig's *Hist. der Augsburg. Confession*, Th. i. s. 153-381. Planck's *Gesch. des Protest. Lehrbegriffs*, iii. i. 1-178. [Wiber, *Gesch. d. Augsb. Conf.* Frankf., 1783-84. 8., Förstemann, *Urkundenbuch*, 2. 8. Halle, 1835. A. G. Rudelbach, *Die Augsb. Conf. 1830 and 1841*. Other histories for the jubilee of 1830, by Hamerschmidt, Schott, Fikenscher, Facius, etc. Cf. Sartorius, *Die Augsb. Conf.* Editions by Twesten, 1816; Winer, 1825; Tittmann, 1830; Franke, 1846; Müller, 1848. An English translation, with Introduction and Notes, by Rev. W. H. Teale. Leeds, 1842. 8. Compare, also, Heppé, *Bekennnisschriften d. Altprot. Kirche Deutschland*, 8. 1855.]

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.

Melanethon 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 *Annalen*, s. 132; Seekendorf, ii. 155, s.

² Comp. Brück's *Geschichte*, in Förstemann's *Archiv*, i. i. 23 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. 113; 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 Begehr die Artigkel, so der Religion halben streitig seind, in Verzeichnus bracht, als wollen wir euch nicht bergen, dass itzt 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 dermassen gefällig oder ichtwas darvon oder darznusetzen bedächtet, das wollet also darneben vorzeichnen." Luther answered, 15th May (de Wette, iv. 17): "Ich hab M. Philippsen Apologia uberlesen: die gefället mir fast wohl, und weiss nichts dran zu bessern, noch ändern, wurde sich auch nicht schicken; denn ich so sanft und leise nicht treten kan." The Emperor's arrival being delayed, Melancthon 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 iusto, exemi, supposita alia disputatione eadem de re paulo uberiore. 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 3d of June (*Mel. Opp. ed. Bretschneider*, ii. 83), "Abschrift des sächsischen Rathschlags (that is, of the Saxon proposals about the Confession to be handed in) Lateinisch, und ist die Vorrede oder Eingang darbei. Aber es mangelt hinten an einem Artikel oder zweien, samt dem Beschluss, daran die sächsischen Theologi 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 (l. c. p. 112): "Der Beschluss—ist noch nicht gemacht. Denn wie sich Philippus Melanchthon vernehmen lässt, wird vielleicht die Sach zu keiner so weitläufigen Handlung gelangen, sondern noch enger eingezogen und kürzer gefasst und gehandelt werden." The secretary of the Emperor, Alphonsus Valdesius, had begun negotiations with Melancthon (*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 Melancthon handed in any thing in reply, and what it was, is uncertain. At any rate, it is not the essay given by *Coelestinus*, fol. 93, 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. Melancthon'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 Melancthon had made changes in it up to the very last moment (Nuremberg Report, 25th June, in *Bretschneider*, ii. 129: "Gemeldte Unterricht, so viel die Glaubensartikel belanget, ist in der Substanz fast dem gemäss, wie wir es E. W. vor zugeschiekt, allein

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.⁵ By this Confession

class 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, ii. 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 Lüneburg, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, and the two cities, Nuremberg and Reutlingen. Cf. Köllner's *Symbolik der Luther. Kirche.* Hamburg, 1837, s. 153.

⁵ 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. 233); 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. 353); 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 (*Præf. Nunc emittimus probe et diligenter descriptam confessionem ex exemplari bonae fidei*); 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;⁶ 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.⁷ The Emperor, who expected more advantage from rapid and decisive action than from debates, had a *Confutation*⁸ prepared by the Catholic theologians, the chief of whom were John Eek, 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. Köllner'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 Melancthon ad Lutherum, dd. 27. Jun. (ed. Bretschneider, ii. 145): *Sublevamur sententiis Moguntini, Augustani et Brunsvigii, neque hi valde pugnant. Bavari etsi dicebantur facti audita confessione placabiliores, tamen a Georgio et Joachimo non dissentiunt. Hi sunt duces, et quidem acerrimi, alterius partis. Justus Jonas ad Lutherum fere 29. Jun. (l. c. p. 154): Dicitur Episcopus Augustanus (Christoph v. Stadion. Cf. on him, *Altdorfsches Literar. Museum*, i. 103, 310; Zapf, *Chr. v. Stadion*, Zürich, 1799) in privato colloquio hujusmodi edidisse vocem: *illa quae recitata sunt, vera sunt, sunt pura veritas, non possumus inficiari.*—Salzburgensis (Matthäus Lang, cardinal) dicitur in privato colloquio hanc vocem edidisse: *vellem utranque speciem, conjugium libera esse; vellem missam reformatam esse; vellem libertatem in cibus et aliis traditionibus esse, et totum ordinem sic stare; sed quod unus Monachus debeat nos reformare omnes, hoc est turbare pacem, hoc non est ferendum.* When Melancthon spoke about his conscience, he said to him: "Was Conscience, der Kaiser wird *conturbationem reipublicae* nicht leiden." According to Luther's Warning to his dear Germans (*Walch*, xvi. 1988), the same cardinal also said to Melancthon: "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 sey 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 *Philippicae quatuor in Apologiam Melancthonis*, Lips. 1534. 4 (republished in *Strobel's Beyträge*, i. 413). A later revision is in *Formula Confutationis 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 *Andreae Fabricii Harmonia Aug. Confess. Colon. 1573. fol.*; in *Coelestini Hist. Comit. Aug. celebrat.*, iii. 1; and in *Chytraei Hist. A. C.*, p. 173. Köllner, s. 397.

3d of August, he wanted to look upon the whole affair as concluded.⁹ In the mean time, however, the sudden departure of the Landgrave Philip,¹⁰ 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,¹¹ 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.¹² 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.¹³

⁹ On the negotiations, see Brück, s. 71, and from him in Müller's *Hist. v. d. evangel. Stände Protestation*, s. 698. Walch, xvi. 1281.—*Handlungen des weitem Ausschusses der Cathol. Fürsten mit den Protestanten, um dieselben zur Nachgiebigkeit zu bewegen seit dem 6ten Aug.*: Brück, s. 77; Müller, s. 706; 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 abstehen, so würden Kays. Maj. ihm und ihren Anhängern nach Landen und Leuten, Leib u. Leben, Ehre u. Gut, auch Weibern u. Kindern zutrachten." The same is told by Coelestinus, 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. Grossmüthige*, 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 *Baierns politische Geschichte*, i. i. 57. On their doubts about their subjects, see the declaration of the Bavarian dukes to the Emperor, 1523, 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 meriti, sed gratia Dei facit illa digna esse vita 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,¹⁴ ceremonies, fasts, and festivals, as human ordinances, they declared themselves ready to restore,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,¹⁶

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 any where in the Holy Scriptures, but rather the opposite. On this account it was at length agreed that the word *sola* 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 *sola*; 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 *sola* 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."

¹⁴ The Protestants, however, made this addition, s. 1683, 1729: "Doch damit ungenehmigt der öffentlichen Missbräuche, dass die Bischöfe nicht Fleiss haben, dass man recht predige, dass die Sacramente ernstlich u. christlich gehandelt werden, dass tüchtige Leute ordinirt werden, dass die Priester ein züchtig Leben führen, dass man den Bann in vielen Sachen missbraucht," u. s. w.

¹⁵ Brück, s. 96. The opinion of the evangelical part was: "wenn allein die Lehre von dem bábstischen Theil gelitten, auch nit nöttig gemacht wollt werden, das Gott nit zwinglich oder nöttig zu Vorstrickung u. Fahrung der Gewissen haben wollt; was sie alsdann in ausserlichen Dingen thun sollten u. konnten, das ane Vorlegung der Lehre u. des Glaubens zu Ainigkeit dienstlich, des an ihnen kein Mangel sein sollt, alles zu tragen u. zu dulden, op es wol nit nöttig, noch sie dasselb schuldig wären, allain um Lieb u. Eintracht willen."

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 hieher 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

austheilen;" under conditions that confession precede, and that in the celebration it be taught, "dass die Empfangung des Sacraments unter beyder Gestalt von Gott nicht ausdrücklich geboten sey,—dass der ganze Christus gleich sowol unter einer Gestalt, als unter beyden, gegenwärtig sey und empfangen werde;—und dass sie ihren Unterthanen, so es unter einer Gestalt allein begehren, unwegerlich reichen, oder reichen lassen" (as in the *Compactata* of Prague; see Vol. iii. p. 441, Note 34). The Protestants, on the other hand, declared (s. 1685) that, while they held to confession, yet that they did not consider the particular enumeration of sins (s. 1731) to be necessary; and that while they could excuse the Church for the reception of the Eucharist under one form, in view of past usage, yet they could not teach that it was not wrong to receive it in one form.

¹⁷ The Catholics said (s. 1721) 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 Wortgezänk 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 Kreuzes gelitten, sich selbst Gott dem Vater ein wahrhaftig Opfer für die Sünde der Menschen aufgeopfert; aber jetzund im Opfer der Messe werde er mysteriäler et repräsentativer, d. i. sacramentlich u. wiedergedächtnlicher Weise, in der Kirchen täglich geopfert, zur Erinnerung und Gedächtniss des Leidens und Sterbens Christi, einmal am Kreuz 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 Meynung 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 Meynung applicirt, Vergebung der Sünden *ex opere operato* verdient, 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 geschieht, 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, dieweil 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.²⁰ Melancthon, whose anxious fears²¹ undoubtedly had

fiscated church property; and the calling of a council. In a Consistory, July 6, it was determined to yield *nothing*.

²⁰ Philip of Hesse to his ambassadors in Augsburg, 29th Aug. (in Melancth. Opp. ed. Bretschneider, ii. 326): "Ich kann bei mir nit befinden, dass solche Mittel, sie seyn auch von Papisten oder Evangelischen vorgeschlagen, anzunehmen seyn. Denn es seyn Mittel eines Betrugs zu befahren, und seyn allein Mittel für die Papisten, denn sie wissens nit mit Gewalt zu dämpfen, nehmen sie nun List dazu. Und darum Summa Summarum ist meine Meinung, bleibt bei meiner Verzeichniss, die ich euch mit meiner Hand geben hab. So aber die Papisten in ihren Landen wollten die Prediger des lautern reinen Evangelii zulassen, und der Pfaffen Ehe u. Klosterpersonen Ehe nit verbieten, auch die Todtenbitt u. Heiligen Anrufen samt dem Canon fallen lassen; so wäre ihnen in andern Dingen viel um Liebe willen nachzulassen. Die Predig des Evangelii würde wohl mit der Zeit ausreuten.—Denn was ist sich Gutes zu vermuthen, dieweil sie des Teufels Regiment nit verlassen, und doch die Wahrheit erkennen, und uns gern unsre Freiheit und Lehre in Christo binden wollten. Da ist nit Zeit Weichens, sondern stehen bis in den Tod bei der Wahrheit. Viel weniger ist der Bischöfe Jurisdiction zuzulassen, dieweil sie das Evangelium in ihren Landen nit zu predigen noch zu treiben gestatten wollen. Denn da würde ein fein Narrenspiel aus werden, so die sollten Examinatores über christliche Prediger seyn, die selbs in der Lehre und Leben Caiphas, Anuas, u. Pilatus wären.—Kanns nit gut werden, muss mans Gott befehlen. Willigt aber der Churfürst in etwas, so mögt ihrs an mich bringen. Zeigt den Städten diese meine Handschrift, und sagt ihnen, dass sie nicht Weiber seyn, sondern Männer. Es hat keine Noth, Gott ist auf unsrer Seiten. Wer sich gern fürchten will, der fürchte sich. In keinem Wege verwilligt, dass man die Zwinglischen mit Gewalt dämpfe, noch verjage und überziehe. Denn Christus hat uns nicht berufen zu vertreiben, sondern zu heilen. Greift dem vernünftigen, weltweisen, verzagten, ich darf nit wohl mehr sagen, Philippo in die Würfel." Brück, s. 116, says, the evangelical party often declared to the Catholics, "dass man wol vorstunde, was mit solchen Furslägen gemeint wurde. Nemlich dass man diesem Theil ezlicher Geduldung halben das Maul schmieren wollte, damit ihnen der Same des Unkrauts wiederum beybracht und unter den Waizen gestreuet werde, doch mit dem Schein, bis auf ein Concilium, welchs darnach, wie die Bábste, Cardinal, und Bischove zu Concilien Lust u. Willen hätten,—mit Furwendung grosser furgefallener Sachen u. Geschäften, darnach also von einer Zeit zur andern erstrecken, dass endlichen nichts daraus wurde." Melancthon ad Lutherum, dd. 29. Aug. (ed. Bretschneider, ii. 328): Valde reprehendimur a nostris, quod jurisdictionem reddimus Episcopis. Nam vulgus assuefactum libertati, et semel exesusi jugo Episcoporum, aegre patitur sibi rursus imponi illa vetera onera; et maxime oderunt illam dominationem civitates imperii. De doctrina religionis nihil laborant; tantum de regno et libertate sunt solliciti.

²¹ Melancthon ad Lutherum, dd. 25. Jun. (ed. Bretschneider, ii. 125): acerbissimas ac miserrimas curas, in quibus hic versamur.—Brentius assidebat haec scribenti, una lacrymans. Ad Vitum Theodorum, eod. die (l. c. p. 126): Ille consumitur omne mihi

a great effect upon the negotiations,²² was blamed by many for his *tempus in lacrymis ac luctu*. Ad Camerarium, dd. 26. Jun. (p. 140): *Animus est occupatus multo miserimis curis, non propter causam nostram, sed propter nostrorum hominum incuriam. De me volo te bono animo esse, quia commendo me Deo, ἀλλὰ θεομαστόν τι exercet nos, de quo non possum nisi coram loqui.* The Letters to Luther and Veit Dietrich, 26th and 27th June. Jonas ad Lutherum fere 29. Jun., p. 157: Ad Philippum vellem dares quam creberrimas literas: mirabili enim tristitia est, qua nonnunquam ob publicam causam afficitur. Osiander ad Linckium, dd. 4. Jul. p. 163: Philippus multis laboribus, vigiliis, curis maceratus et exhaustus nonnunquam melancholica quadam tristitia et quasi desperatione vexatur, nulla extante causa, quae nosros pterosque valde dejecit.

²² 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, qua semper erga omnes gentes usa est, pauca quaedam vel dissimulet, vel relaxet, quae jam mutare ne quidem si velimus queamus.—Nullam ob rem aliam plus odii sustinemus in Germania, quam quia Ecclesiae Romanae dogmata summa constantia defendimus.* The 7th Jul., p. 173: *Paucis rebus vel condonatis, vel dissimulatis posset constitui concordia, videlicet si nostris utraque species Coenae Domini permitteretur, si conjugia sacerdotum et monachorum tolerarentur. Hoc si aperte concedi non videretur utile, tamen praetextu aliquo dissimulari possent, videlicet quo res extrahatur, donec Synodus convocetur.* In the same spirit were composed the propositions which he sent to the legate, Aug. 4 (l. 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, i. 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 Bischöffe über die Priester als Superattendenten gefatzt sind, hat ohn Zweifel viel redlicher Ursach gehabt. Denn die Priester müssen Supèrattendenten haben. So werden die weltlichen Fürsten des Kirchenregiments in der Länge nicht warten; ist ihnen auch nicht möglic; dazu kostet es sie viel, so dagegen die Bischöffe ihre Güter darum haben, dass sie solch Amt ausrichten. Auch gebührt uns nicht, diese Ordnung, dass Bischöffe über Priester sind, welche von Anfang in der Kirche gewesen, ohn grosse und dringende Ursache zerreißen. Denn es ist auch vor Gott fahrlich, Politien ändern und zerreißen. Dann wiewohl der Papst ein Antichrist ist, so mögen wir doch unter ihm seyn, wie die Juden unter Pharaon in Egypten, und hernach unter Caipha, so uns dennoch rechte Lehre frey gelassen wird.”* Melancthon ad Camerar., dd. 31. Aug. (l. c. p. 334): *Aegre patiuntur civitates reduci in urbes illam Episcoporum dominationem. Et sapiunt, sed quo ore eripiemus eis, si nobis permiserint doctrinam? Quid? Quod omnia quae largiti sumus, habent ejusmodi exceptiones, ut hoc metuan, ne Episcopi existiment offerri ῥήματα ἀπὸ ἀλφίτων: sed quid potuimus aliud? Quanquam, ut ego quod sentio dicam, utinam, utinam possim non quidem dominationem confirmare, sed administrationem restituere Episcoporum? Video enim, qualem simus habituri Ecclesiam, dissoluta πολιτεία ecclesiastica. Video postea multo intolerabiliorem futuram tyrannidem, quam antea unquam fuit.*

concessions; some even viewed him as a traitor to the common cause.²³ 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, *te inévry factum Cardinali Campegio*,—*teque tuaque omnia iudicio et sapientiae Pontificis maximi subiecisse*; 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. 153): "wir sehen es darvor an, dass sich die Sach so seltsam zugetragen haben, sei Philippi Melancthonis Kleinmuthigkeit Schuld. Sie haben sich auch in ihren übergeben Articula zu viel begeben." The Nurembergers were particularly displeas'd with Melancthon; see the letter of the Nuremberg embassador, Hieronymus Baumgärtner, to Lazarus Spengler, 13th Sept. (Lebensbeschr. Lazari Spenglers v. Hausdorff, s. 72): "Philippus ist kindischer, denn ein Kind worden.—Die andern sächsichen Theologi dorfen wider den Philippum nit öffentlich reden, denn er den Kopf dermassen gestreckt, dass er neulich gegen den Lüneburgischen Canzler gesagt: "Wer sagen darf, dass die nächst übergebene Mittel nit christlich, der lügs, als ein Böswicht." 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 seem'd, to maintain peace, and afterward to do what they pleas'd. "Uff diesem Reichstag kein Mensch bis uff heutigen Tag dem Evangelio mehr Schadens gethan, dann Philippus. Er ist auch in solche Vermessenheit gerathen, dass er nit allein niemand will hören anderst davon reden und rathen, sonder auch mit ungeschickten Fluehen u. Schelten herausfährt, damit er jedermann 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 (Veesenmeyer'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. Melancthon ad Lutherum, dd. 1. Sept. (ed. Bretschneider, ii. 336): Non credas, quanto in odio sim Norieis, et nescio quibus aliis, propter restitutum Episcopis jurisdictionem. Ita de suo regno, non de Evangelio dimicant socii nostri. Bongartnerus scripsit, me, si quanta maxima pecunia voluissem a Romano Pontifice conductus essem, non potuisse meliorem rationem suscipere restituendae dominationis Pontificiae, quam hanc esse iudicent homines, quam instituimus. Ego nullum adhuc articulum deserui, aut abjeci, qui ad doctrinam pertineat; tantum stomachantur de politicis rebus, quas non est nostrum eripere Episcopis.—On the other hand, Melancthon 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 Tua Majestas, hominem istum blandiloquentia hypoerisique sua vulpina improbius egisse Augustae in comitiis, quam apertis conviciis et amarulentiis egit procul delitescens et absens Lutherus. Ille enim consueto more convitiabatur, plebisque odium in clerum excitabat instar leonis rugientis ferociens; ille vero instar draconis insidiantis fraudes intendens, non plebem, sed magnates hypoerisi sua circumvenire satagebat.—Cumque nos aliquando quereremur Augustae super violentis et seditiosis libris Lutheri, quos unum post alium mittebat illuc eo quoque tempore, quo nobis non parva erat spes tollendae discordiae, Philippus blandius respondebat, non attendendum esse quid Lutherus scriberet, sed quid Principes Latherani Caesari proponerent, quid facere, quid agnoscere vellent. Quam subdole vero egerit cum Legato nemo melius novit quam Legatus ipse. Qui lachrymis primum precibusque illius non satis fidens, jussit illum petitionem suam in scriptis tradere: nec tamen omnem per hoc vulpeculae fraudem praecavere potuit. Didicit enim paulo post, illi nihil fidendum esse, posteaquam audivit, illum—in odium theologorum, quibus respondendi negotium commiserat Majestas Tua,—jaetitasse, Legatum ea admisisse, in quibus maligue adversarentur theologi.—Tanta est utriusque 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,²⁴ he still acknowledged that what Melancthon yielded was in itself allowable,²⁵

pus Luthero suo dixerit privatim, et Lutherus publice scripserit, Legatum illum dixisse, admitti quidem posse Lutheri doctrinam, sed non oportere, ne forte ab aliis quoque nationibus approbetur. Quam impudens vero sit mendacium istud, Majestas Tua probe novit, caet.

²⁴ Luther's Epistle to the Cardinal Archbishop of Menz, 6th July, with the second Psalm (at once printed and sent to Augsburg), in de Wette, iv. 72: "Hie bitte ich nu aufs unterthänigst, weil keine Hoffnung da ist, dass wir der Lehre eins werden, E. K. F. G. wollten samt andern dahin arbeiten, dass jenes Theil Friede halte, und glaube was es wölle, und lasse uns auch glauben diese Wahrheit, die itzt fur ihren Augen bekannt, und untadelig erfunden ist. Man weiss ja wohl, dass man Niemand soll noch kann zum Glauben zwingen, stehet auch weder ins Kaisers noch Papst Gewalt; denn auch Gott selbs, der uber alle Gewalt ist, hat noch nie keinen Menschen mit Gewalt zum Glauben wollen dringen: was unterstehen sich denn solchs seine elenden armen Creaturen, nicht allein zum Glauben; sondern auch zu dem, was sie selbs für falsche Lügen halten müssen, zu zwingen?—Will aber weder Friede noch Einigkeit folgen, weder Gamalielis Rath noch der Apostel und der Jüden Exempel helfen: so lass fahren, was nicht bleiben will, und zürne, wers nicht lassen will; er wird Zorns u. Unfriedes, darnach er ringet, übrig gnug finden." And now he expounds the 2d Psalm, "Why do the heathen rage," in its bearings on present events; a noble monument of his courage above all earthly fears.—How much Luther was opposed to the negotiations for union, see in his Letter to Melancthon, 26th Aug. (ibid., s. 145): Quid ego minus unquam speravi, et quid adhuc minus opto, quam ut de doctrinae concordia tractetur? Quasi vero nos Papam dejicere possimus, aut quasi salvo Papatu nostra doctrina salva esse possit!—Scio vos Evangelium semper excipere in istis pactis: sed metuo, ne postea perfidos aut inconstantes insimulent, si non servemus, quae voluerint. 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.

²⁵ 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 quaerunt, ut dumentur fidei et conscientiis, et arte ista vos avocare volunt a verbo, quod satis video, verum nihil metuo, quia si insidiis pergant, impingent ipsi in nostras insidias. Nam ubi hoc unum tenueritis, vos nihil contra Evangelium concessuros esse, aut concessisse, quid tum sunt illorum insidiae?—Et esto, aliqui manifeste (quod non facietis Christo favente) contra Evangelium concesseritis, et ita in saccum aliquem aquilam istam concluserint: veniet, ne dubita, veniet Lutherus, hanc aquilam liberaturus magnifice. Ita vivit Christus, verum hoc erit. To Melancthon (s. 156): Ego in tam crassis insidiis forte nimis securus sum, sciens, vos nihil posse ibi committere, nisi forte peccatum in personas nostras, ut perfidi et inconstantes arguamur. Sed quid postea? Causae constantia et veritate facile corrigatur. Quamquam nolim haec contingere, tamen sic loquor, ut si qua contingeret, non esset desperandum. Nam si vim evaserimus, pace obtenta, dolos ac lapsus nostros facile emendabimus, quoniam regnat super nos misericordia ejus. (This last sentence has often been perverted by the Catholic polemics of the ruder sort, as though Luther here confessed that he had made use of *doli*; while he

and defended him against unjust accusations,²⁶ and sought to inspire the timid with his own cheerful courage.²⁷ 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.²⁸

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*,²⁹ which

manifestly speaks only of the *dolis 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 (Melancth. Opera, ed. Bretschneider, ii. 318): "Wenn der Papst solchs wollt eingehen, so acht ich, wir Lutherischen wollten seine Ehr u. Oberkeit besser helfen schützen und handhaben, denn der Kaiser selbst u. alle Welt. Denn wir könntens thun ohne Schwert, mit Gottes Wort und Kraft, welchs 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 verdammen wollen; so können wir keiner Jurisdiction von ihnen gewarten, ohn des Meisters Hansens (the executioner). Wol ist's 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 begehren freylich nicht Bischof, noch Cardinal zu seyn, sondern allein gute Christen, die sollen arm seyn."

²⁶ Luther to Melancthon, 11th Sept. (de Wette, iv. 163): *Obsecro te, mi Philippe, ne te maceres ex illorum iudiciis, qui vel dicunt vel scribunt, vos nimium cessisse Papis. Oportet enim ex nostris esse infirmos, quorum mores et infirmitates feras, nisi velis Rom. 15 Paulum contemnere. Jurisdictionem Episcopis redditam ipsi non satis intelligunt, nec attendunt circumstantias adjectas. Atque utinam Episcopi eam accepissent sub istis conditionibus: sed ipsi habent nares in suam rem.* Ad Wencesl. Link, dd. 20. Sept., l. c. p. 166.

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.

²⁹ In German and Latin by Mart. Bucer, with the aid of Wolfg. Fabricius Capito and Caspar Hedio, written in Augsburg during the diet; see Gottl. Wernsdorff Hist. Confess. Tetrap. Witeb., 1694; ed. iv. 1721. 4. J. H. Fel's Diss. de Varia Confessionis Tetrapolitanae Fortuna praesertim in civitate Lindaviensi. Gotting., 1755. 4. J. G. Schelhorn Amoenitatt. liter. vi. 305. Dan. Gerdes Serinium Antiquarium, v. 193. The Confession in Latin in the Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum fidei, Genevae, 1612. 4..

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

The Protestants demanded a council; the Emperor acceded to the demand, but wished that, provisionally, the old ecclesiastical ordinances should be re-established.³³ After threats and negotiations³⁴ 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,³⁵ drawn up by Melanethon, to be received.

ii. 215; in Augusti Corpus Librorum Symbolic. qui in Ecclesiae Reformationum auctoritatem publicam obtinuerunt, Elberfeld, 1827, p. 327 ss.; and in Niemeyer Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis publicarum, Lips., 1810, p. 740 ss. The article on the Lord's Supper, which alone occasioned the separation, is here presented ambiguously in Cap. 18: (Christus) non minus hodie, quam in novissima illa coena, omnibus, qui inter illius discipulos ex animo nomen dederunt, cum hanc coenam, ut ipse instituit, repetunt, verum suum corpus verumque suum sanguinem vere edendum et bibendum in cibum potumque animarum, quo illae in aeternam vitam alantur, dare per sacramenta dignatur.—Praecipua vero diligentia populi animos nostri Ecclesiae ab omni contentione, tum supervacanea et curiosa disquisitione ad illud revocant, quod solum prodest, solumque a Christo servatore nostro spectatum est, nempe ut ipso pasti, in ipso et per ipsum vivamus vitam Deo placitam,—simusque inter nos omnes unus panis, unum corpus, qui de uno pane in sacra coena participamus.

³⁰ The Confutation written by Faber, Eck, and Cochläus, was first published by Müller, Formula Confutationis August. Confessionis, Lips., 1808, p. 191. On the discussions at and after the reading, see Sleidanus, lib. vii., 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.

³¹ Ad Carolum Rom. Imp. Germaniae Comitibus Augustae celebrantem fidei Huldrychi Zwinglii Ratio, Tiguri, 1530. 4., in Niemeyer, p. 16. It was dated July 4, and was immediately sent in print to Augsburg (Hess's Life of Zwingle, in Usteri's translation, s. 631). Bucer and Capito wrote about it to Zwingle: Tua confessio quosdam offendit, et potissimum duobus locis: altero cum dicis, quosdam respectare ad ollas Aegyptiacas (the Lutherans in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper), quod urit Lutheranos, altero cum scribis, pedatum et mitratum genus Episcoporum id esse in Ecclesia, quod gibbi et strumata in corpore (Müller's Schweizergesch. continued by Hottinger, vii. 316). Melanethon to Luther, 14th July (ed. Bretschneider, ii. 193): Zwinglius misit huc confessionem impressam typis. Dicis simpliciter mente captum esse. Cf. Salig's Gesch. der Augsb. Conf., i. 381.

³² Repulsio Articulorum Zwinglii Caes. Majestati oblato. Aug., Vind., 1530. 4., written in three days, and dated July 17 (Hess-Usteri, s. 634). In reply: Ad illustrissimos Germaniae Principes Augustae congregatos, de Convitiis Ecclii, Epist. Huld. Zwinglii, Tiguri, 1530. 4.; published 27th Aug. (Hess-Usteri, s. 638).

³³ See these negotiations from Sept. 7, in Brück, s. 135; Müller, s. 842; Walch, xvi. 1794.

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

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.³⁶ 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. 483; in German, by the latter, s. 530. Melancthon thereupon revised it, and published it with the Confession in Wittenberg, 1531. 4. (above, Note 5): this revision was afterward received in the symbolical books; Köllner's Symbolik, s. 419.

³⁶ 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 gehabtem bestandigen Rath trefflicher Theologen u. Schriftgelehrten aus vielen Nationen solch ihr Bekenntniss mit dem Evangelio u. heiliger Schrift mit gutem Grund widerlegen u. ablernen lassen: so hat doch solches so viel nicht verfangen, dass sie sich mit uns, Churfürsten, Fürsten, u. andern gemeinen Ständen in allen Artikeln verglichen hätten." Hence it was decreed: "dass sie sich zwischen hie u. dem nächstkünftigen 15ten Tag des Monats Aprilis bedenken sollten, ob sie sich der unverglichenen Artikel halben mit der christlichen Kirchen, päpstlicher Heiligkeit, uns u. den andern Churfürsten, Fürsten u. gemeinen Ständen des heil. Reichs, auch andern christlichen Häuptern u. Gliedern der gemeinen Christenheit, mitlerzeit der Erörterung eines nächstkünftigen Concilii nachmals bekennen und vereinigen wollen, oder nicht. Und dass sie uns ihrer Gemüths unter ihren Insiegeln vor Ausgang obgemeldts funfzehnten Tages verständigen: mittlerweile wollten wir uns darauf auch bedenken, was uns zu thun gebühren wolle, u. alsdann ihnen unsere Meynung 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 nächsten nach Endung dieses unsers Reichstags, an gelegene Malstadt ausgeschreiben, u. das zum förderlichsten u. aufs längste in einem Jahre nach solehem Ausschreiben gehalten soll werden." In fine, the Protestant princes were to restore the despoiled cloisters and other spiritualities "ohne alle Mittel u. zum forderlichsten." "Es haben aber der Churf. v. Sachsen u. seine Mitverwandten obgemeldt solchen unsern gnadigen Abschied nicht annehmen wollen, sondern abgeschlagen, und darauf zum Theil von himen verrückt." Next about the Confessio Tetrapolitana. Since the four cities of the empire "im Glauben sich von—der gemeinen Christenheit abgesondert, und die schwere Irrsal wider das hochwürdige Sacrament, dergleichen der Bildstürmung u. anderer 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 Irrsal klärllich vermerkten,—dass sie von demselben grausamliehen Irrtbum abstünden." 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,³⁷ 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.³⁸ At a congress in

newed, "dass sie solchem unserm Begehren nachmals Statt thun wollten: dann wo solche christenliche Ermahnung u. Erinnerung bey ihnen nicht statthaben wollte,—so könnten dieselbe vier Städt gedenken, dass Wir verursacht werden, uns in den Sachen zu erzeigen und zu verhalten, wie Uns als römischen christl. Kaiser, obersten Voigt u. Schirmhern der h. christl. Kirchen von Amts wegen unserm Gewissen nach gebührt, wie vormals in der Confutation gemelt ist. Aber auf solch und dergleichen unser gnädigst Erinnern u. Begehren sind die Gesandten der berührten vier Städte auf ihrer Meynung bestanden." 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; dismission 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.

³⁷ 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. als gehorsame Fürsten des Reichs vorpflicht, ihre Leib u. Gut u. alles Vormugen darzusetzen, damit dieser Sachen geholfen mocht werden, wie dann auch Kais. Maj. ihnen hinwieder trostliche Zusagung gethan, all ihr Vormugen darzusetzen, 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).

³⁸ 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 bestätiget weltliche leibliche Regimente, so soll sich ein jeglicher Fürst gegen seinen Herrn oder Kaiser halten vermöge derselbigen natürlichen und weltlichen Regimente 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.³⁹ At a new assemblage, March 29, 1531, the *Smalcald League* for six years was formed for mutual defense.⁴⁰ 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;⁴¹ and also in union with Bavaria, at the cloister Scheyern, May 26, 1532, by forming another treaty with France⁴² and with Denmark.⁴³

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 the irruption of Soliman, in the spring of 1532, into Hungary and Austria with an immense armament.⁴⁴ The electors of Mayence and of the Palatinate undertook to mediate; negotiations were set on foot at Schweinfurt, and afterward at Nuremberg.⁴⁵ 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, 15th Jan., 1531, in de Wette, iv. 212, and to Laz. Spengler, 15th Febr., 1531, *ibid.*, s. 221.

³⁹ Abschied des ersten Convents zu Schmalcalden v. 31 Dec. 1530 in Hortleder v. d. Ursachen des Deutschen Kriegs, Th. 1, Buch 8, cap. 7. Walch, xvi. 2143. Protestation gegen die Wahl Ferdinands v. 24 Dec. in Sleidanus, lib. vii., ed. Am Ende, p. 412. In spite of this, Ferdinand was chosen by the Catholic electoral princes in Cologne, and crowned in Aix-la-Chapelle, Jan., 1531, in plain violation of the Golden Bull, and of the imperial capitulation about elections; see Rommel's Philipp d. Grossmüthige, i. 280.

⁴⁰ 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, Rentlingen, Memmingen, Lindau, Biberach, Issni, Lübeck, Magdeburg, and Bremen. Rommel, i. 296; ii. 269.

⁴¹ Stumpf's Baierns polit. Geschichte, i. 59. Urkundenbuch zu derselben, i. 16, v. Bucholtz's Gesch. der Regierung Ferdinands I., Bd. iv. (Wien, 1833), s. 151.

⁴² Mémoires et Négociations de Guill. du Bellay (translatés en Français par l'abbé Cl. Fr. Lambert. Paris, 1753, 7 voll. in 12), liv. iv. Stumpf, i. 93. Urkundenbuch, i. 28. Rommel, i. 288; ii. 259.

⁴³ Rommel, i. 286; ii. 257. Stumpf, i. 92, 97.

⁴⁴ Raumer's Gesch. Europa's seit dem Ende des funfzehnten Jahrh. i. 433.

⁴⁵ Walch, xvi. 2183. Rommel, i. 299; ii. 272.

that time confessed the principles of the Reformation;⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ It is true that only an imperfect state of peace was thus attained; yet a period of quiet develop-

⁴⁶ 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, 372, 380. His letter of June 29 to the Elector, s. 382; to the electoral prince, s. 384. His remarks, in opposition, s. 372: "Wir willigen hiemit nicht, dass den Andern das Evangelium soll verboten oder gewehret werden, sondern suchen einen zeitlichen Frieden für uns, sollen u. können auch mit Recht nicht andere Oberkeit zwingen, dass sie die Ihren sichern sollten unsers Gefallens.—Wenn wir nu mit freundlichem Suchen u. Vermahnen nicht können erhalten, dass der Kaiser die Seinen sichern soll, so können wir nicht mehr thun, u. sind entschuldigt.—Zum vierten, so ist ja ein jeder Christ schuldig, das Evangelium auf eigen Fahr zu gläuben u. zu bekennen.—Zum funften, quod tibi non vis fieri, alteri ne feceris:—Nu wollte keine Oberkeit dieses Theils, dass andere Nebenfürsten sie zwingen sollten, mit ihren Unterthanen zu machen was sie wollten." To the elector, s. 382: "Fürwahr, wo Kaiserl. Maj. solche Artikel bewilliget, wie wir sie itzt—verändert; so hat seine Kaiserl. Maj. gnug gethan, u. wird hinfürder beyde Schuld u. Unglimpf unser seyn. Denn Gott grüset uns gnädiglich; danken wir ihm nicht, so werden wir uns höhlich versündigen, dazu auch kein Glück haben. Demnach bitte ich E. K. F. G. allerunterthänigst, E. K. F. G. wollten mit Ernst einen guten, harten Brief hinaus den Unsern schreiben, u. treulich vermahnen, sie wollten doch auch ansehen, wie viel u. gnädig die Kais. Maj. uns nachgibt, u. s. w."

⁴⁷ 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 Zwinglians 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 Röm. Kais. Maj. zu mehrer u. beständiger Erhaltung solches obgemeldten gemeinen Friedens gnädiglich bewilliget u. zugesagt, dass Ihre Maj. alle Rechtfertigungen in Sachen den Glauben belangend, so durch Ihre Maj. Fiscal, u. andere wider den Churfürsten zu Sachsen u. ihre Zugewandten angefangen worden, oder noch angefangen werden möchten, einstellen wolle bis zu nachstkünftigen Concilio, oder so das Concilium nicht gehalten, durch die Stände in andere Wege darein 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 divines, 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 flusst, u. dem anhangt, belangend, mit allen gerichtlichen Processen, Execution, u. Handlungen, so von dem Kaiserlichen Fiscal oder auf jemand's Anhalten fürgenommen seyn oder werden möchten, stillgestanden werden müsse" (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.⁴⁸ 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

⁴⁸ This peace has been frequently blamed without sufficiently considering that the previous condition of the Smalcald leaguers was very oppressive, as, in their uncertainty about the future, they must always be prepared for war; and then, too, there were so many who took part in it that unbroken union was not to be expected (Luther to the electoral prince, Febr. 12, in de Wette, iv. 338: "Zudem sehen auch jetzt E. F. G., wie feste u. gewiss die Städte u. Verbundniss halten, dass es nichts anders ist, denn prächtige Gedanken u. köstliche Anschläge, welche fast tröstlich scheinen, weil keine Noth vorhanden ist; aber wenn es zum Treffen kömmt, so wird es alles zu Wasser, und ist niemand daheimen; so sindt sich denn kein Bürger noch Stadt, die um eines Fürsten willen sein Leib u. Gut wagen will"); and, besides, the Emperor could not concede any thing more without alienating his truest adherents. King Ferdinand said he would not rest until the Lutheran sect was abolished, "even if he were to go a begging" (Seckendorf, iii. 27); and he gave a report as early as March, with tears, to the papal legates, about the secret negotiations for peace that were going on (Pallavicini, Hist. Conc. Trident, iii. 9, 5). The Elector Joachim of Brandenburg said he would "rather lose land and people, die and rot," than consent to peace with the evangelicals (Seckendorf, ubi supra). The papal ambassadors, as soon as they heard of the negotiations for peace, insisted (Pallavicini, l. c. § 6): *haereticis inducias quovis modo laxari, idem esse ac opportunitatem iis largiri suae potentiae confirmandae, qua magis insuperabiles redderentur*. Even France and Bavaria represented to the Pope that such a peace would be disgraceful (Pallavicini, l. c. § 7), which is also a proof of what the Protestants might expect from these allies as soon as the political circumstances changed.

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.² 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.³ The Catholic cantons now acceded to the proposal of Dr. Eek to demolish the innovations by a disputation,⁴ and, after long conferences, brought this about at Baden, May 19, 1526.⁵ Zwingli himself could not appear there without endangering his life;⁶ in his stead Oecolampadius took the lead of the Reformed

² Bullinger, i. 223. Salat (in Müller-Hottinger, vii. 161): "Also zerfielend die Ort der Artikeln halb, machend viel besondres; wenn dass die Züricher merkend, wurden sie stolz und handfest in ihrem Furnehmen," etc.

³ Bern endeavored, by an embassy, Nov. 29, 1525, to induce Zürich to restore the mass for the sake of peace (see Bullinger, i. 298): "So fern man denn die Mess wiederum annähme, werde man uf die Bilder u. andere Ceremonien wenig setzen. Oder dass Zürich joeh um so viel wiche, dass sie ein Mess des Tags in ihr Stadt halten lassend." Zürich lehnte den Antrag ab, see *ibid.* But now that the strict Catholic cantons pressed, in Berne, for the exclusion of Zürich from the sessions, Berne published a public declaration, Jan. 31, 1536 (Füssli, ii. 302), that, though its mediation had been fruitless, it would not separate either from Zürich or the other confederates, but would truly hold to the league it had sworn to keep. Claudius May, in Berne, wrote, Dec. 19, 1525, to Zwingli (Zwinglii Opp., vii. 1, 451): *Auspicia bona. Certum habeo, Vestros dominos, qui hic fuerunt, nostros ingenuos socios esse, et candide quoque dimissos, id quod Vobis referent. Viderunt voluntatem, qua in civitatem honestam Tigurinam affecti sumus cum spe, amicitiam inter nos in dies auctum iri. Vestri legati facile cognitum habent, qua mente major pars apud nos adhuc sit.*

⁴ Eek had already offered to do this in a letter to the diet, Aug. 13, 1524, which Zwingli at once published with a reply; see Zwingli's Werke, ii. ii. 399, where the further correspondence is also given. Cf. Bullinger, i. 331.

⁵ The invitation came, March 23, from a diet in Lucerne; Bullinger, i. 337; Müller-Hottinger, vii. 80; the letter of invitation to the Bishop of Constance, see in Kapp's Nachlese, iii. 352.

⁶ His brother-in-law, Leonhard Tremp, member of the great council, warned him, at the end of March (Zwinglii Opp., vii. 483): "Hütet euch bey Leib u. Leben, dass ihr nicht gen Baden kommet! denn es würde an euch kein Gleit nicht gehalten. Und das weiss ich; darum so hütet Euch! der Murner, der Bäckersbub, ist zu Luzern öffentlich an die Kanzel gestanden, u. hat mit lauter Stimm ü. aufgehabtem Arm geredet: Zwingli, ich sag dir ab an Leib u. an Gut; u. will dich unterrichten, dass du ein Verföhler des armen Christenvolks bist, etc." Zwingli, on this account, refused the invitation; see *Ein fründliche Geschrift an gemein Eidgenossen*, 21st April (Zwingli's

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,⁷ 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.⁸ 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,⁹ 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,¹⁰ and

Werke, ii. ii. 424): the seven hostile places did indeed send to him a safe-conduct to Zürich (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 Oberr Baden" (Strasburg, 1526); this was attacked by the Catholic party as false (see Hottinger's *Helvet. Kirchengesch.*, iii. 328). Thomas Hübnier next published the protocol made by Hans Hüber, clerk at Lucerne, after comparison with the other four: "Die Disputacion vor den XII. Orten einer lobl. Eidgenossenschaft—von wegen der Einigkeit in christl. Glauben—beschehen,—und zu Baden—gehalten. Luzern, 1527. 4." (Comp. Veesenmeyer's *Beyträge zur Gesch. der Literatur u. Reformation.* Ulm, 1792, s. 68.) The four other protocols are now in Zürich; a comparison of them proves that this edition is correct (Müller-Hottinger, vii. 84). Murner also published a Latin edition: *Causa Helvetica orthodoxae fidei. Disputatio Helvetiorum in Baden superiori, etc.* Lucernae, 1528. 4. (See *Altdortisches Literar. Museum*, i. 542.) On the disputation, see Bullinger, i. 348; *Lebensgesch. Oecolampads von S. Hess*, s. 181; Müller-Hottinger, vii. 83. Two satirical poems on this conference against Eck and Faber, one by Manuel; see in Nicolaus Manuel von Grüneisen, s. 408, comp. s. 216; Bullinger, i. 357.

⁸ Conference at Hantz, 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 Rhaeticarum* (Tomi ii.; *Curiae Raetorum et Lindaviae, 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 Whitsuntide 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. 390).

¹⁰ Handlung oder Acta gehaltener Disputation zu Bern im Uechtland. 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. Schulthess, 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

teti *Annales Evang. renovati ann. 1528*). That the Catholics themselves acknowledged their defeat is shown by a letter of Jacobus Monasteriensis, a priest of Solothurn, to Sigismund de Trudone, canon in Mayence, dated Jan. 29 (*Scultetus l. c.*): *Efferant quidem fidi nobis servatores Bernae, et ii certe, apud quos hactenus summa rerum fuit, ut et Episcopi, quibus est Ecclesiae in illorum ditioe jurisdictio, additis etiam minis, ad suam disputationem vocarentur, sed nulla alia spe, quam ut eruditos illi adducerent, qui haereticos confutarent. Sed quid? nemo illorum vel ipse venit, vel eruditus misit. —Venit post aliquot dies Augustinianus quidem frater, Provinciale salutabant, ac Traegerinum dicebant, sed loquentiae aliquid, eruditionis ac eloquentiae nihil in eo deprehensum est. Ubi enim scripturae exigebantur, maluit abire, quam disputare. —Clamiosior alius, sed nequaquam doctior Dominicaster per dies aliquot strepuit ex scripturis, sed quam feliciter, hinc conijce. Probaturus Pontificem quoque esse caput Ecclesiae, adduxit id a Petro eum accepisse, qui ideo fuisset a Domino vocatus Cephas, caput: sic enim se legisse ajebat in Vocabulariis. Vide, quales habeamus propugnatores: et adhuc miramur, vulgo nos contemni, et passim multos a nobis deficere? —Sed Praelatorum et Capituli Bernensium audi constantiam. Cum, uno aut altero excepto, nemo eorum non agnosceret blasphemos illos haereticorum articulos, omnibus tamen subscripserunt singuli, idque in capitulo congregati: tantum quod indoctae bestiae nihil possent haereticis objicere. Si cordati fuissent, vel mediocri dexteritate praediti, ita valebat adhuc factio nostra Bernae, si nihil aliud, ut in annum usque potuissent disputationem extrahere. Sed sic decet nos poenas dare contemptarum literarum, et neglectus studiorum. Horum vero insanum consilium sequuti sunt in ditioe Bernatium monachi et sacrifici. —O tempora, o mores, o nostram socordiam! Quam facile potuisset hoc malum caveri, si studiosorum quam scortorum nostri Episcopi amantiores essent! —Quid nunc faciant alii? Senatam quoque Basiliensem scis metu plebis suae, quam incantat Oecolampadius non tam eruditione quam hypocrisi sua, nihil posse. Idem paulo post usu veniet et aliis. Unum equidem timeo, paulo post Helvetios aequae Pontificis excusuros jugum, atque excusserunt jam pridem Caesaris. Et utinam Constantia et aliquot urbes Imperii non sequantur exemplum! —Comp. Bullinger, i. 395; Müller-Hottinger, vii. 105; Bertold Haller v. Kirchhofer, s. 99.*

¹¹ Bullinger, i. 437. As early as Febr. 7 appeared in print, "Gemein Reformation u. Verbesserung der bisher gebrouchten u. verwändten Gotsdiensten u. Ceremonien, die nabent dem Wort Gottes durch menschlich Gutdunken nach u. nach ingepflanzt, u. durch des Bapstthums Huffen trotzlich gehandhabet, aber dieser Zyt uss Gnaden Gottes u. Bericht syns heil. Worts durch Schultheiss, klein u. gross Rätli der Stadt Bern im Uechtland usgerütet sind," in Bullinger, i. 440; Müller-Hottinger, vii. 116; Kirchhofer, s. 125.

¹² Cf. § 2, Note 112, v. *Arx Gesch. v. St. Gallen*, ii. 529; *Hartmann's Gesch. v. St. Gallen*, s. 308; Müller-Hottinger, vii. 119.

¹³ Cf. § 2, Note 110; Bullinger, ii. 35; *Och's Geschichte von Basel*, v. 607; Müller-Hottinger, vii. 122.

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.¹⁴ Divine worship was at once established in the new order;¹⁵ 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.¹⁶

Now that the embittered Catholic cantons renounced the league with their evangelical confederates,¹⁷ 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*;¹⁸ Berne and St. Gall joined it in 1528; and in 1529, Biel, Muhlhausen, and Basle.¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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.²¹

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

¹⁴ On these occurrences, see Oecolampadii Ep. ad Capitonem, dd. 13. Febr., in Hottinger Hist. Eccl., ix. 12.

¹⁵ "Ordnung, so eine ehrsame Stadt Basel den Iten Tag Aprilis in ihrer Stadt u. Landschaft fürhin zu halten erkannt. Darin wie die verworfene Misbräuche mit wahren Gottesdienst ersetzt, auch wie die Laster zu christlicher Tapferkeit unträglich, Gott zu Lob abgestellt u. gestraft werden sollen, begriffen ist, als man zählt 1529. 4.;" in Bullinger, ii. 82.

¹⁶ Müller-Hottinger, vii. 138.

¹⁷ Already at the Diet of Lucerne, 18th July, 1526; see Bullinger, i. 362; Müller-Hottinger, vii. 165.

¹⁸ Bullinger, i. 418. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 222; the document, s. 463.

¹⁹ Bullinger, ii. 8, 26, 46, 63. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 223 ff.

²⁰ Bullinger, ii. 21. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 180. Nicolaus Manuel von Grüneisen. Stuttg. u. Tübingen, 1837, s. 111, 118 ff.

²¹ Bullinger, ii. 48. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 225, die Urkunde s., s. 469.

own faith, were often in violent contest.²² This state of things was worse than open war. To put an end to it, Zürich, inspired by the fiery Zwingli,²³ 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.²⁴ 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 Zwingli,²⁵ though it was very favorable for Zürich.²⁶ 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, 1529.²⁷

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 metuatis. Nam ista pax, quam quidam tantopere urgent, bellum est, non pax; et bellum, cui nos instamus, pax est, non bellum. Non enim sitimum ejusquam sanguinem, neque etiam per tumultum hauriemus, sed in hoc sumus, ut oligarchiæ nervi succidantur. Id nisi fiat, neque Evangelii veritas, neque illius ministri apud nos in tuto erunt. Nihil crudele cogitamus: sed quicquid agimus, amicem et paternum est. Salvare cupimus quosdam, qui per ignorantiam percutunt, servare libertatem satagimus. Vos igitur nolite tantopere abhorrere a consiliis nostris. Mitiora sunt et aequiora, quam quidam apud vos dietitant. Zwingli 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 Glaubensänderung, in Füssli's Beyträge, iv. 102: "Mr. Conrad Schmidt war bestellt zu predigen im Feld, dann man wollte Mr. Ulrich Zwingli nicht in den Krieg lassen:—aber er wollt nicht bleiben, sondern sass auf ein Ross, und führte eine hübsche Helparten auf den Aehslen."

²⁴ Bullinger, ii. 155. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 247.

²⁵ See Zwingli's Gutachten an die Züricher Regierung über dasjenige, was von den 5 Orten zu fordern sey, 11th June, in Müller-Hottinger, vii. 479. He insisted that the five cantons should allow the free preaching of God's Word, renounce the pensions, and pay the costs of the war.

²⁶ 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 calumny and abuse were forbidden, "with high and severe penalty and disgrace."

²⁷ Bullinger, ii. 222. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 134 ff., 286.

rich.²⁸ 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.²⁹ 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 Marburg³⁰ 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.³¹ Strasburg, repelled by the German Protestants, joined the Christian Burgher Rights' league in January, 1530.³² The Landgrave of Hesse was also received into it,³³ 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,³⁴ was the occasion of all sorts of reports about privy negotiations.³⁵ 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.³⁶

Thus the previous state of fluctuation and uncertainty recurred again. To put an end to it, Zwingle and Zürich pressed their

²⁸ Bullinger, ii. 221, 240, 247. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 282.

²⁹ Bullinger, ii. 114, 144, 214. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 295.

³⁰ See § 4, Note 37.

³¹ In Marburg there was also a private correspondence between the Landgrave and Zwingle, in which the names were given in cipher (Müller-Hottinger, vii. 282). Letters of Zwingle so written to the Landgrave are in Neudecker's *Urkunden*, s. 150 ff. Rudolph Collin was sent to Venice; see his own report on his audience before the Doge, Dec. 28, 1529, and Zwingle's remarks in Escher's u. Hottinger's *Archiv f. schweiz. Gesch. u. Landeskunde*, i. ii. 273; Müller-Hottinger, vii. 308. On the negotiations with France, Müller-Hottinger, vii. 311.

³² Müller-Hottinger, vii. 314. Documents in Escher's u. Hottinger's *Archiv*, i. iii. 419.

³³ Bullinger, ii. 289. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 318. Berne refused to take part; see Nicolaus Manuel, by Grüneisen, s. 149.

³⁴ Müller-Hottinger, vii. 317.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, s. 336.

³⁶ Bullinger, ii. 336.

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.³⁷ Forced by necessity, these cantons seized their arms, and made an attack upon the territory of Zürich, unprepared for the contest.³⁸ 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.³⁹

§ 7.

HISTORY OF THE GERMAN REFORMATION TO THE RECESS OF THE DIET OF RATISBON, JULY 29, 1541.

Although it was not to be expected that the Protestants, like the Catholics, would unconditionally conform to the decision of a council,¹ yet the Emperor urgently entreated the Pope to summon

³⁷ Bullinger, ii. 362, 383. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 342.

³⁸ On this so-called Cappel War, the chief sources are Bullinger's *Reformationsgesch.*, iii. 116, and Aegid. Tschudi *kurze Beschreibung der fünf katholischen Orte—Kriegs wider ihre Eidgenossen*, reprinted in the *Helvetia*, Bd. ii. (Aarau u. Bern, 1826), s. 165 u. 321. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 362 ff.

³⁹ See the treaty with Zürich, in Tschudi, in the *Helvetia*, ii. 245; Bullinger, iii. 247, in Müller-Hottinger, vii. 497, comp. s. 427; the peace with Berne, in the *Helvetia*, ii. 325; Bullinger, iii. 270. The style of the very first article was humiliating: "Zum ersten sollent u. wöllent wir, die von Zürich, unser getrëve liebe Eidgenossen von den V. Orten—by ihrem wahren, ungezwynfleten, christenlichen Glauben—gänzlich ungearguirt u. ungedisputirt blyben lassen.—Hinwiederum so wöllent wir, von den V. Orten, unser Eidgenossen von Zürich u. ihre eignæ Mitverwandten by ihrem Glauben auch blyben lassen." Almost verbally the same in the treaty with Berne.

¹ Luther had maintained from the beginning that councils could err: see *Responsio ad Prierat.*, § 1, Note 22; and his declaration at Worms, § 1, Note 79. The Protestants, in their appeals to a council, had always demanded that it should be free, and decide according to the Scriptures. The more incontrovertible the truth of their doctrine appeared to them, the more might they expect it to be recognized by such a council. It was then their duty to make use of this means, although they did not thereby bind themselves to submit to every decision of a council (cf. Luther *De Captiv. Babil.*, fol. 273, b. § 1, Note 61: *neque Papa, neque Episcopus, neque ullus hominum habet jus unius syllabæ constituendæ super christianum hominem, nisi id fiat ejusdem consensu*).

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,² proposed conditions which, it was apparent, the Protestants must reject.³ At the same time he again formed a closer alliance with the King of France, to find in him support against the Emperor.⁴

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.⁵ 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, tanquam medium humanum. Hoc necessario tenemur facere, et nisi facimus, peccamus, et delinquimus. Scriptum est, dormientibus hominibus venit inimicus, et superseminavit zizania, et cavendum est, ne dormiamus, et siuamus crescere zizania, id quod insidiose quaeritur.* Opinion given April or May, 1532 (in *de Wette*, iv. 374): “Vom Concilium ist muglich etwas zu cavirn; so ist ohn Zweifel gnugsam cavirt durch diese Wort: Ein frey christlich Concilium. Sollen die Wort nicht helfen, so wird der Zusatz auch wenig helfen, nach dem reinen Gottes Wort, etc. Denn so die Nationes wider uns concludirn, werden sie gleichwohl den Ruhm haben wollen, dass sie nach dem reinen Gottes Wort sprechen, etc.”

² Ranke, *Fürsten u. Völker von Süd-Europa im 16ten u. 17ten Jahrh.*, ii. 114.

³ 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.

⁴ 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 Würtemberg, so as to make disturbances in Germany; Ranke, ii. 121.

⁵ This was owing to the indefiniteness of the terms in the Nuremberg peace, which the Landgrave Philip had criticised at the first (see § 5, Note 47). The court maintained that *causae possessoriae* and complaints for restitution did not come under “matters concerning the faith;” see *J. II. v. Harpprecht Staatsarchiv des Kais. u. h. R. R. Cammergerichts (Ulm, 4 Theile, 1757-60. 4.)*, P. V. § 136-145; Appendix, no. 46-50.

of Würtemberg,⁶ he at last succeeded, May, 1534, in breaking up the Swabian league;⁷ aided by money from France,⁸ in May, 1534, he brought Würtemberg in a few weeks in subjection to its old ruler.⁹ King Ferdinand, who had been in possession, was obliged by the treaty of Cadan, June 29, 1534, to restore the land to Duke Ulrich;¹⁰ 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,¹¹ 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 judicatories.¹²

Contemporaneous 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, 1535.¹³ The consequence

⁶ Rommel's *Philipp der Grossmüthige*, i. 323.

⁷ Stumpf's *Baierns polit. Geschichte*, i. 140 ff. *Urkundenbuch*, s. 51. Rommel, i. 319; ii. 287.

⁸ Meeting of the Landgrave with the King at Bar le Duc, in Jan., 1534; on the treaty there concluded, see Rommel, i. 335; ii. 298.

⁹ Rommel, i. 344 ff.

¹⁰ Rommel, i. 371. The treaty in Hortleder, i. 885. *Walech*, xvi. 2241.

¹¹ Ch. G. Zahn's *Reformationsgesch. des Herzogth. Würtemberg* (Tübingen, 1791), s. 32. Ch. F. Schurrer's *Erläuterungen der Wurtemberg. Kirchen-, Reformations-, u. Gelehrten-geschichte* (Tübingen, 1798), s. 88. Jul. Hartmann's *Gesch. d. Reformation in Würtemberg* (Stuttgart, 1835), s. 33.

¹² "Erstlich, dass der Friede u. Stillstand, zu Nürnberg jüngst aufgerichtet—in alle Wege soll gehalten—werden. Und nachdem ein Missverstand darin vorgefallen, so hat die Kon. Maj. gnädiglich bewilligt, dass Ihre Kon. Maj. von wegen Kais. Maj. verschaffen wolle, dass mit den Processen am Kaiserl. Cammergericht, zu Erhaltung solches Friedstands, wider die, so darin benannt seyn, still gestanden, auch dass alle bisher genommene Prozesse wirklich abgeschafft werden, alles nach Laut desselben aufgerichteten Friedenstandes."

¹³ Reports of *eye-witnesses* on these troubles at Münster: (1.) *Wahrhaftige Historie*, wie das Evangelium zu Münster angefangen, u. darnach durch die Wiedertäufer verstört, wieder aufgehört hat, durch Henricum Dorpium Monasteriensem (about him, see Hamelmanni *Opera Genealogico-historica de Westphalia*, p. 1256), with a preface by Bugenhagen, 1536. 4.; reprinted in the second part of the Wittenberg edition of Luther's German Works, s. 391; by Sleidanus, lib. x., and many other historians used as the chief authority. (2.) Dietrich v. Hamburg *glaubiger Anzeig von der Münsterischen Aufruhr, Verstoekung, u. Jammer*. 1535, 1 Bogen, 4. The author was imprisoned fourteen weeks among the Anabaptists, and does not mention the capture of Münster (see Fortges. *Sammlung v. alten u. neuen theol. Sachen*, 1725, s. 719). (3.) There are extracts from the MS. report of an eye-witness in D. J. G. Liebknecht *Disp. de fraternitate Hortensium oder Gartenbrüdern*. Giessen, 1724. 4. (4.) Anton Corvinus (at that time preacher in Witzenhausen) *Acta, Handlungen, Legation, u. Schriften*, so durch den

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,¹⁴ and as in 1536 a new war broke

Landgrafen v. Hessen in der Münsterschen Sache geschehen, item Gespräch u. Disputation Antonii Corvini u. Johannis Kymeii mit dem Münsterschen König, ebe denn sie gerechtfertigt worden sind, gehalten im Januar, 1536. Wittenberg, 1536; reprinted in the Third Part of the Wittenberg edition of Luther's German Works, s. 363. Ejud. lib. De miserabili Monasteriensium Anabaptistarum Obsidione, Excidio, memorabilibus rebus tempore obsidionis in urbe gestis, Regis, Knipperdollingi, de Kreitingi confessione et exitu reprinted in Schardii Scriptt. rer. Germ., ii. 314. (5.) Hermann v. Kerssenbroick (who, when a boy, witnessed the events; he was afterward rector in Hamm, Münster, Paderborn, and Werl) wrote first in hexameters Belli Monasteriensis contra Anabaptistica Monstra gesti Descriptio. Colon., 1545. 8. (reprinted in Gerdesii Serinium antiquarium, ii. 377 u. 569), and then the fullest history of these events: Historia Belli Anabaptistarum Monasteriensis, 1568, for which he had to suffer much persecution in Münster. (See J. König's Geschiehl. Nachrichten über d. Gymnasium zu Münster. Münster, 1821, s. 155. The original MS. is in the cathedral library in Münster; it is reprinted, with large omissions, amounting to more than three-fourths of the work, in Menckenii Scriptt. rer. Germ., iii. 1503; a complete but inaccurate translation: Geschichte der Wiedertäufer zu Munster in Westphalen, 1771. 4.; a German abridgment of the original: Originalactenstücke zur wahren u. vollständigen Kenntniss der Münsterschen Wiedertäufergeschichte. Frankf. a. M., 1808. 8.)—By other contemporaries: (1.) Conradi Heresbach (councilor in Cleve) Hist. Anabaptistica ad Erasmus, ed. Theod. Strackius. Amstelod., 1637. 8. (2.) Lamberti Hortensii (rector at Naerden, in Holland) Tumultum Anabaptisticorum lib. unus 1548 (in Schardii Scriptt. rer. Germ., ii. 298). (3.) Herm. Hamelmanni (Generalsuperint. in Oldenburg, † 1595) Hist. Renati Evangelii, deinde Schismatum Anabaptistarum exortorum in urbe Monasteriensi in his Opp. Genealogico-histor. de Westphalia et Saxoniam, ed. E. C. Wasserbach. Lemgov., 1711. 4., p. 1175. (4.) Gerhard v. Kleinsorgen (Cologne councilor in Werl, † 1591) Kirchengeschichte von Westphalen (published Münster, 1779–80, 3 Th. 8.), ii. 369.—The documents in Niesert's Beyträge zu einem Münsterschen Urkundenbuche, Münster, 1823; and in his Munstersehe Urkundensammlung, Bd. 1, Coesfeld, 1826, und Appendix to Bd. 3.—II. Jochnus Gesch. der Kirchenreformation zu Münster u. ihres Untergangs durch die Wiedertäufer. Münster, 1825. 8. J. Haast's Gesch. d. Wiedertäufer. Münster, 1836, s. 274.

¹⁴ The acts in Walch, xvi. 2290; better, in different parts of Opp. Melancthonis, ed. Bretschneider, ii. 962, where was first published, in the Latin original, the negotiation of the Legate with the Elector in Prague, p. 982, Vergerii Ep. ad Jo. Frider. p. 991, and Principum Protest. ad Vergerium, dd. Smalcaldiae, 21. Dec., 1535, p. 1018. In the last letter, by Melancthon, it is said: Propter communem Ecclesiae salutem et emendationem omnibus votis expetimus generalem, piam, Christianam, et liberam synodum.—Quod vero ad locum attinet, de quo exposuisti, Mantuam placere Rom. Pontifici, confidimus, invictiss. Imperatorem non discessurum esse ab iis deliberationibus conventum Imperii, in quibus jam judicatum est, expedire, ut in Germania habeatur synodus.—Deinde

out between the Emperor and France,¹⁵ the designs of the Pope appeared very equivocal, when, June 2, 1536, he actually summoned the council to meet in Mantua, May, 1537;¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ They were at once joined by the Dukes Ulrich of Württemberg, Barnim and Philip of Pomerania, the Count Palatine, Rupert of Zweybrücken (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 articles¹⁸ 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 praejudiciis causam nostram Rom. Pontifex toties improbaverit, palam est adversarius. Porro neque libera synodus neque legitima erit, si adversariis permittetur cognitio et iudicium, eamque ob causam flagitata et promissa est libera Synodus, h. e. in qua communi iudicio Imperatoris, Regum, Potentatum, Principum, ac Statuum delignantur ex omnibus ordinibus homines idonei non partiales ad cognoscendas et dijudicandas has controversias juxta verbum Dei. Primum enim synodi debent esse iudicia non tantum Pontificum, sed etiam reliquae Ecclesiae, sicut et sacrae literae et vetera ecclesiastica exempla docent, quae testantur, pios Principes interfuisse cognitioni in synodis. Estque impudentia et tyrannis, Rom. Pontificis auctoritatem in iudiciis dogmatum religionis anteferre auctoritati universae Ecclesiae. Quare valere in synodis auctoritas Regum, Principum, Potentatum, ac Statuum debet, praesertim in causis fidei, cum accusantur Pontificum vitia et errores, videlicet impii cultus, prava dogmata cum Evangelio pugnancia.

¹⁵ Raumer's *Gesch. Europas seit dem Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrh.*, i. 447.

¹⁶ Bull *Ad dominici gregis curam*, in Raynald, 1536, No. 35.

¹⁷ Sleidanus, lib. ix., in fine. Seckendorf, iii. 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 Melancth. *Opp.*, ed. Bretschneider, iii. 121 ss., and Luther's Judgment, Feb., 1537, in de Wette, v. 51). 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. 397), to the Elector, Jan. 3, 1537 (see the letter in de Wette, v. 45). 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 Häupt der ganzen Christenheit (denn das gehört 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. Cypriani weisen. Jetzt aber thut kein Bischof den Bapst Bruder heissen, wie zu der Zeit, sondern mus ihm seinen allergnädigsten Herrn heissen, wemns auch ein König oder Kaiser ware. 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 soleher falscher, freveler, lasterlicher angemasseter Gewalt gethan u. fügenommen hat, eitel teuffelisch Geschicht u. Geschäft gewest u. noch sey (ohn was das leibliche Regiment belanget, darin Gott auch wol durch einen Tyrannen u. Buben lasst einem Volk viel guts geschehen) zur Verderbung der ganzen heiligen christlichen Kirchen (so viel an ihm gelegen) u. zu verstören den ersten Hauptartikel von der Erlösung Jesu Christi. Denn da stehen alle seine Bullen u. Bucher, darinnen er brullet, 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 fünfhundert 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 u. vergeblich, denn die heilige christliche Kirche ohn soleh Häupt wol bleiben kann, u. wol besser blieben 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 Rotten u. Ketzerey desto bass erhalten würde, müsste man ein Häupt haben, daran sich die andern alle hielten. Solehs Häupt würde nun durch Menschen erwählt u. stünde in menschlicher Wahl u. Gewalt, dasselbe Häupt zu ändern, zu entsetzen, wie zu Constanz das Concilium fast die Weise hielt mit den Bapsten, 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 wolt, 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. Dennoch wäre damit der Christenheit nichts geholfen, u. würden viel mehr Rotten werden, denn zuvor. Denn weil man solehem Häupt nicht müsste unterthan sein aus Gottes Befehl, sondern aus menschlichem guten Willen, würde es gar leichtlich u. balde veracht, zuletzt kein Glied behalten. Müsste auch nicht immerdar zu Rom oder andern Orte sein, sondern wo u. in welcher Kirchen Gott einen solehen Mann hätte gegeben, der tüchtig dazu ware. O das wolt ein weitläufftig wüst Wesen werden. Darumb kann die Kirche nimmermehr bass regieret u. erhalten werden, denn dass wir alle unter einem Häupt Christo leben, u. die Bischöffe alle gleich nach dem Ampt (ob sie wol ungleich nach den Gaben) fleissig zusammenhalten in einträchtiger Lehre, Glauben, Sacramenten, Gebeten, u. Werken der Liebe, etc., wie St. Hieronymus schreibt, dass die Priester zu Alexandria sämtlich u. in gemein die Kirchen regierten (Vol. 1, § 30, Not. 1; § 34, Not. 2), wie die Apostel auch gethan, u. hernach alle Bischöffe in der ganzen Christenheit, bis der Bapst seinen Kopf über alle erhob. Dis Stück zeigt gewaltiglich, dass er der rechte Endechrist oder Widerchrist sey, der sich über u. wider Christum gesetzt u. erhöht hat, weil er will die Christen nicht lassen selig sein ohn seine Gewalt, welche doch nichts ist, von Gott nicht geordnet, noch geboten. Dass heisst eigentlich über Gott u. wider Gott sich setzen, wie St. Paulus sagt. Solches thut dennoch der Turke

league at Smalcald, Feb., 1537 (the Smalcald Articles).¹⁹ But

noch Tatter nicht, wie grosse Feinde sie der Christen sind, sondern lassen gläuben an Christum wer da will, u. nehmen leiblichen Zins u. Gehorsam von den Christen. Aber der Bapst will nicht lassen gläuben, 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 christliche 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 unterstund (Comp. vol. iii., § 118, Not. 10). Und wenn man unterscheidet des Bapsts Lehre von der heiligen Schrift, oder sie dagegen stellet u. hält, so findt sichs, dass des Bapsts Lehre, wo sie am allerbesten ist, so ist sie aus dem kaiserlichen heidnischen Recht genommen, u. lehret weltliche Händel u. Gerichte, wie seine Decretales zengen. Darnach lehret sie Ceremonien von Kirchen, Kleidern, Speisen, Personen, u. des Kinderspiels, Larven, u. Narrenwerks ohn Masse. Aber in diesem allen gar nichts von Christo, Glauben, u. Gottes Geboten. Zuletzt ist nichts, denn eitel Teufel, da er seine Lügen von Messen, Fegfeuer, Klosterrey, eigen Werk u. Gottesdienst (welches denn das rechte Bapstthum ist) treibet, über u. wider Gott, verdampft, tödtet u. plaget alle Christen, so solchen seinen Greuel nicht über alles heben u. ehren. Darumb so wenig wir den Teufel selbs 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 bapstlich Regiment eigentlich. Wie ich dasselb in vielen Büchern beweiseth habe.

“An diesen vier Artikeln werden sie genug zu verdammen haben im Concilio. Dann sie nicht das geringste Gliedlein von der Artikel 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. Zukunft. 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 liess 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 Abgötterey zu zwingen. Darum müssen wir hie nicht seine Füsse küssen, oder sagen: ihr seyd mein gnädiger Herr; sondern wie im Zacharia der Engel zum Teufel sprach: Strafe dieh Gott, Satan.” Melanethon subscribed the article in the following manner: “Ich, Philippus Melancthon, halte diese obgestalte Artikel auch für recht u. christlich. Vom Papst aber halte ich, so er das Evangelium wollte zulassen, dass ihm um Friedens und gemeiner Einigkeit willen derjenigen Christen, so auch unter ihm sind u. künftig seyn möchten, seine Superiorität über die Bischöfe, die er sonst hat, jure humano, auch von uns zuzulassen sey.” Comp. his declarations in Augspurg, above, § 5, Note 22. The Elector remarked upon it in his answer to Luther, 7th Jan., in Seckendorf, iii. 152: “So wir aus guter Meinung u. um Friedens willen, wie Mag. Philippus vorgiebt, ihn einen Herrn bleiben lassen, der über uns, unsere Bischöffe, Pfarrer u. Prediger zu gebieten, setzten wir uns selber in die Fahr u. Beschwerde, weil er doch nicht ruhen würde und seine Nachkommen, uns u. unser allerseits Nachkommen gänzlich zu vertilgen u. auszurotten, welches wir doch, weil uns Gott davon befreyet u. erlöset, gar nicht bedürfen, sollte auch wohl mit unserer Klugheit (da wir einmahl von seiner Babil. 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.”

¹⁹ They were subscribed by the theologians, that they might, in case of need, be at once used in the council. In the mean time, it was found necessary to expound and prove their position about the papal and episcopal authority in a treatise to be published by itself, that they might thus justify their refusal of the council. This work was written in Latin by Melanethon, and likewise subscribed by the theologians (see Melan-

still this very assembly utterly rejected the invitation to the council which was brought by the papal nuncio and the imperial vice-chancellor, Held.²⁰ 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,²¹ 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.²²

Though the Smalcald leaguers had been disappointed in their

thon's Ep. ad Camerarium, 1st March, 1537, in Melancth. Opp., ed. Bretschneider, iii. 291, and at the end of Camerarius de Vita Mel., ed. Strobel, p. 433): its title is De Potestate et Primatu Papae Tractatus (in Bretschneider, iii. 271); it now forms the Appendix to the Smalcald Articles (cf. M. J. Chr. Bertram's Gesch. des symbol. Anhangs der Schmalkald. Artikel, edited by J. B. Riederer. Altdorf, 1770. 8.).—The Smalcald Articles, in German, were first published by Luther, with a preface and important additions, and with changes in the expressions: "Artikel so da hetten sollen auff's Concilion zu Mantua, oder wo es würde seyn, überantwortet werden, von unsers Theils wegen. Dr. Mart. Luther. Wittenberg, 1538. 4." The Latin translation of Petrus Generanus was first issued at Wittenberg, 1541, in 8vo. The treatise of Melancthon, De Primatu Papae, was first printed in Latin in a collection: Defensio Conjugii Sacerdotum, etc. Argentorati, 1540. 8.; in the German translation, by Veit Dieterich, "Von des Bapsts Gewalt, item von der Bischöffen Jurisdiction, gestellet durch Herrn Phil. Melancthon, u. verdeutschet durch Vitum Dietherich. Wittenb., 1541. 4.—The Smalcald Articles have passed into the *Concordia* (the Lutheran symbols): in German, after the first edition of Luther; in Latin, not in the translation of Generanus, but in the worse translation of Selnecker, made for this purpose. Melancthon's work, De Potestate et Primatu Papae, as an Appendix, is in the *Concordia*, in German, in the translation of Veit Dieterich, which was for a long time considered as the original; in Latin, it was given in the first and some later editions of the *Concordia*, after a translation from Veit Dieterich's text, probably by Selnecker; but in most of the editions, particularly in the Rechenberg, it is given in the original text.

²⁰ See the acts in Hortleder, Th. 1, Buch 1, cap. 25–29. Walch, xvi. 2426 ff. Cf. Sleidannus, lib. xi.; Seckendorf, iii. 143. Bericht des Cornelius Ettenius über die Reise des Legaten Vorstius, Bisch. v. Aix, in Raumer's Hist. Taschenbuche f. 1839, s. 508 ff. The refusal was specially justified on the ground that the council was called against the newly-arisen heresies and errors, yet that in the bull on the Reformation of the city and the court of Rome, Sept. 23, 1536 (in German in Walch, xvi. 2322), the extirpation of the Lutheran heresy was given outright as the object of the council, so that the Protestants were already held as condemned before it met; another reason was, that Mantua, and not a German city, was the place selected.

²¹ The documents in Hortleder, Th. i. Buch 8, cap. 14 and 15. Walch, xvii. 4. Those that took part were the Emperor, King Ferdinand, the Elector of Mayence, the Abp. of Salzburg, the dukes of Bavaria, who, after the treaty of Cadan, became the most violent foes of the Protestants, Duke George of Saxony, and Henry of Brunswick. Cf. Stumpf's Baierns Polit. Geschichte, i. 207.

²² Truce at Frankfort, April 19, 1539, for fifteen months; see the documents in Hortleder, i. i. cap. 32; Walch, xvii. 396.

prospect of alliances with France and England—with the former by the personal influence of the Emperor with Francis I.,²³ and with the latter by the theological obstinacy of Henry VIII.;²⁴ 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,²⁵ and had also, since 1532, subscribed the Augsburg Confession,²⁶ had still given occasion to new discussions²⁷ by the doubts which weighed upon their

²³ Until then the King had sought an alliance with the Smalcald League, had feigned to be zealous for the Reformation and agreement with the German Reformation in the essential principles (on the negotiations of the French ambassador, Bellay, at Smalcald, see the documents in Melancth. Opera, ed. Bretschneider, ii. 1009, 1023; cf. Seckendorf, iii. 104), and had even desired to have Melancthon come to him for a time; see Strobel Von Melancthon's Ruf nach Frankreich u. seinem dahin geschickten Religions-bedenken v. Jahr 1535. Nürnberg u. Altdorf, 1794. 8. Through the mediation of the Pope a truce was effected in Nizza, June 18, 1538, for ten years, between the Emperor and the King; immediately afterward the two met in person at Aigues Mortes; in consequence of this the negotiations with the ambassadors of the Smalcald confederates, then present with the King, took such a turn that they were obliged to depart without effecting any thing; Seckendorf, iii. 178 sq.

²⁴ Henry also had (1535) proposed an alliance and doctrinal union, and expressed a wish to have Melancthon come to him (Mel. Opera, ed. Bretschneider, ii. 1028; Seckendorf, iii. 110). The theological discussions between him and the ambassadors of the league, sent to him in 1538, are in Burnet's Hist. Ref. Anglicanae (ed. Genev., 1686 fol.), Pars i. Add. p. 152. Cf. Seckendorf, iii. 180.

²⁵ Bucer tried at that time to represent the dispute as a mere logomachy, and made in this sense proposals to Duke Ernest of Lüneburg. On this Luther wrote to the latter, Feb. 1, 1531 (de Wette, iv. 219): "Dass aber M. Bucerum für gibt, es stehe der Hader in Worten allein: da wollte ich gerne umb sterben, wenn es so wäre:" yet Luther was also inclined to peace; see his letter Ad M. Bucerum, dd. 22. Jan., 1531 (ibid., s. 217): *commendamus causam Deo, interim servantes pacis istius qualiscunque et concordiae catenus firmatae, quod confitemur, corpus Domini vere adesse et exhiberi intus animae fidei.—Et volo te mihi credere,—hoc nostrum dissidium optare me compesci, etiamsi vita mea ter esset impendenda, quia vidi, quam sit necessaria nobis vestra societas, quanta tulerit et adhuc affert incommoda Evangelio, ita ut certus sim, omnes portas inferni, totum Papatum, totum Turcam, totum mundum, totam carnem, et quicquid malorum est, non potuisse tantum nocere Evangelio, si concordēs essemus. Sed quid faciam in eo, quod impossibile est fieri?*

²⁶ In what way is set forth by Bucer to the Augsburgers in extenso, Ep. ad Bonifacium Wolfhartum et Augustanos (from Opp. Zanckii, in Gerdessii Scrinium, v. 222), viz.: *Legati nostrarum urbium palam et disertis verbis testati sunt,—se ideo praeter nostram Saxoniam quoque Confessionem et Apologiam recipere, quod haec re ipsa cum nostra congruat.*

²⁷ In 1534, Bucer, through the Landgrave (on whose agency in this affair, see Waleh, xvii. 2379; Rommel's Philip the Great, ii. 343), at first proposed to the Wittenbergers a formula of concord, which was not unacceptable to Luther. Melancthon answered the Landgrave, 16th Sept., 1534 (Opp., ed. Bretschneider, ii. 788): "Ich will auch für mein Person J. F. G. nit bergen, dass ich an dem unfürndlichen Schreyen und Schreiben auf unserm Theil nie Gefallen gehabt habe, sondern alle Zeit daran Herzleid getragen habe und noch trage. Ich hätt auch die Sach gern zu christlicher Einigkeit gearbeitet, wie E. F. G. selb aus etlichen Umständen abnehmen mögen. Nachdem ich aber so grosse Härte befunden, daraus ander mehr Beschwerung gefolget, hab ichs auch müssen

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 Vitebergensis*, 1536.²⁸ Yet Bucer still tried to conceal his weakness²⁹ by explanations, to induce the Swiss to accede to this union.³⁰ His

Gott befehlen." Melancthon 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 *Esslingen* (Oct. 5, *ibid.*, s. 636 ff.).

²⁸ On the assembly of the theologians in *Wittenberg*, May, 1536, see the reports of persons present, viz.: *Frid. Myconius ad Vitam Dietrich* (ed. *Nicol. Selnecker*, 1581, in *Wigandus de Sacramentariismo*, p. 351, and in *Lönnmätzsch Narratio de Frid. Myconio*, p. 56, German in *Walch*, xvii. 2532); of *Johannes Bernhardt*, preacher in *Frankfort* (in *Ritter's Frankfurt. Denkmal*, s. 345, in *Walch*, xvii. 2543); and of *M. Bucer* (in his *Scripta Anglicana*, *Basil.*, 1577, fol. p. 648). The *Concordia*, by *Melancthon*, *Seckendorf*, iii. 132, at the end of *Camerarius de Vita Melanchth.*, ed. *Strobel*, p. 431, *Opp. Melanchth.*, ed. *Bretschneider*, iii. 75: I. *Confitentur juxta verba Irenaei, constare Eucharistiam duabus rebus, terrena et coelesti. Itaque sentiunt et docent, cum pane et vino vere et substantialiter adesse, exhiberi et sumi corpus Christi et sanguinem. II. Et quanquam negant fieri transsubstantiationem, nec sentiunt fieri localem inclusionem in pane, aut durabilem aliquam conjunctionem extra usum Sacramenti: tamen concedunt sacramentali unione panem esse corpus Christi (corpus esse cum pane), h. e. sentiunt porrecto pane simul adesse et vere exhiberi corpus Christi. Nam extra usum, cum aservatur in pixide, aut ostenditur in processionibus, ut fit a Papistis, sentiunt non adesse corpus Christi. III. Deinde hanc institutionem Sacramenti sentiunt valere in Ecclesia, nec pendere ex dignitate ministri aut sumentis. Quare sicut Paulus ait, etiam indignos manducare, ita sentiunt porrigi vere corpus et sanguinem Domini etiam indignis, et indignos sumere, ubi servantur verba et institutio Christi. Ideo enim propositum est, ut testetur illis applicari beneficia Christi (et fieri eos membra Christi), et ablui sanguine Christi, qui agunt poenitentiam, et erigunt se fide in Christum.*

²⁹ See *Articuli Concordiae cum Explicatione Buceri*, in his *Scripta Anglicana*, p. 665, in *Bretschneider*, iii. 78. The chief difficulty was on Article III., that also the unbelievers receive the body and blood. On this he says: *Omnino enim tria genera hominum sacramenta sumere possunt. Quidam qui omnia hic contemnunt et rident, qui prorsus impii sunt, nec quicquam Domino credunt: hi nihil quam panem et vinum agnoscunt et sentiunt, eoque nec amplius percipiunt, quia pervertunt verba et institutionem Domini. Alii verbis hic Domini porrigentis corpus suum credunt, eaque fide sacramentum accipiunt, ut simul rem sacramenti percipiant, nec tamen donum hoc Dei digne percipiunt: hi ea indignitate reos se faciunt corporis et sanguinis Domini, quae tamen sumere volunt et sumunt, quia verba et institutionem Domini amplectuntur: non manducant autem revera, ut Augustinus dicit, h. e. non fruuntur plene hoc cibo vivifico, quem in mentem non satis demittunt. Tertii sunt, qui non credunt tantum institutioni Domini, et accommodant se illi sacramento sumendo, sed simul viva fide omnia expendunt, considerant et amplectuntur, indeque virtutem et jucunditatem hujus cibi solide percipiunt.*

³⁰ 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. 263; *S. Hess*, s. 239.

public declarations about the matter³¹ were received by Luther with unwonted mildness (1537),³² 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 cause³³ as early as 1536. In the duchy of Saxony, Duke Henry introduced the Reformation immediately after his accession.³⁴ 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; Kirchlhofer, s. 289; S. Hess, s. 252. 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 Smalcald 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 ist's wohl wahr, u. kann auch nicht anders seyn, dass solche grosse Zwiertacht nicht kann so leicht u. bald ohne Ritz u. Narben geheilet werden. Denn es werden beyde bey euch u. uns Etliche seyn, welchen solche Concordia nicht gefällig, sondern verdächtig seyn wird. Aber so wir zu beyden Theilen, die wirs mit Ernst meinen, werden fleissig anhalten, wird der liebe Vater u. Gott wohl sein Gnade geben, dass es bey den Andern mit der Zeit auch zu Tod blut, u. das trübe Wasser sich wiederumb setzt. Ist derhalben mein freundlich Bitte; E. E. wollten dazu thun u. 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 einfältiglich lehren.—Gleichwie auch wir allhier, beyde in Schriften u. Predigten, uns gar still halten u. mässigen wider die Euren zu schreiben, damit wir auch nicht Ursach seyn, die Concordia zu hindern; welche wir ja von Herzen gern sehen, u. Gott gelobet, des Fechtens u. Schreiens bisher gung gewest, wo es hätte sollen etwas ausrichten."

³³ Nic. Leuthingeri (Brandenburg, historiographer, † 1612) *Comm. de Marchia Brandenburgensi*, lib. iv. (in Krausii Scriptt. de rebus March. Brand., i. 152, 157). Seckendorf, iii. 234. Dr. Ad. Müller's *Gesch. d. Reform. in der Mark Brandenburg*. Berlin, 1839. 8. Chr. W. Spieker's *Kirchen- u. Reformationsgesch. der Mark Brandenburg*. 3 Theile. Berlin, 1839 ff. Jul. Schladebach *der Uebertritt des Kurfürsten Joachim II. zur Luth. Kirche am 1ten Nov., 1539*. Leipzig, 1840. 8.

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 1531 he had gone back from the Lutheran to the Catholic

ious freedom to their subjects; the Elector Louis, in the Upper Palatinate,³⁵ 1538; the Elector Albert of Mayence, in the Magdeburg and Halberstadt provinces,³⁶ 1539.

The Emperor made one other attempt to effect a religious union. A conference was summoned to Spire, assembled in Hagenau, June, 1540, and actually opened in Worms,³⁷ 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;³⁸ other Catholic theologians manifested very pacific sentiments.³⁹ When the Emperor, in April, opened a diet in Ratisbon, the conference was adjourned thither,⁴⁰ and continued its discussions, by imperial command, upon a project for union presented in writing, the *Ratisbon Interim*.⁴¹ 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 *Beyträge*, ii. 331, 250, by Rienäcker, in Vater's *Kirchenhist. Archiv*, 1825, s. 325, 356). 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. Pflug and Wicel were active in projecting it, but it was not accepted; Seckendorf, iii. 215. 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, *Museum der sächs. Geschichte*, Bd. i. (Leipz., 1794) s. 210.—Cf. K. G. Hofmann's *Ausfuhr. Reformationshistorie der Stadt u. Universität Leipzig*. Leipz., 1739. 8. Hering, *Gesch. der 1539, im Markgrathth. Meissen u. dem thüring. Kreise erfolgten Einführung der Reformation*. Leipzig, 1839. Winer *De Facultatis theol. evangelicæ in Universitate Lipsiensi Originibus* (Leipsic programme for the centennial celebration, 1839).

³⁵ H. Altingii *Hist. Ecclesiae Palatinae*, in his *Monumenta pietatis et literaria Francof.*, 1701. 4. p. 155. Dan. Parei *Hist. Palatina*, p. 247.

³⁶ Spalatin's *Annalen*, s. 491; in Halle first in 1541, Seckendorf, iii. 373. Dreyhaupt's *Beschreibung des Saalkreises*, i. 207, 971. Knapp *Narratio de Justo Jona*, in his *Scripta varii argumenti*, ed. ii. ii. 622.

³⁷ Spalatin's *Annalen*, s. 431-491, 511-532. Melancthonis *Epist.*, ed. Bretschneider, iv. 1. J. P. Roederus *De Colloquio Wormatiensi ex Msc. Ebneriano*. Norimb., 1744. 4. E. W. Hering's *Gesch. der Kirchh. Unionsversuche seit der Reformation bis auf unsere Zeit*, Bd. i. (Leipz., 1836) s. 40.

³⁸ Comp. below § 19, Note 5 ff. 22, 23, especially 24. Ranke, *Fürsten u. Völker von Süd-Europa im 16ten u. 17ten Jahrh.* ii. 146, 151.

³⁹ Cf. Joh. Cochlæus, then *Domherr* in Breslau, *Gutachten über die Augsbürgische Confession u. die Augsbürgischen Vergleichshandlungen, zu dem Hagenauer Convent, in Seckendorf*, iii. 284, and in Raynaldus, 1540, No. 49.

⁴⁰ Acta in Conventu Ratisbonensi, published by Melancthon, Witeb., 1541. 4. Acta Colloquii in Comitibus Ratisbonæ habiti per M. Bucorum. Argentor. 1541. 4. Hortleder, i. 1, cap. 37. Walch, xvii. 695. The complete acts in Melancthonis *Epist.*, ed. Bretschneider, iv. 119. Cf. Spalatin's *Annalen*, s. 544.

⁴¹ In the different collections of the acts; in Bretschneider, iv. 190; besides in the *Latin original*, in J. E. Bieck's *Dreyfaches Interim*. Leipz., 1721. 8., s. 200. The Emperor handed this writing to the estates as "einen schriftlichen Begrif, durch etliche gelehrte u. gottesfürchtige Personen, wie Ihre Maj. bericht worden ist, zusammengetra-

ly came together on merely speculative formulas;⁴² but as soon as

gen u. Ihrer Maj. behändet" (Walch, xvii. 858); Granvella communicated it to the papal legate as *librum confectum 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 Melancthon (Ep. ad Georgium Anhalt., in Bretschneider, iv. 328), Eck (Strobel's Beytr., ii. 342), and the papal legate, Contarenus (Pallavicini l. c.). Besides him, Bucser and Wicelius have also been held to be the authors. The truth in the matter is probably to be found in Melancthon's Report to the Elector, ed. Bretschneider, iv. 577 (cf. Illgen's Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol., ii. i. 297). The book was written by Gropper, with the help of a young statesman, Gerhard Volcruck, employed under Granvella; it was then communicated to Bucser and Capito, and much altered, especially from the suggestions 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. 92; cf. Neudecker's merkw. Actenstücke, i. 248). He declared himself not wholly averse, but thought that the Catholic side could not accede to these propositions, 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 Pfling, John Gropper, and John Eck; the Protestants, Melancthon, Bucser, 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 Illgen's Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol., ii. i. 304) *De conditione hominis ante lapsum, 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 Bucser's Acta, in Hortleder, i. i. cap. 37, No. 40 ff.). The extent to which the Catholics yielded is particularly seen in the article *De justificatione*:—*Firma itaque est et sana doctrina, per fidem vivam et efficacem justificari peccatorem. Nam per illam Deo grati et accepti sumus propter Christum. 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 meritum Christi, gratuita Dei bonitate acceperunt, et clamant ad Deum Abba pater, id quod tamen nulli obtingit, nisi etiam simul infundatur charitas sanans voluntatem, ut voluntas sanata, quemadmodum D. Augustinus ait, incipiat implere legem.—Etsi autem is qui justificatur, justitiam accipit et habet per Christum etiam inhaerentem,—quare ss. patres justificari etiam pro eo, quod est inhaerentem justitiam accipere, usurparunt: tamen anima fidelis huic non innititur, sed soli justitiae Christi nobis donatae, sine qua omnino nulla est nec esse potest justitia. Et sic fide in Christum justificamur, seu reputamur justi, i. e. accepti, per ipsius merita, non propter nostram dignitatem aut opera. Et propter inhaerentem justitiam eo justi dicimur, quia quae justa sunt operamur, juxta illud Johannis: *qui facit justitiam, justus est.*—Item Christiano cuique debet esse compertum, non in hoc datum esse nobis hanc gratiam, et hanc regenerationem, ut in eo gradu innovationis nostrae, quem primum nacti sumus, otiosi consistamus, sed crescamus 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 et commendata, quibus Deus promisit propter Christum in pluribus locis Evangelii clare et manifeste mercedem.—Ideoque quamvis haereditas vitae aeternae propter promissionem debeat renatis, etiam cum primum in Christum renati sunt; nihilominus reddit Deus etiam bonis operibus mercedem, non secundum substantiam operum, neque secundum quod sunt a nobis, sed quatenus in fide fiunt, et sunt a Spiritu Sancto, qui habitat in nobis, concurrente libero arbitrio, tanquam partiali agente.—Qui autem dicunt, *sola fide justificamur*, 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

cio Dei, de bonis operibus, ut tota summa praedicationis constet, sicut Christus inquit: praedicantes poenitentiam, et remissionem peccatorum in nomine meo, idque ne haec loquendi formula aliter quam praedictum est intelligatur.

⁴³ Cf. the Protestant counter articles in Walch, xvii. 798. Melanchth. Epistt., ed. Breitschneider, iv. 348.

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 Ratisbon, to Cardinal Farnese, 4th March, 1541 (Raynald., 1541, No. 3): *Nudius tertius Duces Bavariae convenisse ad Caesarem, illique repetito Lutheranismi principio, in memoriam revocasse omnes errores, qui admissi fuerant in non excindenda haeresi, nec tenenda vera religione, qua labefactata pariter Caesareae Majestatis Imperiique auctoritas labefactaretur: exposuereque quanto studio—semper paratissimi fuerint—ad vitam ipsam periculis obijciendam pro divino cultu asserendo (!!):—ac saepius illud inculeant, nimia Caesareae Majestatis clementia indulgentiaque, quam ipsi etiam Lutherani negligentiae et inertiae vitio tribuebant, rem in praesens discrimen adductam fuisse. Of the 4th April (l. c. No. 4): Duces Bavariae in Comitibus in id incubuisse, ut bellum Lutheranis indiceretur: sed Caesarem ipsis ac Moguntino Cardinali aperte denuntiassent, se ab iis consiliis omnino alienum, suscipere nolle bellum, cum ab aerario imparatus sit, ac si opibus instructus esset, nolle eas in Germania sine ulla utilitate profunderi, sat expertum, quantae opes exigantur pro gerendo bello: expeditionem eam difficillimam futuram, cum tam Catholici quam Lutherani sint Germani, exitum iri a Lutheranis Turcica et Gallica auxilia: parta etiam de Lutheranis victoria non tamen eorum animas in viam salutis tractum iri, atque ita omne gerendi belli pro religione consilium abjecisse. Of the 6th April (l. c. No. 7): Significavit VI Aprilis Cardinali Farnesio Claudius Internuntius, Ducibus Bavariae maxime suspectam concordiae cum Lutheranis actionem, ne religionis causa prodatur, atque Granvellanum tum ab ipsis, tum a Moguntino in suspicionem adduci, nec spem bonam ex iis comitis ipsis 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. 293), 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, n. 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 temerariam audaciam deprimere, sed contra, omnia quae eis placent et ad suam rem faciunt fieri permittuntur et conceduntur. Primum, in hoc colloquio (sicut prolixè scripsi Rev. Cardinali Farnesio) habuerunt pessimos suae sectae et pertinaciores, tam collocutores quam assistentes, et ex nostris assistentes fuerunt facti fere faventes haereticis, ii Phylugius et Gropperus, qui male consenserunt, hominem sola fide justificari, de quorum lapsu Bucerus impie triumphavit;—ex colloquentibus**

in respect to them.⁴⁵ And so the conference was brought to an end, without success, on the 23d of May.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ A declaration was also appended to satisfy them on oth-

unus duntaxat peritus Theologus (Eck) adhibitus restitit: iudices vero fuere laici contra omne jus in magnum praejudicium. 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 (*Ranke 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 remit-tenda Summo Pontifici, et Apostolicae Sedi* (*Raynald.*, 1541, No. 14, 15).

⁴⁵ 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 (*Seckendorf*, iii. 356). Luther strengthened him in this (*de Wette*, v. 353): "E. K. F. G. haben recht geurtheilt, dass die Notel der Vergleichung ein weitläufig u. geflickt Ding ist."⁵ The Elector now sent Amsdorf to Ratisbon to watch Melancthon, and commanded the latter to yield nothing of Luther's doctrine, and to make all the results conditional upon the assent of the estates (*Seckendorf*, iii. 356, 360). 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 Schulenburg, and Alex. Alesius) to engage him in the projected union (cf. *Bretschneider*, in *Illgen's Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theologie*, ii. i. 293; their representations in *Walch*, xvii. 846). Luther replied, 12th June (*ibid.*, s. 848; *de Wette*, v. 366), that it was impossible to effect a union with the other party: "Denn ob es gleich Kais. Maj. aufs allerhöchste 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 zehen Artikel nicht lassen unverglichen seyn, als die wohl wissen u. verstehen, dass sie alle zehen gewaltiglich u. in bona consequentia aus den vier verglichenen, sonderlich aus dem Artikel der Justification, verdampt sind.—Wo aber Kais. Maj. ausschriebe u. verschüffe, dass die vier Artikel durchaus rein u. klar gepredigt, u. für christlich gehalten sollten 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.

⁴⁶ The Emperor proposed to the estates, July 12 (*Walch*, xvii. 913; *Melanct. Epist.*, ed. *Bretschneider*, iv. 510), to adopt the four articles as agreed upon, and to defer the rest to the council; the Catholic princes refused (*Bretschneider*, iv. 526), the Protestants were ready to accept if the other party would bind itself thereto (*l. c.* p. 591); but at the same time they declared at length, in a document drawn up by Melancthon, July 23 (*Walch*, xvii. 863), that they accepted those articles only in the sense in which they were laid down in the Augsburg Confession and Apology.

⁴⁷ 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. "Darzu haben wir neben Päbstlicher Heiligkeit Legaten allen geistlichen Prälaten aufgelegt u.

er matters where there was doubt.⁴⁸ And thus, at this diet, the Reformation had manifestly made important progress toward a formal recognition.⁴⁹

befohlen,—unter ihnen u. den Ihren, so ihnen unterworfen seynd, eine christliche Ordnung u. Reformation vorzunehmen u. aufzurichten, die zu guter, gebührlicher u. heilsamer Administration der Kirchen förderlich und dienlich sey: auch über solcher Ordnung u. Reformation ernstlich u. strenglich zu halten, u. sich daran nichts irren noch verhindern lassen" (comp. the admonitory writing of the legate Contarini about the Reformation, to the prelates, in Raynald., 1541, No. 29), "und seynd der Zuversicht, solche Ordnung u. Reformation sollte zu endlicher christlicher Vergleichung der streitigen Religion eine Vorbereitung, u. derselben sonder Zweifel hoch dienlich seyn." The truce of Nuremberg was to be maintained till the end of a general council or a national congress, "oder so der keines seinen Fortgang erreicht, auf nachstkünftigen Reichstag." "Und was betrifft die Acten und Processe, so bisher in Religion und andern geschehen, an unserm Cammergericht anhängig gemacht und ergangen seynd, derwegen bisher Streit gewesen, ob dieselben in dem Nürnbergischen Friedstand begriffen 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."

⁴⁸ 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.

⁴⁹ 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 Raynald., 1541, No. 27: *nequaquam convenire, ut Concilium generale celebretur in Germania ob diminutionem auctoritatis sedis Apostolicæ, et totius ecclesiastici status. Ne etiam pro arbitrio Protestantium omnia fiant, et quia virus hæreticum in ipsa Germania viget.*—Item in Germania animosiores et obstinati magis in eorum perversitate erunt Protestantes.—Cogere etiam poterunt Catholicos astutiæque et artibus malis domare eosdem, vel etiam ipsum Caesarem pro eorum more.—Etiam in ipso Concilio, si in Germania fieret, tum per malas practicas,—tum etiam per publicas conciones, si licebit, alioquin in aliis privatis, a quo non cessabunt sub prætextu, verbum Domini non esse celandum,—studebunt virus suum spargere, et sectas ampliare.—Propterea considerandum est, quod, si Concilium fieret in Germania, et Caesar pro quorundam arbitrio ad hoc induceretur, cogere Sanctitas Pontificia forsitan annuere quaedam, quæ non essent concedenda, quinimo pro Caesaris jussu urgeri posset inique, ut hæc sua Sanctitas melius pendere poterit.—Nequaquam etiam conveniet, ut dimisso seu suspenso generali Concilio celebretur Nationale Germanicum, aut alia imperialis dieta, quia tunc vere dubitandum est de schismate, et Catholici quidam prolaberentur ad Protestantes, cæterique cogere decedere, aut supprimerentur.

§ 8.

CONTINUATION, TO THE CLOSE OF THE SMALCALD WAR, 1547.

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,¹ King Ferdinand, who needed the aid of the Protestants in his unfortunate Turkish war,² was compelled, at a diet in Spires, February, 1542, to concede a prolongation of the religious peace.³ 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.⁴ 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,⁵ 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, 1542,⁶ and declared that they would only give it up to the sons

¹ Schmidt's *Gesch. der Deutschen*, Buch viii. cap. 29, 31. Raumer's *Gesch. Europas* seit d. 15ten Jahrh. i. 497.

² Schmidt, *ubi supra*.

³ On the proceedings of this diet, see Seckendorf, iii. 382; Schmidt, Buch viii. cap. 30; 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; Seckendorf, 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 *Hanswurst*). On the campaign, documents in Hortleder, *ibid.*, cap. 35 ff. Cf. Spalatin's *Annalen*, s. 631-54, 672-80; Rommel's *Philipp d. Grossm.*, i. 461; ii. 447.

of the Duke; they also introduced the Reformation there,⁷ and renounced obedience to the imperial court when it took the part of the expelled Duke.⁸ At the same time the cities of Ratisbon⁹ and Hildesheim,¹⁰ and the Palgrave Otto Henry of Neuburg,¹¹ declared openly for the Reformation; in Cleves it was also favored by Duke William, and spread with rapid strides.¹² Even its most violent opponents and persecutors, King Ferdinand¹³ and the Duke of Bavaria,¹⁴ 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,¹⁵ 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,¹⁶ 1536; but after the religious conferences of Worms and Ratisbon he became wholly decided for the Reformation, and invited Bucer, in 1542,

⁷ Especially through Bugenhagen; see Lentz's *Gesch. d. Einführung des evangel. Bekenntnisses im Herzogth. Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel*, 1830, s. 109 ff.

⁸ The rejoinder, 4th Dec., 1542, in Hortleder, *Th. i. Buch vii. cap. 21*, in Walch, xvii. 67. Cf. Barthol. Sastrowen (then clerk with a procurator of the court) *Leben*, edited by Mohrke, i. 227.

⁹ Spalatin's *Annalen*, s. 683. Seckendorf, iii. 396. *Gesch. d. Kirchenreform. in Regensburg*. Regensb., 1792.

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. Corvinus; Bugenhagen, however, had a share in it; Spalatin's *Annalen*, s. 681; Hamelmanni *Opp. Geneal. Historica de Westphalia*, p. 937; 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.

¹² William was reigning since 1539. Berg's *Reformationsgeschichte der Länder Jülich, Cleve, Berg, Mark, Ravensberg, u. Lippe*, edited by Tross. Hamm, 1826, s. 55 ff.

¹³ Petition of the estates of Lower Austria at the Diet of Prague, 13th Dec., 1541, Ferdinand's answer, and the reply of the estates; in Spalatin's *Annalen*, s. 689; Raupach's *Evangel. Oesterreich*, i. 35; Beilagen, s. 75. Cf. Raupach von den Schicksalen der *Evangel. Luth. Religion in Steyermark, Kärnthen, u. Crain*, in Winckler's *Anecdota Hist. Ecclesiastica Novantiqua*, Stes u. 9tes Stück, s. 341.

¹⁴ Spalatin's *Annalen*, s. 683.

¹⁵ On him and his Reformation, see Seckendorf, iii. 435; Berg's *Reformationsgesch. der Länder Jülich, Cleve, Berg*, s. 64 ff.; Reek's *Gesch. der gräfl. u. fürstl. Hauser Isenburg, Runkel, Wied*. Weimar, 1825. 4., s. 154 ff.

¹⁶ *Canones provincialis concilii Coloniensis sub Rev. in Christo patre Hermanno celebratum anno 1536*. Colon., 1538, fol., drawn up by Gropper.

and Melancthon,¹⁷ in 1543, with other Protestant theologians, to aid him in introducing it. The Reforming Constitution issued by him¹⁸ 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,¹⁹ 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,²⁰ 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,²¹ 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, 1544.²²

¹⁷ Zur Geschichte der Cöln. Reformation aus Melancthon's Briefen, in Strobel's Neue Beyträge, v. 273.

¹⁸ "Von Gottes Genaden unser, Hermanns Erzbischofs zu Cöln u. Churf. einfaltiges Bedenken, worauf eine christliche in dem Wort Gottes gegründete Reformation an Lehr, Brauch der heil. Sacramente, etc., bis auf eines freien—Concilii—Verbesserung, bey denen, so unserer Seelsorge befohlen, anzurichten seye." Bonn, 1543, fol. 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 Gedächtnis halten sollen,—uff dass wir im Glauben an ihne gestarket, und gänzlicher in ihm bleiben u. leben, u. er in uns.—Und dieweil diese Uebergebung u. Entpfahung des Leibs u. Blutes Christi unsers Herren ein himlisch Werk, u. Handel des Glaubens ist, sollen die Leut alle fleischliche Gedanken in dieser Geheimnuss 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, Frueht, 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 Schwärmern 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 Klappermaul, 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. 300 ff.

²⁰ Spalatin's Annalen, s. 682. In the year 1543 he solicited admission into the Smalcald league, Seekendorf, iii. 418; and in 1544 he made earnest attempts to introduce the Reform, l. c. p. 513.

²¹ Seekendorf, iii. 407.

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. 33. 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 mittlerweile durch gelehrte, gute, ehr- u. friedliebende Personen eine christliche Reformation verfassen zu lassen. Gleichergestalt 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. welehermassen es in den streitigen Artikeln der Religion bis zu wirklicher Erlangung u. Vollziehung eines Generalconcilii, wie obsteht, 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 Misstrauen, Widerwill, u. Unfreundschaft geringert—werde." The Pope reproached the Emperor for this in a letter, 24th Aug., 1544 (Pallavicini, v. 6): *Nos vero, fili, cum a te indigna quaedam decreta in Conventu Spirensi ex ipsis actis animadverterimus, indigniora vero designata esse,—nolumus sane praetermittere, quin te, a Deo nobis honore et amore Primogeniti commendatum, his nostris literis de tanto tuo et Ecclesiae periculo admoneremus.* The Emperor had transgressed the rule, *ut, quoties de his quae ad religionem pertinent disceptatur, ad sedem Apostolicam iudicium referatur, nihil illa inconsulta statuatur.* In Spire much had been concluded, *quae maxime et pietatem laedunt, et omnem legum ordinem confundunt. Nam quod laicos de rebus spiritualibus iudicare 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 edictum tuum pridem damnati, honoribus pristinis in iudiciis ac tribunalibus restituas,—quid tandem horum cum divinis institutionibus ac legibus—convenit? eact.* Still more violent is another letter, not sent, in Raynald., 1544, No. 7.

²³ 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 Createur, reduction de notre sainte foi et Religion en union chretienne, and both parties pledge themselves to do every thing pour procurer d'acheminer et conduire ladite reunion.*

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 ambassadors of princes should be released from their oath to their lords, and be sworn as counselors of the league; *ibid.*, p. 418. They were displeased with the expedition against Brunswick; *ibid.*, p. 429. Cf. in general, p. 570.

²⁵ 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,²⁶ 1544; and though the Elector Frederick, of the Palatinate, joined the Reformation²⁷ in 1545, yet, following the example of the Elector of Brandenburg, he did not join the league.²⁸

The Pope now issued his summons for the council, so long announced, to meet at Trent²⁹ 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.³⁰

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. 418), 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 Misnia. 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.

²⁶ 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, 392. Then Luther renounced all fellowship with the Zürichers, in a letter to the bookseller, Christopher Frohschauer, of Zürich, who had sent him the Zürich Bible. This letter was written Aug. 31, 1543 (*de Wette*, v. 587). He was still more aroused by the publication of Zwingle's works, edited by Rud. Walther, 1543, prefaced with a defense of his views; and he now wrote his "Kurzes Bekenntniss vom Abendmahl," 1544 (*Walch*, xx. 2195), 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.

²⁷ Seekendorf, iii. 616. Struven's *Pfälzische Kirchenhistorie*, s. 32.

²⁸ 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.

²⁹ By the bull *Laetare Hierusalem*, of 19th Nov., 1544, in Lünig's (from the imperial archives) *Spicil. Eccl. Cont.*, iii. p. 14.

³⁰ 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 agnoscere Concilium hoc Tridentinum pro legitimo, quale sit in Imperii comitiis promissum: et cur non agnosceant, jam antea saepe demonstrasse: pacem igitur sibi necessariam esse, quae non sit astricta Concilio pontificio, sed quae locum habeat, donec de re tota pie fuerit et christiane transactum: et quia pax vel constitui vel esse firma non possit, nisi juris administratio sit aequabilis, et vero Spirensi conventu proximo decretum sit, quid in eo fieri oporteat, non se defuturos, quo minus ei decreto satisfiat: haec ergo duo capita si decidantur, non se recusare belli Turcici deliberationem.* To justify their rejection of the council the Saxon ambassadors, by order of the Elector, distributed among the imperial estates Luther's work, written in 1539, "Von d. Conciliis 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, 1545,³¹ 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;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.³³

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

by order of the Elector, Melancthon wrote: *Causae, quare et amplectae sint et retinendam ducant doctrinam, quam profitentur, Ecclesiae quae confessionem Augustae exhibitam Imperatori sequuntur: et quare iniquis iudiciis collectis in Synodo Tridentina, ut vocant, non sit adsentiendum.* Witeb., 1546. 4. (in Melancth. Opp., ed. Witteberg., iv. 772; in Seckendorf, iii. 602).

³¹ Walch, xvii. 1464. According to the demand of the Emperor in the decree of the imperial Diet of Spire (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 Reformationen-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. 539. 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.

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* (l. c. cap. 13, § 4). Immediately thereupon Andelot was sent to Rome by the Emperor. He had to address the Pope thus (l. c. cap. 14), *per reliquos ejus anni menses—videri Carolo arma Protestantibus inferri non posse, sed suam operam in annum proximum offerre.—Hac admissa mora cupere se interim, ne Synodus inchoaretur, aut, ubi ea mora Pontifici non probaretur, duo postulare, alterum, ut, antequam aperiretur, Caesar commoveret, quo posset illico Wormatia discedere et molestis Lutheranorum querimoniis se subducere, alterum, ut abstineret eo tempore Synodus a dogmatum decisione, quae dum haereticos lacerasset, ad ultionem extimularet, sed tantum generalibus quibusdam atque novis disciplinae legibus edendis se contineret. Posse nihilominus contingere, ut Protestantes, etiamsi de illis haberetur ratio ad Concilii initia, furore perciti, in Catholicos debaucharentur: proinde opus esse, praesidium aliquod, si quid accideret, paratum habere. Quo eos lactaret, se a Pontifice poscere, ut per eum sibi fas esset, in exitu comitiorum ipsis colloquium et alium conventum indulgere per hincem habendum, in quo spondere se Pontifici haud quidquam noxium permissurum orthodoxae religioni ac Pontificiae auctoritati.*

³³ Seckendorf, iii. 570. Rommel's Philipp der Grossmüthige, i. 520; ii. 480.

stances than the earlier ones.³⁴ 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 colloquists 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, 1546.³⁵ 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.³⁶ 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.³⁷

³⁴ *Actorum Colloquii Ratisponensis ultimi verissima relatio*. Ingolst., 1546. 4.; printed by order of the Emperor (see *Unschuld. Nachr.*, 1719, s. 205). Report of the Colloquy, by G. Major. Wittenb., 1546. 4. (in *Hortleder*, Th. i. Buch i. cap. 40); by M. Bucer. Strasburg, 1546. 4. (in *Hortleder*, u. s. cap. 41; in *Walch*, xvii. 1529); of the Hessian embassy, with other documents, in *Neudecker's merkw. Actenstücke aus d. Zeitalter d. Reform.* Nürnberg, 1838, ii. 727. On the disinclination to the colloquy on the part of Maurice, Bishop of Eichstadt, chosen President, and of the dukes of Bavaria, see *Winter's Gesch. d. Evangel. Lehre in Baiern*, ii. 127. Cf. *Hering's Gesch. der kirchl. Unionsversuche*, Bd. i. (Leipz., 1836) s. 133.

³⁵ *Doctor Martin Luther's Lebensende*, von Augenzeugen beschrieben, edited by G. Chr. F. Mohnike. Stralsund, 1817. 8.

³⁶ Cf. the conference of the Landgrave with the new Elector of Mayence, in Hoochst, Feb. 6, in *Neudecker's merkw. Actenstücken*, ii. 675; with the Emperor in Spire, March 28, in *Sleidanus*, lib. xvii., ed. *Am Ende*, p. 442 ss.

³⁷ 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

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;³³ 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,³⁹ June 26. The Pope, however,

den Weg eines gemeinen christl. Concilii in Teutscher Nation zu halten, Nationalversammlung, Reichstag, auf die von der Kaiserl. Maj. vorgeschlagene u. bewilligte Form des Speyerischen Reichsabschiedes Anno 1544 aufgericht, oder durch ein christlich Colloquium — zu christlicher Erörterung u. Vergleichung bringen lassen," and showed, why "das jetzige Trientische Concilium kein solch gemein frey christlich Concilium in Teutscher Nation seyn könnte, wie es verabschiedet, und darauf sie die Stände der Augspurgischen Confession sich berufen u. appellirt hätten." "Aber das papstlich Theil hat seine Antwort u. Bedenken allein auf das jetzige Trientische Concilium gestellt, u. die Kais. Maj. ersucht u. gebeten, obgemelte Stände, sich dem Schluss u. Determination desselbigen zu unterwerfen, zu vermögen u. anzuhalten." When the Protestants now heard of the preparations for war by the Emperor and the Pope, and asked the Emperor about them, he replied, June 16, "dass Ihre Maj. bedacht wäre, Verordnung oder Befehl zu thun in den Artikeln, die Vergleichung, Frieden und Recht belangend; und wer denselbigen nicht würde gehorsamen, gegen deme wolte sich Ihre Maj., wie es sich zu Erhaltung Ihrer Maj. Autorität gebürt, zu verhalten wissen."

³⁸ Imperial Rescript to the cities of the empire, June 17; in Hortleder, *ubi supra*, and Walsh, xvii. 1817. The Emperor, it is said, had until then overlooked many practices for the sake of peace. But his efforts for union had been in vain, "nicht von wegen oder aus Lieb u. Zuneigung, so dieselbigen Verhinderer u. Zerstörer solcher Vergleichung zu unserer heilwärtigen und christl. Religion, oder der Ehren Gottes, die sie allein zu einem Deckmantel u. Beschönigung ihres unbilligen Vornehmens allenthalben vorwenden; sondern vielmehr um dass sie alle andere Stände des heil. Reichs—unter solchem Schein der Religion unter sich bringen, u. sich ihrer Güter mit Gewalt unterziehen mögen; wie sie denn auch derselbigen nummals einen guten Theil an sich gezogen—haben—zu hohem beschwerlichen Nachtheil—vieler armen verjagten Partheyen, die solcher entwandten Güter halben weder Recht noch Billigkeit von ihnen bekommen mögen, dieweil sie nummals die Sache so fern getrieben, dass sie weder Gericht noch Recht im heil. Reiche, welche sie lange vor dieser Zeit, so viel an ihnen, gewaltiglich unterdrucket und umgestossen, zu besorgen haben." Now they even threaten the Emperor with arms in their hands, and scatter calumnious books about him. This the Emperor can no longer bear, and has at last resolved "endlich entschlossen, die bemeldte unsere u. des Reichs ungehorsamen, ungetreuen und widerspenstigen Berauber u. Zerstörer gemeines Friedens u. Rechts—zu gebührlichem Gehorsam anzuhalten, zu weisen, u. dardurch gemeine Deutsche Nation in Friede u. Einigkeit zu setzen." The Emperor makes this announcement to the cities, "damit ihr dess Wissen habt, u. euch so viel desto weniger abwenden, bereden oder berichten lasset, als ob wir eines andern gesinnet u. bedacht wären, denn dass wir bey unsern Kaiserl. Worten u. Würden behalten, u. euch dess versichert haben wollen, dass unser Gemüth u. Meynung anders nicht gerichtet ist, dann ihr liebhely vernommen habet." He sent a like letter to Duke Ulrich v. Wirtemberg (see Sattler's *Gesch. v. Wirtemberg*, iii. 233) and to the Elector Hermann of Cologne, 7th July (Sleidanus, xvii. ed. Am Ende, p. 488).

³⁹ The original in Raynald., 1546, No. 94. The *Capita foederis*: ut Caesarea Majestas

unveiled this imperial cunning by issuing his demands for the suppression of the heretics on the basis of that treaty;⁴⁰ so that only those could in future be deceived who were willing to be so. The Electors of the Palatinate⁴¹ and of Brandenburg kept quiet, and Duke Maurice even concluded a treaty with the Emperor,⁴² July 19.

in nomine Domini cum auxiliis Pontificiae Sanctitatis proximo mense Julii in expeditionem educat omnes copias suas summo virium molimine adversus Protestantes, et Smalcaldianos, omnesque alios 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 constituto, si res e sententia non successerit, capessantur arma. Non possit Caesarea Majestas cum Protestantibus et Smalcaldianis, vel aliis haereticis foedus ullum, aut concordiam inire, quod expeditionem dissolvat, aut retardet, maximeque quippiam permittere non possit contra religionem catholicam, atque Ecclesiae sanctiones sine expresso 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 exprimat de mense Junio praesentis anni 1546, cum haec capita multo 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 Raynald., 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. Verdrückung Gottes allein seligmachenden Worts, unserer wahren christl. Religion, auch des Reichs Teutscher Nation Freiheit u. Libertät gemeint sey" (Hortleder, 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 Amsdorf, 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: Querebatur Caesar, Pontificem scriptis ad Helvetios et ad Galliae Regem literis expeditioni obfuisse, cum per eas palam fieret, bellum non ea sola gratia susceptum, ut Protestantes ob contumaciam in Imperium pleterentur, sed ut ad veterem religionem adigerentur. Ad haec Pontifex: mirari hujuscemodi querimoniam; cum enim Caesare ipso petente hae conditiones in sancito foedere fuissent appositae, et Apostolicus Legatus cum tanto militum numero contra fidei perduelles missus esset; quisnam verum rei consilium ignorare posset, bello prorsus politico sibi conficto?

⁴¹ When he inquired about the cause of the war he received the customary answer, and then attempted a useless mediation; Sleidanus, lib. xvii. p. 483 ss.

⁴² 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. Melanethon's judicious judgment about Maurice in a letter to Camerarius, July 27 (ed. Bretschneider, vi. 207): Multa mihi in mentem veniunt cur *συμμαχίαν* vitarit: οὐδέ τι *ἰσως* δορυφόρος εἶναι τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὧν τινα ὑποπτα οἶεται φυλακτέα. Et ut vincerent, ne hoc quidem volet, ad horum arbitrium constitui statum vel publicum, vel suae dititionis; τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ ἐνθυμηθῆναι τινα οὐ δοκεῖ οὔτε ἀκαιρον οὔτε ἐπίμεπτον. ἦν δὲ βέλτιστον πιαταχοῦ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν. Erunt certe alii eventus, quam hi aut illi putant atque sperant. Nam omnino ingens mutatio rerum impendet. The two margraves of Brandenburg, John von Küstrin and the frivolous Albert of Bayreuth (Seckendorf, iii. 662), went so far as to enter into the Emperor's service; Sleidanus, lib.

The Smalcald War⁴³ 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,⁴⁴ and his purpose to destroy Protestantism, which lurked behind, were very clearly set forth in the defensive writings of the Protestants;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

xvii. p. 461. 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.

⁴³ *Best sources*: (1.) Favorable to the Emperor: Lud. de Avila, Span. General, *Los Commentarios de la Guerra del Emperador Carlos V. contra los Protestantes de Alemania*, Lat., Antwerp., 1550. Argentor., 1630. 12. In German, in Hortleder, Th. ii. B. iii. cap. 81. (2.) For the Protestants: "Schmalkaldische Kriege anno 1546—angesprochen, ursprünglichen beschrieben durch einen wolerfahrenen u. dieses Kriegs selbst beywohnenden Kriegsmann (not Schärtlin), in Mencken *Scriptt. Rerum Germ.*, iii. 1361, against Avila. Heinr. Merckel, secretary of St. Magdeburg, *Bericht von der alten Stadt Magdeburg Belagerung*; in Hortleder, ii. iv. 19. Tileman v. Günterode, Hessian chancellor, *Diarium in Mogen Hist. Captivitatis Philippi. Francof.*, 1766. (3.) Moderate in tone: Camerarii *Hist. Belli Schmalkaldici in Freheri Scriptt. Rerum Germ.*, ed. Struve, T. iii. Lambertus Hortensius, rector at Naerden in Holland, *De Bello Germanico*, lib. vii. 1550; in Schardii *Scriptt. Rer. Germ.*, ii., and at the end of Avila, *Argent.*, 1630, especially used by Sleidanus. Cf. Rommel's *Philipp der Grossmüthige*, ii. 482. A collection of passages in Melancthon's letters about this war, in Strobel's *Neue Beyträge*, i. ii. 125. Collection of different reports in Hortleder *Vom Teutsehen Kriege*, Th. ii. Buch iii. *Works on the subject*: Häberlin's *Neueste Teutsche Reichsgeschichte*, i. Menzel's *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, iii. 1. Rommel's *Philipp d. Grossm.*, i. 522; ii. 486. J. G. Jahn's *Gesch. d. Schmalkaldischen Krieger*. Leipzig, 1837. 8.

⁴⁴ Hortleder, Th. ii. B. iii. cap. 16.

⁴⁵ Compare especially the proof of their innocence by the Elector and Landgrave, July 15, in Hortleder, ii. iii. 11. A further statement, August, *ibid.*, cap. 15. Their letter renouncing allegiance to the Emperor, Aug. 11, in *Sastrowen's Leben*, ed. Mohrnik, i. 421. On their outlawry by the Emperor, Sept. 2, in Hortleder, ii. iii. cap. 29 and 30.

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, 1546,⁴⁶ but had thus far been spared by the Emperor;⁴⁷ now, however, Charles convened the estates of Cologne, Jan. 24, 1547, and carried this decree into execution.⁴⁸ 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,⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Raynaldus, ann. 1546, No. 103. The decision was first communicated to the Chapter, Senate, and University of Cologne in a brief, July 3; *ibid.*, No. 104.

⁴⁷ Cf. the Emperor's letter to the Elector, 7th July, above, Note 38.

⁴⁸ Sleidanus, lib. xviii. p. 575. Häberlin's *Neueste Teutsche Reichsgeschichte*, i. 112.

⁴⁹ That the Elector was betrayed by his Councilors is maintained by the zealous adherents of the Ernestinian line, Paul Mühlfort, in *Hortleder*, ii. iii. 69, and the narration in G. Arnold's *Kirchen- u. Ketzehistorie*, Schafhausen edition, 1740, Th. ii. s. 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*, s. 293 ff.

⁵⁰ The Emperor demanded the unconditional submission of the Landgrave; the Electors, however, desired that certain conditions should be secretly granted them, and their councilors, with this in view, laid before the imperial councilors, June 2, certain articles which begin thus (Rommel's *Philipp d. Grossm.*, iii. 235): "Der Landgraf erpemt sich von neuem, er wolle sich in der Kais. Maj. Gnad u. Ungnad frey u. ohne ainiche Condition oder Anhang ergeben. Doch so setzen meine genadigste u. genädige Herren, der Churf. v. Brandenburg u. Herzog Moriz v. Sachsen, zu, dass für ihre Personen von Nöthen seyn wurd, einen Verstand von Ir. Maj. zu haben, dass ihm, dem Landgrafen, solche Ergebung weder zu Leibstraf noch zu ewiger [einiger] Gefenknuss reichen." 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 Gefängniß," 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.*, s. 237): "Wir versprechen E. L., dass dieselbige dardurch über die Artikel weder an Leibe noch Gute, mit Gefenknuss, Bestriekung oder Schmälerung Ihres Landes nicht sollen beschwert werden." When Philip was taken prisoner in the abode

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,⁵¹ 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 gewesen: gleichwol sind in diesen Sachen allerhand Bey- u. Neben-Handel furgefallen, anfänglich mit der Röm. Kays. Maj., ehe und denn Ihre Maj. aus dem Feldlager vor Wittemberg verrückt, und folgendts mit Kays. Maj. Rätthen, welche ganz geheim u. enge gesehen. Und könnte sich hierinnen noch wol zugetragen haben, dass in Mangel u. Unverstand der Sprachen mit der Kays. Maj. Rätthen allerhand Misverstand erfolgt seyn möchte. Jedoch wäre beyder Churfürsten—Gemüth u. Meynung nicht, sich deshalb 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.*, i. 533; ii. 507; iii. 235. On the other hand, the attempt is made to deny it in M. G. Wernher, *Kaiser Carls V. Ehrenrettung u. Vertheidigung wegen der bey Landgraf Philipps Ergebung gebrauchten Worte: nicht zum ewigen Gefängniß*. Nürnberg, 1782, and Menzel's *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, iii. 198.

⁵¹ 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, i. 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, i. 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. 3 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. 252.

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 Memoires d'estat des Roys, Princes, Ambassadeurs, et autres Ministres sous les regnes de François I., Henry II., et François II., rangées par M. Guill. Ribier. à Paris, 1666, 2 Tomes fol.* The Pope went into the matter so far that the French ambassador at Rome, du Mortier, announced to his King, in the spring of 1547 (Ribier, i. 637): *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'executer ses entreprises: et connoist-on bien qu'il seroit utile sous-main d'entretenir ceux qui luy resident, disant, que vous ne sçauriez faire dépense 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 acquiescebat; sed ob adversum illius animum, cui se concordem praeoptabat in iis etiam quae minus idonea ex aliis 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. 3; Salig's *Hist. des Trident. Conciliums*, i. 593. The true reason, however, was the fear, already avowed in a private letter by the Cardinal Cervinus (Pallavicini, viii. 5, 5), *quaenam Caesaris armati partes imposterum futurae essent; nimirum Concilio leges dare, essetne de dogmatibus disputandum necne, quave ratione de ea ipsa re agendum; nec posse repulsam reddi.* The imperial bishops protested against the transference, and remained in Trent.

⁵⁵ Cf. the papal Letter of Justification, Febr., 1547, in Pallavicini, ix. 3, 5: *Suam Carolus voluntatem significarat expeditionis continuandae, donec Protestantes ad obsequium Sedis Apostolicae pertraxisset. Hoc Caesaris studium Pontifex commendabat, ajebatque, id a se sperari, cum ad illud ipsum obtinendum foedus coisset, tametsi postmodum per concordiam cum Wirtembergico, variisque haeticis urbibus initam, inscio Pontifice, fuisset a pactionibus resilitum, sibi que 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, l. x. c. 6 ss. Particularly the sending by the Emperor of the Cardinal Madrucci, 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 Mohnike, 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. Mohnike, 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 (Sleidan., lib. xx., ed. Am Ende, iii. 93; the address is in Sastrow, ii. 198); 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 Brandenburg, 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 formula of union after the style of that of Ratisbon (see § 7, Note 42, above), and making use of it (*Formula sacrorum emendandorum in Comitibus Augustanis anno 1548 a Julio Pflugio composita et proposita*, ed. M. Chr. G. Müller. Lips., 1803. 8. Agricola also says, 1562: "Ich glaub das Interim war gemacht ehe wir nach Augspurg kamen;" see *Freiwilliges Heboffer Beitr.* 29, s. 706). Of this, Parts I. and II., on doctrine and ecclesiastical usages, were laid at the basis of the Interim, and presented to Michael Helding, Bishop of Sidon, Suffragan of Mayence, and to Agricola, for examination. The vain Agricola was so won 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 adfui compositioni, sed etiam prae-fui* (Bieck's *Dreyfaches Interim*, s. 25). They also tried to gain Bucer: toward the end of Jan. (Sleid., 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 expressions of the Emperor in the preface to the Interim; the chief of them was the Elector Joachim, see Sastrow, 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 result, and communicated it first to some of the estates, to give their opinion on it in private. Thus it came first, on the 17th March, to the Elector Maurice (see *Expositio eorum, quae theologi Acad. Wittebergensis de rebus ad religionem pertinentibus monuerint*. Witeberg, 1559. 4.; folio O. 4. b). He sent it at once to his theologians, who consulted 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 Sfondratus; 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 proclaimed, 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 habuisse, et post vel Malvendam vel Dominicum quendam a Soto, vel utrumque plures inseruisse, de quo et infra (X. 3) Principis Mauriti scriptum ad Caesarem queritur: et nominare ex adversariis possemus, qui Philippo Melanthoni de Sotensis insertionibus confessi sunt.—(Melanthon) Ratisponensi similem judicavit inter initia.—Et ex auctoribus libri primis unus nostris narravit, consilium Imperatoris fuisse, ut caput de justificatione iisdem verbis in librum Interim insereretur, quibus in tractationibus Ratisponensibus de hoc ab utraque parte convenisset, ut corruptelas crassiores a Magistris secundis extitisse necesse sit. Bekenntnuss u. Erklerung aufs Interim durch der erbare Städte Lübeck, Hamburg, Lüneburg, etc., Superintendenten, Pastoren, etc. Magdeburg, 1549. 4.; folio 4. b. "Zum dritten ist darin alles vermischet u. verwirret, gut u. böse also zusammengeführt u. gekoehet, dass bey einem guten Wort stets ein tückisch böse Wort hinzu gethan ist,—u. scheint aus dem Interim, dass das Buch von ungleich gesinneten Meistern geschrieben u. zu Hauf getragen sey.—Es wird auch allenthalben gesagt, dass etzliche fürnemliche Interim-Meister selbst sollen klagen, dass in dem Interim Verenderung geschehen sey, und dass itzt drinnen stehet, 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.² 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*.³ At

of Trent, so far as they then existed; see Planck's *Gesch. des Protest. Lehrbegriffs*, B. iii. Th. ii. s. 432. Agricola translated the Interim into German (*Freiwilliges Heilopfer Beitr.*, 29, s. 706). 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 *Pilugii Formula*, p. xlvi. sq., and wrongly represents them as intentional alterations of the text.

² 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. 327). 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; dieweil auch sonderlich u. unzweifellich ein gemeiner Aufrubr 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 beständiglich bleiben, verharren, u. darvon nicht abweichen, 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 Haltung gemeiner christlichen Kirchen Satzungen u. Ceremonien aller Ding vergleich-en, oder sich doch mit ihrer Lehr u. Kirchenordnungen bemeltem Rathschlag in allweg gemäss halten, u. weiter nit 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 communi consensu deberet*: jetzt aber hore er, *quod ea non communiter utrisque partibus, sed alteri tantum ad servandum imponerentur*. [*A. Jansen de Jul. Pilugio ejusque secis reformationis aetate et ecclesiae concordiae et Germaniae unitatis studiosis*. Berl., 1858.]

³ "Der. Röm. Kais. Majestat Erklärung wie es der Religion halben im heil. Reich, bis zu Austrag des gemeinen Concili gehalten werden soll, auf dem Reichstag zu Augsburg, den XV. May im MDXLVIII. Jahr publicirt u. eröffnet, u. von gmainen Ständen angenommen. Mit Kais. Maj. Freyhait, nit nachzutrucken, verboten." At the end: "Getruickt zu Augspurg, durch Phil. Uhart." 4. (also in the *Sammlung der Reichsab-*

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

schiede. 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 versa, et ipsius Majestatis jussu typis eversa, ac aut ipsi propositioni, aut scripto, quod subsequitur, scribentium varietate quicquam possit addi vel detrahi.* 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 erlöset, u. ihm der Verdienst des Leidens Christi zugetheilt u. gegeben, der wird alsbald gerechtfertigt, d. i. er findet Vergebung seiner Sunden, wird von der Schuld der ewigen Verdammnis erledigt, u. verneuert durch den heil. Geist, u. also aus einem Ungerechten wird er gerecht. Dann da Gott rechtfertiget, 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. reizet 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.—Dieweil nun ein Mensch, so lang er hie auf Erden lebt, die Vollkommenheit dieser eingegebenen Gerechtigkeit nicht mag erlangen, so kommt uns Christus auch dieses Orts merklich u. gnädigst zu Hülff,—also dass er eben, wie er—die Gerechtigkeit des Menschen—gewirkt hat, also mehret er sie auch,—u. durch den Verdienst 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.* “Wiewol Gott den Menschen gerecht macht—ohn seinen Verdienst;—doch handelt der barmherzige Gott nicht mit einem Menschen wie mit einem todten Block, sondern zeucht ihm mit seinem Willen, wenn er zu seinen Jahren kommt. Dann ein solcher empfähet dieselben Wohlthaten Christi nicht, es sey dann, dass durch die vorgehende Gnad Gottes sein Herz u. Will bewegt werde, den Sünden feind zu werden.—Als bald bewegt die Gnad 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 glaubt,—der wird aufgerichtet, u. durch Bewegung der Gnaden Gottes empfähet er das Vertrauen u. die Hoffnung.—Dieser Glaub erlangt die Gab des heil. Geistes, durch welchen die Liebe Gottes ausgegossen wird in unsere Herzen, welche, so sie zum Glauben u. der Hoffnung kommet, 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 Stück eines wollte entziehen, so würde sie gestümmelt und mangelhaftig 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 Rechtfertigung eintritt, so ist sie fruchtbar, u. beschleusst in sich selbst die Samen aller guten Werk.—Und wiewohl diese Werk dermassen gestalt seyend, dass sie Gott von uns, als für sein Recht erfordern möchte,—noch dennoch, dieweil solche Werk aus der Lieb herfließen, und Gott nach seinem Wohlgefallen den Würkenden Belohnungen allermildest zugesagt; so begnadet er sie mit Vergeltung zeitlicher Güter u. des ewigen Lebens.—Noch eins muss man lernen, wiewol die Werk, die von Gott geboten, nötig seyn zur Seligkeit,—so seyend doch die Werke, welche über diese Gebot geschehen, u. chrlich u. göttlich gehandelt werden, auch zu loben, auf dass wir nicht wider den heil. Geist seyend, der dieser viel in heil. Schrift lobet.”—VIII. *Of Trust in the Forgiveness of Sins.* “Allhie muss man sich wohl fürsehen, dass man die Menschen nicht allzusicher mache, u. dass sie ihnen selbst nicht allzuviel vertrauen, auch durch ängstiglich Zweifeln nicht in Verzweidung kommen. Darum dieweil Paulus sagt, ob er gleich sich selbst in nichts schuldig weiss, sey er doch darum nicht gerechtfertiget: so kann ja der Mensch ganz schwerlich von wegen seiner Schwachheit u. Unvermögens ohn einigen Zweifel glauben, dass ihm die Sünde vergeben sind.”—IX. *Of the Churchs.* “Und wiewohl die Kirche, sofern sie in solchen Gliedern stehet, 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 Bischöfe, die das Volk regieren,—darzu gehören auch die andern Diener.—Nun seynd in dieser Kirchen nicht allein die Heiligen, sondern auch die Bösen, als Glieder derselbigen, wiewohl unfruchtbar.”—X. *Of the Signs and Notes of True Churches.*—XI. *Of the Power and Authority of the Churches.* “Wiewohl die Schrift, wie Christus sagt, nicht aufgelöst werden kann, u. also deshalb unbeweglich, 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, sintemal der heil. Geist bey ihr ist, u. leitet sie in alle Wahrheit, wie dann der Herr Christus solches selbst zugesagt.—Über das hat die Kirch etliche Satzungen von Christo u. den Aposteln durch die Hand der Bischöffen an uns bis hieher 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 das gewiss, dass die Kirch Macht habe zu strafen, u. zu excommuniciren.—So hat sie auch Gewalt zum Gerichtszwang: dann wenn da gebührt die Macht zu straffen, dem muss auch die Macht des Gerichtszwangs zugestellt werden. Und wann zweifelhaftige 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 beschleusst, das ist zu achten, als hatt es der heil. Geist selbst geschlossen, wie dann geschrieben stehet 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 Christi einiger Leib ist, desto leichter in Einigkeit erhalten würde, wiewohl sie viel Bischöffe hat, welche das Volk, so Christus durch sein theures Blut erworben hat, regieren, u. das aus gottlichen Rechten, so hat man doch einen obersten Bischoff, der den andern allen mit vollem Gewalt fürgesetzt ist, Schismata u. Trennung zu verhüten, u. das nach der Praerogativ. u. Fürzug, 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, gebrauchen nicht zur Zerstorung, sondern zur Erbauung.”—XIV. *Of the Sacraments in general.* As to these, in the subsequent section, the Catholic doctrine is given entire.—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, dardurch sie die Gedächtnuss des grossen Opfers, das sie zukünftig erwarteten, in ihren Herzen erwegeten;—also hat Gott seiner Kirchen ein reines u. heilsames Opfer seines Leibs u. Bluts unter Gestalt Brots u. Weins befohlen, dardurch wir ohn Unterlass die Gedächtnuss seines Leibs u. Bluts, das für uns vergossen ist, in unserm Herzen verneuen, u. den Nutz des blutigen Opfers, in welchem er die Geheiligten in Ewigkeit vollkommen gemacht hat, an uns brächten.”—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 vermög der alten Aegenden, doch woichts in denselbigen, das zu Aberglauben Ursach geben möchte, eingeschlichen wäre, das soll nach zeitlichem Rath gebessert werden.—Und wiewohl man 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 wahrhaftige Keuschheit hielten: jedoch, dieweil ihrer jetzo 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.⁴ 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,⁵ and though he was strengthened in his hos-

die Veränderung (wie jetzt die Zeit u. Läufe seynd) auf dissmahl ohne schwere Zerrüttung nicht geschehen mag. Doch kann man nicht läugnen, wiewohl der Ehestand für sich selbst ehrlich ist nach der Schrift, dass doch der, so kein Eheweib nimmt, u. wahrhaftige Keuschheit hält, besser thue nach derselben Schrift. Eben diese Meynung hat es auch mit dem Gebrauch der Eucharistien unter beyder Gestalt, welcher sich nun ihrer viel gebrauchen, u. deren gewohnt seynd, die mögen dieser Zeit ohne schwere Bewegung davon nicht abgewendet werden. Und dann das gemeine Concilium, welchem sich alle Stand des heil. Reichs unterworfen haben, ohne Zweifel einen gottseligen u. eifrigeren Fleiss anwenden wird, dass in diesem Fall vieler Leut Gewissen, u. dem Frieden der Kirchen nach Nothdurft gerathen werde. Demnach, welche den Gebrauch beider Gestalt vor dieser Zeit angenommen haben, u. davon nicht abstehen wollen, die sollen hierüber gleichfalls des gemeinen Concilii Erörterung u. Entscheid erwarten. Doch sollen die, so den Gebrauch beider Gestalt haben, die Gewohnheit, die nun alt ist, unter einer Gestalt zu communiciren, nicht strafen, auch keiner den andern hierin anfechten, bis hierüber von einem allgemeinen Concilio geschlossen wird."

⁴ The basis of it seems to have been the third part of Pflug's *Formula sacrorum emend* (see Note 1), and Pflug himself to be the author; see Müller's *Praef. to Pflugii Formula*, p. xx. It appeared under the title: *Formula Reformationis per Cæs. Majestatem Status ecclesiasticis in Comitibus Augustanis ad deliberandum proposita, et ab eisdem ut paci publicae consulerent, et per eam Ecclesiarum ac Cleri sui utilitati commodius prouiderent, probata et recepta*: it was printed in 1548 in Augsburg, Mayence, Cologne, and other places. With some additions, of the year 1559, in Goldasti *Constitt. Imp. ii. 325*, and in Andr. Brauburger de *Formula Reformationis Ecclesiasticae ab Imp. Carolo V. ann. 1548 statibus eccles. oblata*. Mogunt., 1782, p. 87 ss.

⁵ Characteristic of the opinion of Rome upon the Interim are the declarations of Cardinal Farnese, that he could show seven or eight heresies in it; that the Emperor had given a scandal to Christendom, and might very well have attempted to do something better (Ranke, *Fürsten u. Völker*, ii. 263). Another voice from the curia, in Raynald., 1548, No. 62: *Cum Caesar improbet translationem, et velit cogere redire Tridentum, ostendit nolle, Concilium esse liberum, ut etiam in publicatione Interim videtur credere Concilium non esse legitimum, nunquam legitime congregatum, cum in eo contineantur et diversa, et contraria decretis Concilii, ut de lapsu hominis, et de justificatione, et de auctoritate Papae. Si enim decreta Concilii de verbo ad verbum in Interim inseruisset, subiciens nomen Concilii, et non accepta illa ferens Concilio, culpandus adhuc esset. Si enim volebat pouere faucem in messem alienam, quo nomine nunquam excusaretur, etiamsi Evangelium ipsum publicasset, debebat prius statuere, quod decreta Concilii essent seruanda, et hoc colore petere, ut Concilium rediret Tridentum. Sed cum ipse impugnet illud hac sua falsa doctrina, non video, quo jure petat reditum Concilii ad Tridentum: quam enim curam vult habere Concilii non legitimi, et potius Conciliabuli, quam Concilii? Angelus Massarellus, in his *Diarium*, gives the imperial Reformation with the addition, ita ut jam unusquisque videat, Imperatorem hunc Carolum usurpasse sibi omnem jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam: nam die XV. Maji praeteriti praescriptis mo-*

tility by the King of France, who stood in fear of all attempts to establish unity in the German Empire,⁶ 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,⁷ 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.⁸

dum eredendi quoad dogmata fidei, nunc autem XIV. hujus mensis formam vivendi quoad mores Germaniae dedit.

⁶ The King wrote to the Pope through his nuncio (Pallavicini, lib. x. cap. 17, No. 4), cum ea omnia ad christianam rempublicam opprimendam tenderent, ubi Pontifex ad ea praestanda (to the desired dispensations) animum induxisset, extemplo revocaturum se Bononia Oratores et Praesules: quod si aliter fieret, patrocinaturum se Concilio et Apostolicae sedi.

⁷ The demands of the Emperor, in Raynald., 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 (Raynald. l. c., No. 46), were favorable; less so were those of the bishops deputed to Rome by the council (l. c., No. 48), who particularly insisted that the married clergy should give up their offices.

⁸ On the 31st August three nuncios were elected for this object. Eae vero facultates postulatae a Caesare non in effusa amplitudine Internuntii concessae sunt, sed iustitia pro Dei cultu amplificando temperatae.—Cum enim non iidem casus occurrerent in omnibus, qui solvi lege ecclesiastica flagitabant, ideo pro eorum varietate distincta fuere tria diplomata, quibus jussi sunt Internuntii in sacerdotum conjugii, et communione sub utraque specie permittendis, jejuniorum et feriarum observantia restringenda, sacerdotiorum vectigalibus conjungendis, rerumque oblatarum restitutione componenda esse parcissimi, ac nisi tres Internuntii mutua sententiarum consensione conspirarent (Belarmin. de Clericis, lib. i. c. 19, in Raynald., 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 Sastrow, ii. 351; 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 is also the dispensation to the communion, *sub utraque*: Praeterea iis, qui hactenus contra statutum Ecclesiae Communionem sub utraque specie sumere praesumerint, si ut id eis concedatur humiliter devotionis causa petierint, sublatis a se antea singulis erroribus et haeresibus,—facta prius per eos confessione in Ecclesia coram catholico sacerdote, tempore sumptionis eucharistiae sacrae, 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 indulgendi (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 office, was given to the legates in the bull *Ad Diligentem*, and was not sub-delegated by them (in Flacii Bulla Antichristi de retrahendo populo Dei in ferream Aegyptiacae servitutis fornacem, 1549. 8.; Sastrow, ii. 683): Cum charissimus in Christo filius noster Carolus Rom. Imp.—nobis significaverit, quod pro restituendis 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,⁹ 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 Zweibrücken opposed it outright; the other Protestant states answered evasively. In southern Germany the imperial preponderance compelled its acceptance; the Duke of Wurtemberg conformed,¹⁰ following the example of the Elector of the Palatine;¹¹ the free cities were forced to yield; the example of Constance intimidated others—it was deprived of its civil and ecclesiastical freedom for opposing.¹² On

desciverant, non tam utile, quam necessarium esse dignoscitur, ut cum aliquibus clericis in sacris ordinibus constitutis, quod cum mulieribus, quas tanquam uxores retinent, remanere, aut legitimum matrimonium contrahere possint, de Apostolicae sedis benignitate dispensetur; Nos—Vobis,—ut—aliquos Clericos seculares tantum—citra tamen altaris et alia sacerdotum ministeria ac titulos beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum, cumque ipsorum ordinum exercitio sublato,—absolvere, ac cum eis,—quod inter se matrimonium legitime contrahere, et in eo, postquam contractum fuerit, licite remanere possint,—misericorditer dispensare possitis, plenam ac liberam—concedimus potestatem et facultatem. The third bull has never been made public, and may have referred to the dispensation of married priests, so that they might remain in the clerical office, or to compacts to be concluded with Protestants on account of the ecclesiastical property confiscated by them.—Although these nuncios received such full power as early as August 31, yet the Emperor sent word to the bishops, of the date Brussels, 28th May, 1549, that this indulgence had been communicated to him only a few days before; the sub-delegating instruments are also dated the same time. That imperial letter contains, among other things, this warning to the bishops (Sastrow, ii. 685): “Und dieweil sich auch befinden, dass hievor der Sachen umb etwas zuviel beschehen seyn mocht, indem dass Etliche—sich etwan mit mehrern Ernst u. Strenge erzeigt, dann Gelegenheit dieser Zeit u. Läufe ertragen u. erleiden konnten: ob nun woll zu wunschen, dass all christliche Disciplin u. Zuchten der alten Kirchen—allenthalben eingeführt—werden möchte, nicht destoweniger, dieweil die Sach vormals dermassen uberhand genommen, dass deren eben viel seind, die auf ihrem gefassten Sinn u. Unverstand—vast zu beharren gedenken, u. sich davon schwerlich abwenden lassen wollen; so sollt unsers Erachtens der Sachen umb so viel mehr dienlich u. furtreglich seyn, dass allenthalben—solche Maass u. Bescheidenheit gehalten wurde, damit diejenigen, so sich abgesondert, wiederumb zu einem rechten christlichen Wesen u. Wandel mehr mit gutem Willen unterwiesen u. geleitet, dann uberhmässigen Ernst abscheucht gemacht wurden.”

⁹ In 1548 diocesan councils were held for this object in Paderborn, Mayence, Würzburg, Augsburg, Liege, and Treves; in the next year in Strasburg and Cologne, and provincial councils in Cologne, Mayence, Treves, and Salsburg. See Hartzheim Concil. Germ. T. vi.; Brauburger de Formula Reformationis, p. 29 ss.

¹⁰ Sattler's Gesch. v. Würtemberg, iii. 273. Zahn's Reformationsgeschichte v. Würtemberg, s. 189. Hartmann's Gesch. d. Reform. in Würtemberg (Stuttgart, 1835), s. 98.

¹¹ Struven's Pfälzische Kirchenhistorie, s. 15.

¹² Comp. Sleidanus, ed. Am Ende, iii. 133. Salig's Historie der Augsb. Confession, i. 583. Augsburg was first compelled; see Paul v. Stetten, Gesch. v. Augsburg, s. 452. On Nuremberg, see Carl Christ. Hirsch, Gesch. des Interim zu Nürnberg. Leipzig, 1750

the other hand, in northern Germany¹³ the Interim encountered the liveliest opposition;¹⁴ by the free cities, especially Magdeburg,

(cf. Biederer's *Abhandlungen aus d. Kirchen- Bücher- u. Gelehrten-Geschichte*, St. i. s. 99); Strasburg, see Röhrich's *Gesch. v. Strasburg*, iii. 1; Ulm, see Melch. Adami *Vitae theologorum. Vita Mart. Frecht*, p. 145; Reutlingen, see Füsing's *Relation wie es mit der Reformation d. St. Reutlingen hergegangen*, s. 278; Kaufbeuren, see Wagenzell's *Beitrag 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. 72), se peragrasse superiorem Germaniam non sine periculo; infectos Lutherana lue in perfidia obduruisse, et paucos ad Religionem catholicam reversos, spesque tenues eorum in castra Ecclesiae traducendorum affulgere, nisi Caes. Majestas magis strenuam operam ad id contulerit; jacta quidem ab ea fundamenta redintegrandae verae religionis in omnibus terris ipsi obnoxii, aut in maxima earum parte; Ecclesiasticos et Monachos, qui pulsati ab haereticis erant, suis bonis restituuisse; in Ecclesiis principibus duo altaria excitari jussisse,—et in iis quotidie duo sacra celebrari, sed paucos magis interesse; compressis imperio illius adversariis Catholicos in omnibus locis concionari posse, at quod majoris ponderis erat, non interdixisse Lutheranos a concionibus habendis, ac propterea illos majori quam antea dilligentia ac furore habere conciones, impietatemque diffundere et confirmare, cum formidarent ne extingueretur.

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 *Reformationsgesch. v. Ostfriesland*, in Vater's *Kirchenhistor. 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 (Rehtmeyer's *Stadt Braunschweig. Kirchenhistorie*, iii. 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. 367, 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 Hortleder, *Vom Deutschen Kriege*, Th. ii. Buch iii. cap. 88; Sleidanus, lib. xx., ed. Am Ende, p. 116; comp. the remarks of Minckwitz in Schellhorn's *Ergötzlichkeiten*, 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. Friedrichen Herz. v. Sachsen Sölmern, *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. Bericht 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. Augsb. Confession*, i. 600; Rommel's *Philipp d. Grossmüthige*, ii. 530).

¹⁴ The first work against it was "Bedenken aufs Interim des Ehrwürdigen u. Hoch-

it was opposed and satirized in the most violent manner;¹⁵ even the Elector of Brandenburg was not able to introduce it into his land.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 Leipsic, Dec. 22,¹⁷ but with such alterations that the Lutheran doctrine

gelahrten Herrn Philippi Melancthonis 16ten Jun., 1548" (printed in Magdeburg by Andreas Kegel, rector in Eisleben, without consent of Melancthon; see Bieck, s. 64): the fullest and most respected was by the Hamburg Superintendent, Joh. Aepinus, "Bekennntnis u. Erklärung aufs Interim durch der Städte Lübeck, Hamburg, Lüneburg, etc., Superintendenten, Pastorn, u. Predigern, 1549." 4. List of writings against the Interim, in Bieck, s. 123. Dänische Bibliothek, v. 15; vi. 168. Walchii Biblioth. Theol., ii. 626.

¹⁵ On the satirical poems and the so-called *Interimsthaler*, see Bieck, s. 128.

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 Jüterbock, Dec. 16, 1548 (in Hortleder, *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 i. cap. 12): "Weil er die Gemüther des armen gemeinen Volkes etwas hart darwider verblirret u. angehetzt gefunden, so habe er erstlich allgemach einen Artikel nach dem andern vorgenommen, die armen verführten Gemüther berichten u. bedeuten, so dann aber es in seinen Landen drucken u. publiciren, auch in seinem Hofflager in allen Kirchen aufrichten lassen, u. zu halten geboten. 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. Gehorsam." About the convention at Jüterbock 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 Jüterbock Interim, so that the Emperor reproached him about it: but—*satis ducebat, iram Caesaris obsequii figmento praecurrendum, quam negatione manifesta eundem in patriam acrius incessendam armandum* (Leuthinger, l. c. p. 228).

¹⁷ Maurice called a convention of divines and a committee of the estates at Misnia, July 1 (*Expositio eorum, quae 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 subjectissimam praestandam in omnibus, quae ad piam et christianam consensionem—faciant, et pie et bona cum conscientia fieri possint* (*Expositio*, Ee 2). The theologians, in their opinion, held fast to the Lutheran doctrines, and then declared, as to the ceremonies (Ih 3, b): *si in rebus istis adiaphoris bono consilio eorum, quibus gubernatio Ecclesiarum commissa est, aliquid deliberatum fuerit, quod ad concinnitatem aliquam rituum, et ad bonam disciplinam faciat, in hoc concordiae et bono ordini non deerimus. Nam de rebus per se mediis non volumus quicquam 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 peti, ut has Ecclesias in praesenti statu manere sinat (Ll 2). Maurice rejected this as useless, and demanded, *ne in iis, quae salva veritate—fieri possent, concedere recusarent* (Mm). But

was essentially retained, and the Catholic constitutions and usages were only allowed as *adiaphora* (*Interim Lipsiense*).¹⁹ 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 Misnia and Naumburg with his theologians in Pegau, Aug. 23, 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 2); further they would not enter into the matter, especially because they had no papal dispensation sanctioning the Interim. Thereupon 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 Mönchszeile, 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 Jüterbock, Dec. 16 (see Note 16). This document, with an Introduction, and prefaced by the articles on Justification agreed upon at Pegau, and with the addition of some concluding words, was laid before the diet in Leipsic, Dec. 22 (Ccc 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 *Lipsicum Interim majus*; the ordinance, *Lipsicum Interim minus* (Ddd 4. b.; Bieck, s. 134, is incorrect on this point).

¹⁹ See the Beschluss des Landtages zu Leipzig, in Bieck, s. 361: "Unser Bedenken stehet darauf, dass man der Römischen Kais. Majestät, unserm allergnädigsten Herrn Gehorsam leiste, u. sich also verhalte, dass Ihre Majestät u. manniglich unser aller Gemüth zu Ruhe, Frieden u. Einigkeit geneigt vermerken möge.—Demselben nach bedenken wir erstlich, dass alles, was die alten Lehrer in den *Adiaphoris* d. i. in den Mitteldingen, die man ohne Verletzungen göttlicher Schrift halten mag, gehalten haben, u. bey dem andern Theil noch im Brauch blieben ist, hinfort auch gehalten werde, u. dass man darinne keine Beschwerunge oder Weigerung suche oder fürwende, dieweil solches ohne Verletzung guter Gewissen wohl geschehen mag." First comes the article on Justification, as agreed upon at Pegau.—I. *How Man becomes just before God*. "Wiewohl Gott den Menschen nicht gerecht macht durch Verdienst eigener Werke;—gleichwohl wücket der barmherzige Gott nicht also mit dem Menschen wie mit einem Ploek, sondern zeucht ihn also, dass sein Wille auch mit wücket, so er in verständigen Jahren ist. Dem ein solcher Mensch empfähet die Wohlthaten Christi nicht, wo nicht durch vorgehende Gnade der Wille u. das Herz bewegt wird, dass er für Gottes Zorn erschrecke, u. einen Missfallen habe an der Sünde.—Es hat aber Gott nicht allein seinen Zorn geoffenbaret, sondern darbey hat er seine gnädige Verheissung, nemlich das Evangelium von seinem Sohn gegeben, und ist sein ewiger unwandelbarer Wille,—dass er gewisslich die Sünde vergeben will, will uns seinen heil. Geist geben, annehmen, verneuen, u. Erben ewiger Seligkeit machen um seines Sohns willen, nicht von wegen unserer Verdienst oder Würdigkeit, so wir in diesem Schrecken u. Reue wahrhaftiglich glauben u. vertrauen, dass uns um desselbigen Mitlers Willen gewisslich die Sünde vergeben werden.—Dieser Glaube ist nicht allein eine Erkenntniss, wie es in den Teufeln ist, oder in Menschen, die in bösen Gewissen leben; sondern dieser Glaube gläubt samt andern Artikeln die Vergebung der Sünden, nimmt die Verheissung an, u. ist im Herzen ein wahrhaftiges Vertrauen auf den Sohn Gottes, welches Trost u. Anrufung u. andere Tugenden mit erwecket.—Und wird darum zugleich der heil. Geist in unser Herz gegeben, so wir also die göttliche Verheissung mit Glauben fassen, u. uns damit trösten u. aufrichten.—Und wücket der heil. Geist alsdann im Herzen beständigen Trost u. Leben, erwecket alle nothige Tugenden, mehret den Glauben, die Zuversicht, Hoffnung, zündet an die Liebe, treibet zu rechter Anrufung u. zu guten Werken, u. sind diese, die also Vergebung der

mitigated Interim, which, however, came only from the Protestants, aroused even greater wrath among the strict Lutherans than

Sünden u. den heil. Geist empfahen haben, alsdann Erben der ewigen Seligkeit, um des Heilandes Willen.—Und wiewohl in menschlicher Schwachheit noch viel Zweifels u. Zappels bleibet, so hat doch Gott dagegen seine Verheissung gegeben, uns zu trösten u. zu stärken, dass wir den Zweifel überwinden u. zu Gott Zutucht haben mögen. Und dass St. Paulus spricht: ich bin mir nichts bewusst, aber darum bin ich nicht gerecht: hiemit lehret er nicht, dass man zweifeln soll, sondern will, dass wir beyde Stücke gewisslich schliessen sollen, das Gewissen soll recht stehen, u. dabey wissen, dass viel Gebrechen in uns seyn, u. ob wir gleich ohne Sünde nicht leben, dass wir doch Gott gefällig, u. einen gnädigen Gott haben u. seines Sohns willen.—Gleichwohl muss man darben wissen, dass in diesem schwachen Leben viel böser Neigung im Menschen bleiben, u. er ohne Sünde nicht lebet.—Darum obgleich ein neuer Gehorsam angefangen, u. die eingegebene Gerechtigkeit im Menschen ist, so ist doch nicht zu gedenken, die Person habe darum Vergebung der Sünden, und sey nun also rein, dass sie keine Vergebung der Sünden u. keinen Mittler bedarf.—Es werden auch die Tugenden u. gute Werk in solchen Versöhneten Gerechtigkeit genennet, wie oben von der eingegebenen Gerechtigkeit gemeldet, doch nicht in diesem Verstande, dass darum die Person Vergebung der Sünde habe, oder dass die Person in Gottes Gericht ohne Sünde sey, sondern dass der Mensch durch den heil. Geist erneuert, u. die Gerechtigkeit mit dem Werk vorbringen kann, u. dass Gott ihm diesen schwachen angefangenen Gehorsam in dieser elenden gebrechlichen Natur um seines Sohns willen in den Gläubigen will gefallen lassen.“—II. *Of Good Works.* “Weiter von guten Werken ist diese Regel gewiss, dass diese Werk gut und nöthig seyn, die Gott geboten hat, lauts der zehen Gebot, u. derselben Erklärung in der Apostel Schriften genugsam ausgedrückt.—So jemand, der in Gottes Gnaden gewesen ist, wider Gottes Gebot wissenschaftlich handelt, der betrübt den heiligen Geist, u. verleuret Gnade u. Gerechtigkeit, u. fällt in Gottes Zorn, u. so er nicht wiederum bekehret wird, fällt er in die ewige Strafe.—So ist auch die Wiedergeburt u. ewiges Leben an ihr selbst ein neues Licht, ist Gottesfurcht, ist Liebe u. Freude in Gott u. andere Tugenden, wie der Spruch sagt: Diess ist das ewige Leben, dass sie dich wahrhaftigen Gott erkennen, u. mich Jesum Christum. Wie nun dieses wahrhaftige Erkennen in uns leuchten muss, also ist gewisslich wahr, dass diese Tugenden, Glaube, Liebe u. Hoffnung, u. andere in uns seyn müssen, u. zur Seligkeit nöthig seyn—Und die weil die Tugenden u. gute Werk Gott gefallen, wie gesagt ist, so verdienen sie auch Belohnung in diesem Leben geistlich u. zeitlich nach Gottes Rath, u. mehr Belohnung im ewigen Leben vermöge göttlicher Verheissung. Und wird hiemit in keinem Wege bestätigt der Irrthum, dass die ewige Seligkeit durch Würdigkeit unserer Werke verdienet werde. Item dass wir andern unsern Verdienst mögen mittheilen.” So far the Pegau Articles.—III. *Of the Power and Authority of the Churches.* “Was die wahre christliche Kirche, die im heil. Geist versammelt, in Glaubenssachen erkennt, ordnet u. lehret, das soll man auch lehren u. predigen, wie sie denn wider die heil. Schrift nichts ordnen soll noch kann.“—IV. *Of the Church Officers.* “Und dass dem Obersten u. andern Bischöffen, die ihr bischöflich Amt nach Gottes Befehl ausrichten, u. dasselbige zu Erlaubung, u. nicht zur Zerstörung gebrauchen, unterworfen u. gehorsam seyn alle andere Kirchendiener.“—V. *Of Baptism.*—VI. *Confirmation.* “Dass die Firmung gelehret u. gehalten werde, u. sonderlich die Jugend, die erwachsen, von ihren Bischöfen, oder wem es dieselben befehlen, verhort ihres Glaubens,—u. die Zusage, die ihre Pathen in der Taufe für sie gethan—bekräftigen, u. also in ihrem Glauben vermittels göttlicher Gnaden confirmirt u. bestätigt werden mit Auflegung der Hände u. christl. Gebeten u. Ceremonien.“—VII. *Penance.*—VIII. — *Extreme Unction.* “Wiewohl in diesen Landen die Oelung in vielen Jahren nicht in Gebrauch gewesen, dieweil aber im Marco u. Jacobo geschrieben stehet, wie die Apostel derer gebraucht haben;—darum mag man hinfürder solche Oelung nach der Apostel Brauch halten, u. über den Kranken christliche Gebet u. Trostsprüche aus der heil. Schrift sprechen, u. das Volk des also berichten, damit man den rechten Verstand fassé, u. aller Aberglaube u. Missverstand vorkommen u. ver-

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,¹⁹ and by the Protestants as the work of the devil.²⁰

hütet werde.”—IX. *Order of Church Officers*.—X. *Marriage*.—XI. *Mass*. “Dass die Messe hinforder in diesen Landen mit Läuten, Lichten u. Gefässen, Gesangen, Kleidungen u. Ceremonien gehalten werde.” The usual lists of prayers for mass and hymns follows; but, instead of the Canon, Consecration is introduced.—XII. *Images*.—XIII. *Singing in Churches*. “Dass man die horas canonicas, die gottseligen Psalm in den Stiften, u. Städten in den Kirchen, da es vorhin gehalten ist, singe.”—XIV. *Festivals*.—XV. *Eating of Flesh*. “Item dass man sich am Freytag, Sonnabend, auch in der Fasten Fleischessens enthalte, u. dass solches als eine äusserliche Ordnung auf der Kais. Majestät Befehl gehalten werde.”—XVI. *The Manner of Life of the Church Officers*. Many deviations from the Augsburg Interim are seen in that of Leipsic only in the omission of definite statements. To these belongs what in Pegau was demanded of the bishops (Expositio Nn 4 b): De extrema unctione: ne ipsi quidem Episcopi consecrarent oleum, si consideraverint, quales sint consecrationes et quam absurdae. Ne onerentur Canone. Nec onerentur invocacione Sanctorum.

¹⁹ 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 Romaeus, 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 Stäudlin's u. Tzschirner's Archiv f. alte u. neue Kircheng. Bd. iv. St. 1, s. 104).

²⁰ 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 Wolfenbütel, see Salig, i. 658), in Schmidt's Neuere Gesch. d. Deutschen, Buch. i. cap. 14. The spiritual Electors declared: “Wenn sie auch—die Prädicanten, die sich nicht nach dem Interim fügen wollten, absetzen, so fanden sie keine andere; u. die kathol. Geistlichen dürften sie vermoge des Interim selbst nicht dazu brauchen. Um die vorgeschriebene Reformation in das Werk zu richten, hätten sie Provincial- u. Diocesan-Synoden gehalten: dass sie aber ihren Zweck nicht ganz erreicht, seyen allerhand besondere Exemptionem, Freyheiten, Dispensationem, Indulte u. andere Verhinderungen Schuld.” The secular Electors: “Ihre Landschaften u. Unterthanen widersetzten sich der Anfrichtung des Interim um so mehr, weil sie glaubten, es sey nicht allerdings der Schrift gemäss: wollten sie nun Ernst fürwenden, so hätten sie sich Aufruhere, Rumoren, u. also ihrer Land u. Leut grosse Zerrüttung u. schwerlich Verderben u. Abfalls zu befahren.” The Princes: “Die Ursachen der Nichtbefolgung des Interim wären hauptsächlich diese: man habe auf hohen u. Particular-Schulen zu wenig Furschung gethan, um die Jugend demselben gemäss zu unterweisen; da nun auch die Prädicanten das Volk nicht nur allein nicht zur Haltung desselben ermahnten, sondern auch öffentlich dagegen predigten, so könne dasselbe nicht dafür eingenommen werden. Auch seyen durch dasselbe zwar die Communion unter beyden Gestalten u. die Priesterchen 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 hinlanglichen Unterricht darüber zu geben: vor allem aber müssten alle Kirchendiener ordentlich geweiht, zu der Verwaltung der Sacramente fähig gemacht, von der ordentlichen geistlichen Obrigkeit gesendet u. den Bischöfen unterworfen seyn. Der gemeine Mann werde auch nicht wenig durch etlicher Geistlichen leichtfertiges u. argerliches Leben, dass der kaiser-

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,²¹ May 1, 1551; and this, too, in spite of the opposition of the King of France.²² The latter, accordingly, at once greeted the reassembled council with a Protest (Sept. 1, 1551),²³ 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 promises²⁴ in reply to their demands; the Emperor, at the same time, manifested such unusual earnestness,²⁵ that it appear-

lichen Reformation so wenig gelebt u. nachgegangen werd, davon abgehalten. Die letzte Hinderniss sey endlich, dass ungeachtet des kaiserlichen Verbots so viele Schmach- u. Schandbüchlein dagegen geschrieben, und unter dem Volk ausgestreut würden."

²¹ The previous negotiations in Pallavicini, lib. xi. c. 8 ss. The Pope demanded as condition (l. c. c. 9, No. 3), ut in illis Comitii (in Augsburg, 1550) denuo stabiliret Caesar firmiter Protestantium subjectionem per legitimas tabulas ab ipsis exhibendam. Ubi id ab illis recusaretur, Concilio amplius locum non esse;—superesse, ut in eos Caesar armorum vim exerceret. The Bulla resumptionis, of 14th Nov., 1550, in the *Canones et decreta Conc. Trid.*

²² See the correspondence in the *Lettres et Mémoires d'estat*, par Guil. Ribier (Paris, 1666 fol.), T. ii. p. 275 ss.

²³ Raynaldus, 1551, No. 28–33. Cf. the account of the royal plenipotentiary, the abbot Jac. Amyot, in *Judoci le Plat Monument. ad hist. Conc. Trid. spectant. collectio*, iv. 249.

²⁴ The same which the evangelical electors had already made at the diet of 1547 (Sastrow, 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).

²⁵ Final decree of the diet, 13th Feb., 1551 (Neue Sammlung der Reichsabschiede Frankf. a. M. 1747, ii. 611): "Wir—wollen aus kaiserlicher Macht u. Gewalt alle die, so auf dem Concilio erschienen, die haben Aenderungen in der Religion fürgenommen, oder auch andere, gnädiglich versichert haben, dass ein jeder frey ungehindert darzu kommen, darauf erscheinen, dasjenige so er zu Ruhe und Sicherung seiner Consciencz u. Gewissens für gut und nothwendig acht, fürbringen, u. wiederum von dannen bis in sein Gewahrsam frey sicher abziehen und kommen mög. Zu dem gedenken Wir im h. Reich oder doch in der Nähe, so viel immer möglich, zu verharren, ob dem Concilio zu halten u. zu befördern, damit dasselbig zu guter richtiger Endschaft gebracht werde.— Wir ersuchen, ermahnen, erinnern auch hiemit Churfürsten, Fürsten, u. Stände des heil. Reichs, u. sonderlich die Prälaten geistlichen Stands, auch diejenigen, bey denen sich die Neurung in der Religion erhalten, dass sie sich auf der Päpstl. Heiligkeit Ausschreiben zu dem fürgenommenen Concilio geschickt machen, und gefasst erscheinen, damit sie sich künftiglich nicht zu beklagen, oder fürzuwenden, als ob sie in dem übereilt, u. ihre Nothwendigkeit fürzubringen nicht zugelassen wären. Dann wir an unserm Fleiss nichts gedenken erwinden zu lassen, auf dass—bemeldte Ständ, bey denen in der Religion Neuerung fürgenommen, oder der Augspurgischen Confession anhängig gewesen, und derselben Gesandten in solchem Concilio erscheinen mögen, dass sie darzu, darin u. davon, bis wieder an ihr Gewahrsam gesichert u. verleitet, auch nothdürftiglich gehört, und die ganze Tractation u. Beschluss gottseliglich u. christlich, allen Affect hintangesetzt, nach gottlicher u. der alten Väter heil. Geschrift u. Lehr fürgenommen, ge-

ed as if the conquered party must abandon all resistance. Joachim II., Elector of Brandenburg, who was trying to get the papal confirmation of his son Frederick as Archbishop of Magdeburg and Bishop of Halberstadt, declared his submission to the council through his ambassadors.²⁶ The states of southern Germany and of electoral Saxony did, indeed, have confessions composed (*Confessio Wirtembergensis*, *Confessio Saxonica*²⁷), 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 Wirtembergers handed in their Confession,²⁸ while the Saxon envoys renewed the old demands of their lord.²⁹ From southern Germany came also Protestant theologians,³⁰ and Saxon divines journeyed to Trent to defend their doctrines.³¹ But in this way no deliver-

handelt u. beschlossen, u. auch ein christlich nützliche Reformation der Geistlichen u. Weltlichen aufgericht, u. alle unrechte Lehren u. Misbräuch der Gebühr nach abgestellt werden."

²⁶ See the documents in Raynaldus, 1551, No. 41 and 42.

²⁷ *Confessio doctrinae Saxoniarum Ecclesiarum Synodo Tridentinae oblata*, or, in the original title, *Repetitio confessionis Augustanae anno 1551 Wittebergae scripta et subscriptione praeceptorum doctorum in ecclesiis et scholis confirmata* (letzte Ausgabe v. Jo. Quodvultdeus Bürger. Lips., 1722. 8.), written by Melanethon; see Camerarius *De Vita Melanchthonis*, § 90; Bürger, in the introduction to his edition; Salig's *Historie der Augspurg. Confession*, i. 667. — *Confessio piae doctrinae, quae nomine illustr. Princ. Christophori Ducis Wirtenb. d. 24. m. Jan., 1552, congregationi Tridentini Concilii proposita est* (last published in Pfaffii *Acta et scripta publica Ecclesiae Wirtembergicae*. Tubing., 1720, 4. p. 276), written by Joh. Brentius; see Pfaff *liber commentarius de actis scriptisque publ. Eccl. Wirtemb.*, Tubing., 1718, 4. p. 24 ss.; Salig, i. 673. Both confessions were also published with the Augspurg Confession: *Confessiones fidei Christianae tres*. Francof. 1553 and 1556. 4.

²⁸ Sleidanus (who came as the Strasburg ambassador to Trent), lib. xxiii. P. iii. p. 287, 312 ss. The acts in *Jud. le Plat Monum. ad hist. Conc. Trident. spectant.*, iv. 417; *Syntagma eorum quae nomine Ill. Princ. Christophori Ducis Wirtemberg. in Synodo Trident. per legatos ejus acta sunt*. Basil., 1553. 8. (reprinted in Pfaffii *Acta Eccl. Wirt.*, p. 232).

²⁹ Their Address in Raynald., 1552, No. 61, and translated from a manuscript in Salig's *Hist. des Trident. Concil.*, ii. 130. They demanded that further decisions should be postponed until the arrival of the Saxon divines, that the decrees already made should be again weighed, and that the bishops in the council should be released from their oath made to the Pope. Reports about these audiences in *Friderici Nauseae Ep. Viennensis ad Regem Ferdinandum*, dd. 30. Jan. in *Planchii Anecdota ad hist. Conc. Trid. pert. nr. x.* (Göttinger Osterprogramm v. 1801); of the imperial ambassadors to the Bishop of Arras, in the *Lettres et Mémoires de François de Vargas, de Pierre de Malvenda et de quelques Evêques d'Espagne touchant le Concile de Trente, traduits de l'Espagnol*, par Mr. Mich. le Vassor. à Amsterdam, 1699. 8. p. 468, 482, 487, 501. The latter show the great impression which was made by the addresses of the Protestant ambassadors, and the sympathy they found with many bishops.

³⁰ 18th March, Sleidanus, xxiii., ed. Am Ende, iii. p. 323, where, too, their Instructions are given.

³¹ 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,³² 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,³³ while the King of France,³⁴ 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,³⁵ 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;³⁶ 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,³⁷ 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

³² The imperial ban, July 27, 1547. All the writings belonging to this matter are in Hortleder *Vom deutschen Kriege*, Th. ii. Buch 4. How Magdeburg was taken in Nov., 1551, see *ibid.*, cap. 17 and 18.

³³ Hortleder, Th. ii. Buch 5. Sleidanus, lib. xxiv.

³⁴ The League of 5th Oct., 1551, not ratified by the King till Jan., 1552, in the *Recueil des Traités de paix*, ii. 258.

³⁵ 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 Jahrs einen gemeinen Reichstag halten, darauf nochmals, auf was Wege, als nemlich, eines General-oder National-Concilli, Colloquii oder gemeiner Reichsversammlung dem Zwiespalte der Religion abzuhelfen—gehandelt, u. also solche Einigkeit der Religion durch alle Stände des heil. Reichs samt Ihrer Maj. ordentlichen Zuthun soll befördert werden." But a concurrent treaty declared: "Da aber die Vergleichung auch durch denselben Weg keinen würde erfolgen, dass alsdann nichts desto weniger obgemeldter Friedstand bey seinen Kräften bis zu endlicher Vergleichung bestehen u. bleiben solle."

³⁶ Hortleder, Th. ii. Buch vi.

³⁷ Camerarius in *Vita Melaneth.*, § 98. Acts in *Mel. Deutsche Bedenken*, s. 377, and in the *Unschuld. Nachrichten*, 1714, s. 511.

to sacrifice his views to the exigency.³⁸ 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.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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-Phiseldick *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—geduhlet, oder aber wie sie der Juden Synagog leidet,—also auch leiden u. gedulden, u. ob sie schon so gar mit uns nit stimmen, jedoch unsere Güter, Pfrunden u. Einkommen verfolgen lassen wöllten."—II. *Consilium trium Episcoporum de ratione stabiliendae Romanae Ecclesiae Paulo III. datum* (in Wolfii *Leect. Memorabil.*, ii. 519; in Brownii *App. ad Fascic. rerum expendarum et fugiendarum*, p. 64; the same is addressed to Julius III., and dated 1553). 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. 595, 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 fateamur) nullo pacto sperare possumus, illam in tuam fidem unquam esse redituram. Quare hortamur, ut omnem de ea spem abjicias, etc.*

³⁹ Christoph Lehmann *De pace Religionis acta publica et originalia*. Frankfurt, 1631. 4. J. A. Noesselt *Diss. admiranda singularis providentiae divinae vestigia in vindicanda per pacem Passaviensem et Augustanam Sacrorum Evangelicorum libertate exponens*, in his *Opuscul. ad Hist. Eccl.*, fasc. iii. (Halaë, 1817) p. 199. On the spirit of this religious peace, see Henke's *Magazin*, iii. 596.

⁴⁰ The instrument itself, in the form of an ordinance of the empire by King Ferdinand, is in Lehmann, s. 136. First a general state of peace is established in the German empire. "Und damit solcher Fried, auch der spaltigen Religion halben,—desto beständiger—erhalten werden möchte: so sollen die Kaiserl. Majestat, Wir, auch Churfürsten, Fürsten, u. Stande des heil. Reichs keinen Stand des Reichs von wegen der Augspurgischen Confession u. derselbigen Lehr, Religion u. Glaubens halben mit der That gewaltigerweis überziehen, beschädigen, vergewaltigen, oder in andere Wege wider seine Conscienz, Wissen u. Willen von dieser Augspurgischen Confessions Religion, Glauben, Kirchengebräuchen, Ordnungen u. Ceremonien, so sie aufgerichtet, oder nochmals anfrichten mochten in ihren Fürstenthumben, Landen u. Herrschaften tringen, oder durch Mandat, oder in einiger anderer Gestalt beschweren oder verachten, sondern bey solcher Religion, Glauben, Kirchengebräuchen, Ordnungen u. Ceremonien, auch ihren Haab, Gütern—ruhiglich u. friedlich bleiben lassen. Und soll die strittige Religion nit anderst dann durch christliche, freundliche, friedliche Mittel u. Wege zu einhelligem christlichen Verstand u. Vergleichung gebracht werden. Alles bey Kaiserlichen u. Königlichen Würden, Fürstlichen Ehren, wahren Worten u. Pon des Landfriedens. Dargegen sollen die Stande, so der Augspurgischen Confession verwandt die Röm. Kais. Maj. Uns u. Churfürsten, Fürsten u. andere des heil. Reichs Stande der alten Religion anhangig—gleichergestalt bey ihrer Religion,—auch ihren Haab, Gütern

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

—unbeschwert bleiben—lassen.—Doch sollen alle andere, so obgemeldten beyden Religionen nicht anhangig, in diesem Frieden nit gemeynt, sondern ganzlich ausgeschlossen seyn.” On the church property confiscated by the Protestants: “So sollen auch solche eingezogene Güter, welche denjenigen, so dem Reich ohn Mitteln unterworfen u. Reichstande seynd, nit zugehörig, u. deren Possession die Geistlichen zu Zeit des Passauischen Vertrags, oder seithero nit gehabt, in diesen Friedstand mitbegriffen u. eingezogen seyn, u. bey der Verordnung, wie es ein jeder Stand mit oberührten eingezogenen u. allbereit verwendeten Gütern gemacht, gelassen werden.—Damit auch oberührte beiderseits Religionsverwandte so viel mehr in beständigem Frieden—bleiben mögen, so soll die geistliche Jurisdiction—wider der Augspurgischen Confessionsverwandten Religion, Glauben, Bestellung der Ministerien, Kirchengebräuchen, Ordnungen u. Ceremonien, so sie ufgericht, oder ufrichten mochten, bis zu endlicher Vergleichung der Religion nicht exercirt, gebraucht oder geübt werden,—und also—bis zu endlicher christlicher Vergleichung der Religion die geistliche Jurisdiction ruhen, eingestellt u. suspendirt seyn u. bleiben.—Es soll auch kein Stand den andern, noch desselben Unterthanen zu seiner Religion dringen, abpracticiren, oder wider ihre Oberkeit in Schutz u. Schirm nehmen, noch vertheidigen in keinen Weg.—Wo aber unsere, auch der Churfürsten, Fürsten u. Stande Unterthanen der alten Religion oder Augspurgischen Confession anhangig, von solcher ihrer Religion wegen, aus unsern, auch der Churfürsten, Fürsten und Standen des h. Reichs Landen—mit ihren Weib u. Kindern an andere Ort ziehen, u. sich niederthun wollten, denen soll solcher Ab- u. Zuzug, auch Verkaufung ihrer Haab u. Güter, gegen zimlichen billigen Abtrag der Leibeigenschaft u. Naehsteuer, wie es jedes Orts von Alters anhero üblichen herbracht u. gehalten worden ist, unverbündert manniglichs, zugelassen u. bewilligt, auch an ihren Ehren u. Pflichten allerding unentgolten seyn.—Und nachdem eine Vergleichung der Religion u. Glaubenssachen durch zimliche u. gebührliche Wege gesucht werden soll, u. aber ohne bestandigen Frieden zu christlicher freundlicher Vergleichung der Religion nicht wol zu kommen; so haben wir— diesen Friedstand—bewilligt, solchen Frieden—bis zu christlicher —Vergleichung—stät, fest u. unverbrüchlich zu halten, u. denselben trenlich nachzukommen. Wo dann solche Vergleichung durch die Wege des Generalconciliums, National-Versammlung, Colloquien oder Reichshandlungen nicht erfolgen würde, soll alsdann nicht destoweniger dieser Friedstand in allen obernährten Punkten u. Articeln bey Kräften bis zu endlicher Vergleichung der Religion u. Glaubenssachen bestehen u. bleiben.—Nachdem aber in vielen Frey- u. Reichs-Stadten die beide Religionen, nemlich unsere alte Religion u. der Augspurg. Confession-Verwandten Religion, ein Zeithero im Gang u. Gebrauch gewesen; so sollen dieselbigen hinfüro auch bleiben, u. in denselben Stadten gehalten werden, u. derselben Frey- u. Reichs-Stadt Bürger u. andere Einwohner, geistlichs u. weltlichs Stands, friedlich u. ruhig bey u. neben einander wohnen, u. kein Theil des Andern Religion, Kirchengebräuch oder Ceremonien abzuthun, oder ihn darvon zu dringen, unterstehen.”

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 fürgefallen, wo der Geistlichen einer oder mehr von der alten Religion abtreten würden, wie es der von ihnen bis daselbst hin besessenen u. eingehabten Erzbi-stumb, Bistumb, Pralatur u. Beneficien halben gethan werden soll, welche sich aber beide Religionsstande nit haben vergleichen können: demnach haben wir in Kraft hochgedachter Rom. Kays. Maj. uns gegebenen Vollmacht u. Heimstellung erklart 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 Bullinger¹ was the successor of Zwingli, and the post of Oecolampadius was filled by Oswald Myconius;² 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;³ and although there

gesetzt, thun auch solches hiemit wissentlich, also, wo ein Erzbischof, Bischof, Pralat, oder ein anderer geistliches Stands, von unser alten Religion abtreten würde, dass derselbig sein Erzbisthumb, Bisthumb, Pralatur, u. andere Beneficia, auch damit alle Frucht u. Einkommen, so er davon gehabt, alsbald ohn einige Verwiderung u. Verzug, jedoch seinen Ehren ohnnachttheilig, verlassen, auch den Capiteln, u. denen es von gemeinen Rechten—zugehört, ein Person der alten Religion verwandt—zu wählen u. zu ordnen zugelassen seyn—sollen, jedoch künftiger christlicher, freundlicher u. endlicher Vergleichung der Religion unvergreiflich." In relation to the second point King Ferdinand decided in an accompanying decree, 24th September (in Lehenmann, s. 122): "Dass der Geistlichen eigen Ritterschaft, Stadt u. Communen, welche lange Zeit u. Jahr hero der Augspurgischen Confession u. Religion anhangig gewesen, u. derselbigen Religion Glauben, Kirchengebrauchen, Ordnungen u. Ceremonien öffentlich gehalten u. gebraucht, u. bis auf heut dato noch also halten u. gebrauchen, von deroselben ihrer Religion, Glauben, Kirchengebrauchen u. Ceremonien hinforo durch jemand nicht gedungen, sondern darbey bis zu oberberührter christlicher u. endlicher Vergleichung der Religion unvergewaltigt gelassen werden sollen. Und auf dass solch unser Declaration umb so viel destoweniger angefochten werden mocht, haben gemeine christliche Stände—uns zu unterthanigen Ehren u. Gefallen bewilliget, dass die Derogation in gemeinem Religionfrieden dieses Reichstags (inhaltende, dass wider denselben Religionfrieden keine Declaration—nit gegeben,—noch angenommen werden, sondern unkräftig seyn soll)—oberberührter unser Erklärung und Entscheid unabbrüchlig, aber sonst bey ihren Würden u. Kräften bestehen u. gelassen werden soll."

¹ Lebensgeschichte M. Heinr. Bullingers, Antistes der Kirche v. Zürich, by Sal. Hess, 2 Bde. Zürich, 1828–29. 8. (incomplete).

² Oswald Myconius, Antistes der Baslerischen Kirche, by Melch. Kirchhofer. Zürich, 1813. 8.

³ Bullinger, iii. 254: "Viel richtend sich trotzlich uff, sagtend, der Tüffel hatte den Zwingli u. viel syner Schryern hingeführt; manch Biedermann habe schwygen müssen u. habe nitt reden dorfen; jetzund aber dürfe ein Biedermann auch reden; sy habend wol gedacht, die lydenlosen Pfaffen wurdent also das Schiff verführen, u. firohin müsse es ein anders werden. Man sahe denocht jetzund wol, wer den rechten Glauben habe, und wem Gott bygestanden sye. Etlich woltend wetten, man wurde kurzlich zu Zürich wiederum Mess halten. Etlich, die sich glychenet hattend, als warend sie getruwe

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.⁴ 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;⁵ 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.⁶ 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 disputations⁷ that were held with them, the most important of which was that at Zo-

Fründ Christi u. synes Evangelii gsyn, wolltend dess nit Namen mer haben, stalltend sich wider die Pfaffen (als sy die nampten), u. redtend grusamer wider den Zwingli u. synen Anhang, denn die offen Find gewesen warend." 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. harverloffener Pfaffen u. Schwaben abstandent (dann uns will bedunken, dass der heimlich Rath, auch die Pfaffen u. andere ufrührische Schreyer uns nit wol erschossen habent), dessglichen der Pfaffen in offentlichen u. heimlichen Rathen müssig gangent, u. sich die Pfaffen der weltlichen Sachen ganz u. gar nit beladent in Stadt noch uff dem Land, sonder das Gottswort verkündent, darzu sie geordnet sind.—Zum vierten,—dass ihr nun hinfür in iver Stadt Predikanten annehmen, die friedsam syent, u. uff Fried u. Ruh stellent, u. die ufrührischen Pfaffen, so Uech u. uns, die gern Fried u. Ruh hattent, offentlig an der Kanzel gottlosent, hinwegthuent, u. uff dem Land unseren Predikanten solliches auch sagent, dass sie uns das Gottswort verkündent lut beider 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 denn einer frommen Oberkeit zustalt, u. Ihr keinem Pfaffen nun hinfür kein Pfrund wyter verlychent, denn von einem Jahr zum andern, u. auch uns uff dem Land mit keinen Pfaffen übersetzt, die einer Gemeind nit angemen syent." At last, however, the assurance: "Ihr sollent ganzlich by aller Wahrheit wüssen, dass Niemand des Gemüts ist, von Gottswort zu wyehen," u. s. w. Similar complaints were made by the people of Berne to the Council; see the *Schweizerischer Geschichtsforscher*, Bd. 7. Heft 1. (Berne, 1828) s. 132: "Des ersten; des wir all gemeinlich u. einhellig ratig sind worden, antreffend das heilig göttlich Wort, by demselbigen zu heliben,—u. nachdem alsdann die Predicanten in Stadt u. Land uff dem Cantzel vil uff Uffruhr u. Blutvergiessen geschruwen, dardurch gross Uneinigkeitt entstanden, sich desselbigen gar u. ganz zu müssigen, onch der Schmütz u. Scheltworten sich gar u. ganz abzethun, sunder uns allenthalben nit anders denn das wahr, luter, eynig Gottswort nach Inhalt des Buchstabens on allen ihren Zusatz zu verkündent." Comp. Müller-Hottinger, vii. 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,⁸ July, 1532. The milder position which the Reformed assumed toward them,⁹ 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.¹⁰ The conquered party and the Reformation were contemptuously assailed and lampooned.¹¹ When Zürich repelled the wide-spread report that it was about to return to the papacy¹² by the most decisive mandates¹³ 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, 1533.¹⁴ These mandates, however, re-

⁸ Ruchat, *Hist. de la Réform. de la Suisse*, iv. 213. Kirchofer, s. 178.

⁹ In Zürich, Hess, i. 209; in Berne, Ruchat, iv. 220.

¹⁰ Bullinger's *Reformationsgesch.*, iii. 306. Hottinger's *Helv. Kirchengesch.*, iii. 600 ff., 636. Ruchat, iii. 468 ss., 500.

¹¹ Hess, i. 121.

¹² Bullinger, iii. 305: it was every where rumored, "in kurtzem wurde man in Zürich wiederum Mess halten, und den Glouben der Romischen Kylchen uffnen." Casp. Megander Ep. ad Bullingerum, in Hess, i. 157. Berne made a formal demand on Zürich that it should publicly refute this rumor; Kirchofer, s. 175.

¹³ Comp. Hess, i. 156 ff. Most important was the mandate of Wednesday after Trinity, 1532, against mass and pilgrimages, in Bullinger, iii. 315: "Wiewol wir vornaher uss Grund bewährter heiliger G-schrift—den Missbruch der Böpstischen Mess u. Sacraments, wie die bisnar by der Römischen Kilchen, nit zu kleiner Schmälerung und Verkleinung des bitteren Lydens u. Sterbens Jesu Christi,—brucht worden, abgethan, und anstatt derselben den begründten wahren Bruch des Nachtsmals des Herren—ingesetzt; —und so wir uns aber umb christenlicher Verschonung willen über die, so sich in dem Sacrament der Danksagung u. christenlicher Gemeinammi von uns absunderent, u. nach Böpstischer Wyss anderswo zum Sacrament gond, noch bisher keiner usserlichen Straf erläutert:—darus mit der Zyt, wo es gestattet wurde, vil Unrüwen, Spaltung u. Absünderung der Gmüden u. burgerlicher Fründschaften grösslich zu ersorgen:—so gepiettent wir hiemit vast ernstlich,—dass sich menklich der Unseren des Sacraments der Danksagung u. Nachtmals Christi nach christenlicher u. unserer Ordnung, wie es die göttlich heilig G-schrift lehrt u. vermag,—gebruche.—Dann so jemand söllichs übersehen, sich in Empfangung des Sacraments von uns sünderen, u. also die Christenen Gemeinden verachten wurde, den wolleut wir ouch als ein abgetheilt ungehorsam Glied —halten, ihu nit by oder under uns gedulden, wandten noch wohnen lassen, sonder von Stadt und Land verwysen.—Dann wir mit göttlicher Guad, unverhindert der Trübsal u. Unfaals, so Gott vielleicht unserer Sünden halb über uns verhangt, des styffen Sinnes u. Gemüths sind, dass wir by erkannter Wahrheit—trotzlich belyben, u. in unser Stadt u. Land weder die Mess, böpstische Sacrament, noch ütziid des us Gottes Wort nit Grund oder Handveste hat, wissen noch getulden, sonder Gott u. der Wahrheit Gstand. Lob, Ehr, u. Pryss in die Ewigkeit geben."

¹⁴ Bullinger, iii. 329, 367. Hess, i. 164. The Zürichers had, they said, broken the treaty (Bullinger, iii. 334, 339), for it put them under obligation not to meddle by disputation and argument with the Catholic faith; also by sending to the Catholic cantons epistles and public documents, with seals, declaring that Zürich had the true, indubita-

mained in force in Zürich;¹⁵ and in Berne, too, an oath to maintain the Reformation was taken by the whole canton, November, 1534.¹⁶

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.¹⁷ Appenzell adhered to its former decrees.¹⁸ In Glarus the Catholic service was restored only in some of the churches;¹⁹ 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.²⁰

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.

¹⁷ Hottinger's *Helv. Kirchengesch.*, iii. 663. Ruchat, iv. 247.

¹⁸ Hottinger, iii. 644.

¹⁹ Hottinger, iii. 644 ff.

²⁰ On this Valentin Tschudi, see Schuler's *Huldreich Zwingli, Gesch. seiner Bildung zum Reformator*. 2te Ausg., s. 318 ff. His Erasmian tendencies are apparent in his Letter to Zwingli, 15th March, 1530 (in Fuesslini *Epistolae ab Ecclesiae Helvet. Reformatibus vel ad eos scriptae*. Centur. i. Tiguri, 1742. 8., p. 63 ss.): *Quod vero haecenus signa tua sequi detrectarim, non, charissime frater, Papisticae leges me adeo detinuerunt, nec avarum illud jugum prostratum commovit, ut ejus me vindicem subscriberem; sed longe periculosissimum hoc bellum scientia duce, regnantibus privatis consiliis, suscipere animus meus abhorruit.*—*Caute enim providendum, ne, dum corrosas veteres columnas dejicimus, tota domus nimio impetu aegre conentiarur, priusquam nova fulera admoveantur.* Video enim, quosdam neglecta charitate tumultuario agmine grassantes rei christianae plus detrimenti, quam commodi convehere, quibus si non tandem per Dominum capistrum imponatur, ut secundum Paulum idem omnes loquamur, nulla spes est futurae quietis. Caeterum cum inter duo mala, quod tolerabilius eligendum sit, licet summe metuam gravia incommoda, quae evenire possunt recluso ostio *τῆς κοινωνίας*; praesenti tamen malo prius occurrendum. Video enim hujus dissensionis praetextu, quam tam pertinaciter de cortice, relicto nucleo, excitavimus, clam irrepere neglectum Dei, despectum magistratum, violationem judiciorum, vitam quoque licentiosam: nam tanto odio exacerbatis animis perit aequitas, charitas extinguitur.—*Quid vero populo tam hostiliter diviso ultra expectandum quam desolatio? Propterea saluti patriae primum consulendum, ne libertas tanto labore parta, nostra negligentia amittatur.*—*Palam haecenus testatus sum, Christianismum in omnibus his caeremoniis non consistere; sed—illud unicum a nobis requiri, ut exuatur vetus ille homo, ac charitate amplectamur proximum.* Huc, huc ego direxi, caeremoniarum causam reaedificatae relinquens charitati: non enim haec antiquatae me commoverunt, at commovit *κοινωνία* versa 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;²¹ next he established the Reformation in Neufchatel,²² 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 *Mamelucs*) in the same degree that they had corrupted the morals of the city. The Genevese who loved freedom (called *Eidgnots*, i. e., confederates) made an alliance with the cantons of Berne and Freiburg, and with their help restored, in 1526,²³ 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.²⁴ 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,²⁵ Jan. 29, 1534, in which Farel defended the Reformation; immediately afterward public worship was allowed to the Reformed. 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 dispu-

harum cura, caet. As 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.

²¹ Ruchat, i. 391, 488; ii. 222; iii. 173. Das Leben Wilh. Farel's, by Melch. Kirchhofer (2 Bde., Zürich, 1831-33. 8.), i. 67. Etudes sur Farel, thèse par Charles Schmidt. Strasb., 1834. 4.

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

²³ Histoire de Genève, par Mr. Spon, éd. augm. à Genève, 1730. 8. T. i. Hist. de Genève, par Jean Picot (Genève, 1811. 8. 3 vols.). Hist. de Genève, par A. Thourel (Gen. 1833. 8.), T. i. [Les Actes et Gestes Merveilleux de la cité de Genève (from 1522), par Anthoine Fromment; new edition by Gustave Revilliod, 1856. E. F. Gelpke, Kirchengesch. d. Schweiz, i. 1856. Hagenbach, Vorlesungen, D'Aubigné, vol. iv. J. Gaberel, Hist. de l'Eglise de Genève, 2 vols., published 1858. Comp. p. 10-12, above.]

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

²⁵ The Acts were printed in French, 1534; in French and Latin, 1644, in 12. Extracts in Ruchat, v. 97. Farel, by Kirchhofer, i. 175.

tation²⁶ the papacy was abolished by the council, and the Reformation adopted, Aug. 27, 1535.²⁷ The next year the city gained its most distinguished teacher, John Calvin²⁸ (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,²⁹ Febr., 1536. Here, too, the friends of the Reformation made their appearance; and a disputation at Lausanne,³⁰ Oct. 1, 1536, in which Farel, Viret, and Calvin took part, was followed by a general adhesion to the Reformation.³¹ 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.³²

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.³³ 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 1538.³⁴ But their loss was soon so deeply felt that

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, donec Genevae non tam consilio vel hortatu, quam formidabili G. Farelli obstatione retentus sum, ac si Deus violentam mihi e coelo manum injiceret. Quo terrore percussus susceptum iter—omisi. Farel, by Kirchhofer, i. 197. *Das Leben Johann Calvins*, by Paul Henry (Hamburg, 1835), i. 161. [Cf. above, pp. 10-12.]

²⁹ Ruchat, v. 418. Viret, *Reformateur de Lausanne*, thèse par Henri Jaquemot. Strasburg, 1836. 4.

³⁰ Farel's Theses here, in Ruchat, v. 693. Acts, in Ruchat, vi. 1. Farel, by Kirchhofer, i. 199.

³¹ Measures of the Bernese government to promote the Reformation, Ruchat, vi. 324. Edict, in which it was ordered to be introduced 24th Dec., 1536, in Ruchat, vi. 367.

³² Ruchat, vi. 446.

³³ *Calvinus*: quasi nihil aliud esset Christianismus, quam statuarum eversio; Hottinger's *Kirchengesch.*, iii. 722. *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 Strasburg;³⁵ Farel remained in Neufchâtel. Calvin had to undergo many a hard conflict, especially with a party of fanatical free-thinkers, Libertines, who called themselves *Spirituals*;³⁶ his life was at times in

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 theologicæ Amstelod., 1667, fol., p. 374*). On the spreading of this sect it is there said, chap. iv., that a Flemish man, Coppin, from Yssel, had first preached this doctrine for fifteen years, and that then one Quintin, from Hennegau, had made himself still more famous, and propagated the sect in France. Ant. Pocquet joined them, the same who, two years before, had tarried some time in Geneva. *Cap. 7: peregrina et insolenti utuntur lingua, qua sic cornicantur, ut nihilo plus perspicuitatis insit, quam in avium cantu. Non nego, quin utantur communibus vocabulis, sed ita significationem eorum deformant, ut nemo intelligat.—Id quidem malitiose agunt, ut possint clanculum velut ex insidiis idiotas circumvenire. Nemini enim revelant abominationum suarum mysteria, quae subillis verborum tegumentis latent, praeterquam iis qui jam jurejurando sibi astricti sunt. Cap. 8: unus est ex praecipuis capitibus theologiae ipsorum: artem simulandam, et sese transformandi nosse oportere, quo facilius hominibus imponant.—Quemadmodum nulla est ipsis religio eorum idolis se prosternere, ita se omnibus superstitionibus Papistarum adhaerere simulant, quod ex eorum opinione externa omnia in hominis Christiani libertate posita sunt. Cap. 9: Semper hoc retinent principium: scripturam in naturali sensu suo acceptam literam mortuam esse, atque occidere, ideoque missam esse faciendam, ut ad Spiritum vivificantem veniamus.—Conantur nos a Scripturis avertere, ut in imaginationibus suis vagari, aut potius extra Scripturae fines errare cogant; ut unusquisque somnia sua, et diaboli praestigias loco verbi Dei sequatur. Cap. 10: Notandum est, eos nullum posse aliqua de re sermonem inchoare, quin nomen Spiritus statim ab eis proferatur: vixque binas clausulas continuare possunt, quin subinde repetant.—Nomen Spiritus ad omnia applicant, quoties ipsis commodum videtur, ut omnibus modis res suas agant. Cap. 11: Primum hoc statuunt: Unicum esse tantum Spiritum Dei, qui sit ac vivat in omnibus creaturis.—Quum igitur unicum tantum spiritum statuunt, fingunt Angelos nihil aliud, quam inspirationes aut motus, non creaturas essentia praeditas esse. Animarum nostrarum loco ajunt Deum vivere in nobis, vegetare corpora nostra, nos sustinere, atque omnes vitales actiones efficere. Cap. 12: Diabolum, mundum et peccatum accipiunt pro imaginatione, quae nihil est. Talemque hominem esse ajunt, quoad sit in ipsorum secta reformatus.—Docent non esse amplius inhaerendum opinionioni, quam abolitum sit peccatum: stultumque esse, ac si aliquid foret, de eo amplius laborare. Cap. 13: Postea quam unicum Spiritum suo arbitratu finxerunt, destruetis atque abolitis tum Angelorum, tum Diabolorum, tum etiam animarum naturis, ajunt, solum hunc Spiritum efficere omnia. Quintin says: *Quod ego aut tu facimus, Deus efficit. Quod etiam Deus facit, ipsi facimus. Nam in nobis est.* Cap. 15: Id praecipue sibi proponunt, ut sopiant conscientias, quo omni sollicitudine vacui homines, quicquid sese offeret, quicquid appetierint, perperant. Cap. 16: Posteaquam sic frena laxarunt omnibus, ut sinant unumquemque vivere suo arbitratu, hoc praetextu, quod se a Deo regi sinant, ex eodem principio deducunt, perperam fieri, si de re aliqua judicetur. Cap. 17: (Dicunt) Christum non obisse in cruce, sed tantum opinionem.—In eo constituunt redemptionem nostram, quod Christus solum velut typus fuit, in quo contemplerur ea, quae ad salutem nostram requirit Scriptura.—Quum ajunt Christum abolevisse peccatum, sensus eorum est, Christum abolitionem illam in persona sua repraesentasse.—Caeterum, ut imaginantur, nemo nostrum non est Christus: quodque in ipso factum est, in omnibus effectum dicunt. 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,³⁷ until his opponents were put down in an insurrection set on foot by Ami Perrin, when they were finally subdued, 1555.³⁸ By the iron firmness of Calvin the morals of Geneva were wholly changed.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ On the other hand, companies of preachers were trained in Geneva, and for other lands too, especially in the academy⁴¹ founded in 1588. The French Reformed Church received thence almost all its preachers.⁴² Calvin had thus the opportunity of influencing the development of many Reformed

tur.—Sed quum explicandum est, quid per ea significare velint, omnia pervertunt.—Hoc enim principium sumunt: nempe regenerationem esse restitutionem innocentiae, in qua Adam, antequam peccasset, constitutus erat. Hunc autem innocentiae statum sic accipiunt: nihil dignoscere, nec inter album, quod ajunt, et nigrum discernere, quia hoc Adae peccatum fuit, comedere de fructu scientiae boni et mali. Sic, ex eorum sententia, veterem Adamum mortificare nihil aliud est, quam nihil discernere quasi mali cognitione sublata: ac puerorum more naturalem sensum atque inclinationem sequi. *Cap. 19:* Libertatem christianam deinceps ita extendunt, ut statuunt, omnia homini sine exceptione licita esse. Totam legem abolere volunt, inquentes, nullam amplius ejus habendam esse rationem, propterea quod in libertatem asserti simus. *Cap. 20:* Paulus admonet, ut unusquisque in ea vocatione, in qua vocatus est, permaneat (I Cor., vii. 20).—Infelices isti sententiam hanc evertunt, ut probent ac persuadeant omnibus, unumquemque oportere naturalem inclinationem sequi, atque sic agere et vivere, ut libebit, aut e re sua esse videbitur.—Tum viris tum mulieribus permittunt sese quibuscunque visum fuerit, copulare. Idque matrimonium spirituale vocant, quum alter altero contentus est.—Ajunt matrimonium etiam solemniter initum coram hominibus carnale esse, nisi spiritus ipsi bene conveniant, atque ideo christianum hominem minime ad id adstrictum esse, sed id solum inter Christianos firmum esse debere, in quo utriusque simul cum altero bene est. *Cap. 21:* Eandem in bona confusionem inducunt, communionem sanctorum esse dicentes, si nemo quicquam possideat tanquam suum; sed unusquisque, undecunque nancisci poterit, ad se rapiat. *Cap. 22:* Ridet spem omnem, quam de resurrectione habemus, idque jam nobis evenisse dicunt, quod adhuc expectamus. Si quaeratur, quomodo id intelligant: nempe, inquirunt, ut homo sciat, animam suam spiritum immortalem esse perpetuo viventem in caelis; ac Christum morte sua opinionem abolevisse, eaque ratione nobis restituisse vitam, quae in eo est, ut nos minime mori cognoscamus. Henry, ii. 398.

³⁷ Thus in the case of Jacob Gruet, Spon's Hist. de Genève (edit. de 1730), ii. 47. Henry, ii. 439. Process with Philibert Berthelier, see 1522. Spon, ii. 69. Bullinger's Leben von Hess, ii. 97.

³⁸ See Calvin's Letter to Bullinger, 15th June, 1555, in his Epistoll., p. 163. Spon, ii. 72 ss. Trechsel's Michael Servet u. seine Vorgänger. Heidelberg, 1839, s. 182.

³⁹ See Farel's declaration in 1557, in Farel's Leben, by Kirchhofer, ii. 125.

⁴⁰ Henry, ii. 420. Bezae Ep. ad Pastores Tigur., dd. 17. Dec., 1568 (Ejusd. Epistt. Hanov., 1597, p. 152): in hanc potissimum Ecclesiarum tamquam in portum quandam multa naufragorum millia fuerunt et ejecta et recepta.

⁴¹ Spon, ii. 87.

⁴² Beza, 1564, calls Geneva, Seminarium Ecclesiarum Gallicarum; Hottinger's Kirchengesch., iii. 831.

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,⁴³ 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 1557,⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵

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 Smalcald war, although the Pope had made a very earnest demand upon the Catholic cantons that they should contend against the German heretics.⁴⁶ At the reopening of the

⁴³ P. D. R. de Porta Hist. Reformationis Ecclesiarum Rhaeticarum, i. ii. 25. Thom. M'Crie, History of the Reformation in Italy, p. 183. Ferd. Meyer, die Evangel. Gemeinde in Locarno, i. 21.

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

⁴⁵ Die Evangel. Gemeinde in Locarno, ihre Auswanderung nach Zürich u. ihre weitem Schicksale, by Ferd. Meyer, 2 Bde. Zürich, 1836. On the various industrial arts which they transplanted to Zürich, especially in velvets and silks, see Meyer, ii. 140, 281, 330.

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. 34.

⁴⁸ Thus when, 1555, the Catholic cantons demanded that the evangelical party should swear to the confederacy 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 Zürich 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 Prædecessores cura et sollicitudine—procuravimus, ut Conventus Augustanus potius religionis rebus intactis dissolveretur, quam ad Recessum veniretur tam perniciosum, sicuti et Nobis, et Tua Serenitate et Catholicis omnibus invitit tandem ventum est.* On the same day ad Wolfgangum Ep. Passav., l. c. No. 53: *quid alienius a fide catholica potuit deliberari, quam quae in Augustae proximi conventus Recessu decretum fuisse accepimus?* Ferdinand was compelled to listen, at the beginning of 1556, to still more earnest representations from the nuncio of the Pope, Delfinus (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 proeul arceri, et in rebus sibi arbitrariis vel maximum Religionis studium a se fuisse praestitum, respondit per commotioris animi sensum, quam moderatum ejus ingenium ferre consueverat. Id etiam fortassis accidit, quod jam apparent in Paulo argumenta animi male affecti in Austriacam familiam.*

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; Thuani *Histor. sui Temporis*, lib. xxi. 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'Etat*, ii. 623, 759. The Pope—*rememora la translation de l'empire de Grece faite par les Papes, et le Privilège d'en faire election donné par lesd. Papes à 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.³ It became

aux Electeurs d'accepter la resignation, et suivant icelle faire nouvelle election, *inconsulto summo Pontifice*.—*Indignus est electus*, comme qui a juré plusieurs Recés heretiques :—item a fait à son escient mouvoir son fils aîné (Maximilian) de fausses doctrines : item souffre de long-temps prescher en sa cour à la Lutherienne : item a laissé vacquer dix ou douze ans les gros Eveschez 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 Chasteaux des Eveschez et Monasteres : finalement s'est fait élire clandestinement, refusant au Nonce du Pape sa suite, et s'est fait élire par heretiques, *ergo deponendus, 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 Sedi Apostolicae, a quo non potest se solvere, nisi per Pontificem solvatur*. Puis il eust fallu proceder et examiner toutes autres choses, et mesmement de *rita, moribus et idoneitate Ferdinandi*. With this also agrees the opinion of the cardinals, in Thuanus, as cited above. They likewise add : ob id—Ferdinando opus esse poenitentia ;—itaque mittendum ab illo procuratorem cum plenis mandatis, quibus declaret, se iis, quae Francofurti acta sunt, ut nullius momenti, rennunciare, remque omnem Pontificis arbitrio praemittere, 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 du quel il ne pouvoit renoncer, ny ceder sa dignité ; et dit davantage que Ferdinand n'a encore autre qualité, que celle de Roy des Romains, obstant d'une part la nullité de la reneociation 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 promeu à l'Empire, ou déposé de ladite dignité de Roy des Romains, selon qu'il se sera dignement, ou indignement porté. Et par là veut conclure, que l'Empire est aujourd' huy vaquant, et comme en passant me toucha, que le feu Pape Leon avoit eu envie de faire le feu Roy (Francis I.) Empereur.

³ 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., 1530 (also in Freheri Scriptt. Rer. Germ.), ex sola electione Caesarem jus plenissimum imperandi consequi, ex coronatione nihil novi juris Caesaribus accedere. 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 : "Jetzund so das Reich—auf Ew. Maj. erwachsen, so hebt man den alten verlegnen Zank wieder an,—u. bedenkt doch hergegen nicht, dass mittlerzeit, von den vorigen Babsten her, die Sachen weit ein andere Gestalt gewonnen. Dann da man vormals den Rom. Stuhl gar nahend angebetet, u. für Gott gehalten, da wird derselbe jetzund von einem grossen Theil der Christenheit verachtet ; u. da man vormals den Bábstlichen Bann ubler, dann den zeitlichen Tod gefürchtet, da lachtet 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 männiglich, 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. 18, 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.⁴ The invitation to the Council of Trent, whose sessions were resumed, was definitively rejected by the Protestants.⁵ 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;⁶ in Silesia Ferdinand was compelled to see the Reformed not only holding their ground, but also spreading abroad farther and farther.⁷ Had the ecclesiastical reservations not existed Germany would have soon become wholly Protestant. The Protestant princes, however, did not allow themselves

nals, *Ferdinandum legibus creatum Imperatorem* (Raynald., 1559, No. 42): but from this time the papal coronation of the Emperor was no longer requested, and no right of the Pope over the empire was acknowledged.

⁴ Its history, after the manuscript acts in the Wolfenbüttel library, is in Salig's *Hist. d. Augsp. Confession*, iii. 290 ff. Some of the documents in Goldast's *Polit. Reichshändeln*, s. 740 ff.; v. Bucholtz's *Gesch. d. Regierung Ferdinands I.*, vii. 359.

⁵ Addressed to them by imperial and papal ambassadors, particularly at the diet at Naumburg, 1561; see Salig, iii. 684 ff., 691 ff.; see J. H. Gelbke *der Naumburg. Fürstentag*. Leipzig, 1793, s. 15 ff., and the Acts, s. 78 ff., 119 ff. The further exposition of the grounds of refusal there concluded followed, under the title "Gründlicher Bericht u. wahrhaftig Erklärung deren Ursachen, warum die Chur- u. Fürsten u. sonst die Stände der Augsp. Conf. zugethan das verächtlich, vermeint vom Papst Pio IV. verkündigt Tridentisch Concilium nit haben besuchen wollen" (in Goldast's *Reichshandlungen*, s. 194, and his *Polit. Reichshändeln*, s. 744), and it was banded to the Emperor in Frankfort, 1562, at the coronation of Maximilian. These were also further carried out in the work, published 1564, in quarto, "Stättliche Ausführung der Ursachen, etc." (also in *Hortleder Vom teutschen Kriege*, Th. i. Bd. i. cap. 47).

⁶ Ferdinand had issued a strict edict, Febr. 20, 1554 (to be seen in Raupach's *Erlautertes Evangel. Oesterreich*, ii., appendix, s. 96), enjoining upon all his subjects to adhere to the old religion, and allowing the Lord's Supper under only one form. When he afterward asked of the states of Lower Austria aid against the Turks, they handed to him a supplication, Jan. 31, 1556 (in Raupach, i., appendix, p. 12), in which they asked for the freedom of the evangelical religion. Ferdinand, pressed by the exigencies, allowed them the Eucharist under both forms; yet on the condition that, in other respects, they should conform to the decrees and usage of the Roman Church (Raupach, i. 47. Sleidanus lib. xxvi., ed. Am Ende, p. 536). Thus, too, Albert of Bavaria (who had twice heard the Protestant preacher Pfäuser, *summa cum attentione*, on a visit to the Palgrave in Neuburg, Stöbel's *Beyträge*, i. 313), when he asked money of his states, by an edict of March 31, 1556, allowed (Sleidanus, l. c. p. 544), *ut coenam Domini totam percipiant, et cibis vetitis urgente necessitate carnes edant*.

⁷ To the mediate princes of Liegnitz, Brieg, Oels and Münsterberg, Teschen, Troppau and Jägerndorf, and the city of Breslau, which had long since declared for the Reformation, Ferdinand silently granted the same rights, about ecclesiastical matters, which had been conceded to the princes and cities of the empire by the religious peace. But Protestantism also gained the upper hand among the knights and in the cities of the direct principalities. Thus, 1556 in Schweidnitz, 1564 in Jauer; Menzel's *Neuere Gesch. d. Deutschen*, v. 244.

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;⁸ at the same time, they constantly pressed at the diets for the complete abolition of such reservations, that is, for freedom of religion.⁹ 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);¹⁰ although the latter was really inclined to the Reformation,¹¹ 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 1556, 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, 158..

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

¹⁰ On the times of Ferdinand I. and Maximilian II., in Ranke's *Hist. Pol. Zeitschrift*, Bd. i. (1832) s. 223 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 Pfäuser (his life in Strobel's *Beyträge zur Literatur*, i. 257), 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 Würtemberg (Schellhorn's *Ergötzlichkeiten*, i. 95), and the Palgrave Wolfgang (Strobel's *Beyträge*, i. 303). 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 (*Litterae secretiores Ferd. I. Rom. Imp. pro obtinenda Eucharistia sub utraque in gratiam Maxim. II. ann. 1560 missae ad Pium 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*. Emdae, 1625. 4. p. 8; Strobel's *Beyträge*, i. 301 f.) and Philip of Hesse (Rommel's *Phil. d. Grossmüthige*, 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. Concils*, ii. 179, 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 Beytrage zur Gesch. u. Literatur*, Marburg, 1784, s. 1; v. Buchholtz'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 Commendon, 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 Pii V.*, Romae, 1605, p. 97), *Pontificem omnibus execrationibus, ecclesiasticisque poenis in eum animadversurum, ipsumque privaturum imperatoria Majestate, atque catholicis Principibus in eum convocatis novum Imperatorem creaturum, nisi ejusmodi decretum, si factum esset, illico rescidisset.* 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 durehaus im Reich unter Kathol. u. Luther. Obrigkeiten der geanderten Religion zugethan, u. wo sie es nicht offentlichen seyn dorfen, so seind sie es doch heimlichen in Gemüthern, oder ist schon ein Theil der Rom. Religion noch anhängig, so ist es doch ein kalt halb Werk, u. wenig Eifers dahinten, u. die Alten, so noch mit Andacht u. Eifer dahin geneigt, die sterben taglich hinweg, die Jugend aber kann man also nicht zugeben, sondern da man schon Fleiss dabey thut, so wills doch bey diesen Zeiten u. Exempeln u. Gemeinschaften nicht haften. Zudem so reisst solche Veränderung unter den Geistlichen eben so wol ein. Also findt sich auf den Stiften an mehr Oertern, dass ein guter Theil der Thumbherren der Augsburgischen Confession nicht heimlich zugethan seyn, u. dass die andern auch je langer je mehr neutral u. kalt werden, u. dass sich in Summa schier Niemand unter ihnen um seinen Beruf u. geistl. Stand recht annehmen will, sondern ist das meist um die Niessung der feisten Pfründen u. das gut müssig Leben zu thun. So stehets mit dem gemeinen Manne fast also durchaus, dass er von dem alten Thum 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 Kirehen laufft. Item, dass auch fast überall an den catholischen Orten die Leute ihre sondere Lutherische oder evangelische Bücher haben, darinn sie zu Haus lesen, u. einander selbst predigen u. Iehren. Item so findt man aus der Erfahrung, da man schon die geänderte Religion wieder abgestellt, u. die Catholische angericht, als zu Costanz u. andern mehr, dass man doch auch durch sonder fleissiges Zuthun der Geistlichen in so langen Jahren die Gemüther nicht wieder gewinnen, u. der Rom. Religion anhangig machen kann. So hat auch solches bisher weder in Niederland, noch in Frankreich keine Gewalt, Obsieg, Straf, Tyranny mogen zuwegen bringen, u. da man sich schon ein Zeitlang duckt oder leidet, so brennen doch inwendig die Gemüther, u. warten u. hoffen auf ein bessere Zeit u. Gelegenheit, u. wollen ehe das Äusserst darüber zusetzen. So mangelt es an den Mitteln zu solichem Werk nicht wenig bey dem Stuhl zu Rom, dass er nämlich kein christliche Reformation wolle zulassen, u. giebt sich derhalben gegen der Welt ganz bloss, als ob er

state of affairs was brought about by the increasing influence of the Jesuits in the Catholic countries of Germany.¹⁴ New life and greater unity were thus given to the opponents of the Reformation; while the Protestants were divided by violent conflicts, in consequence of many of their princes becoming connected with the Reformed (Calvinistic) Church; and they thus lost their commanding position. By the activity of the Jesuits the Reformation was first suppressed in Bavaria.¹⁵ Next, in 1575, followed the Abbot¹⁶

nicht Gottes Ehre u. die Wahrheit, sondern nur sein eigen Geitz, Gewalt, Ehr, Reputation u. Vortheil suche. Und laufft unter andern auch diese grosse Verstockung u. Blindheit diessfalls bey ihme für, dass er gar dem armen gemeinen Mann die christliche Gebet, u. die Bücher des Evangelii, u. Gottes Wort in seiner Sprach an denen Orten, da er Gewalt u. Oberhand haben mag, nicht will zulassen, sondern unterstehet, ihn bey Verlust des Lebens u. des Guts dahin zu dringen u. zu zwingen, dass er seinen lieben Gott in 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 äusserlichen Zwang u. Kirchendisziplin, sondern auf der Erkantnuss u. Vertrauen an Gott stehet, u. Christus selbst, u. seine Apostel, u. ihre Nachfolger die Gebot und das Wort Gottes in gemeiner Sprach allen Völkern verkündigt u. gelehrt haben. Darum sichs dann abermals bey jetziger Welt desto mehr ärgern u. stossen wird, u. lasst 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. Fürscheidung mit fürlaufe." Comp. Ranke, Fürsten u. Volker von Süd-Europa, iii. 8.

¹⁴ At first three Jesuits were appointed professors in Ingolstadt, viz., Jay, Salmeron. and Canisius, in 1549 (Winter's Gesch. d. Evang. Lehre in Baiern, 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 Treves, 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.

¹⁵ 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. 321. 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. Melancthonis, 1558" (reprinted in the *Fortges. Sammlung v. alten u. neuen theol. Sachen*, 1730, s. 405). Against these articles Melancthon also wrote his *Responsiones ad impios articulos Bavaricæ inquisitionis*. Witteb., 1558. 4. (comp. Strobel's *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, l. c.). The violent acts which ensued are described in the work: "Zwey Trost- u. Vernunft-schriften an die verjagten Christen aus dem Bayerland. Item ein Rathschlag Joannis Brentii," 1561. 4. (see Schelhorn's *Ergötzlichkeiten*, ii. 287). Of the extent to which Munich was depressed, in consequence 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. 33, Note.—Ranke, Fürsten u. Völker, ii. 37.

¹⁶ Immediately after he had introduced the Jesuits; *Haberlin's neueste teutsche Reichsgesch.*, ix. 371; Ranke, iii. 51.

of Fulda, and the electorate of Mayence at Eichsfeld,¹⁷ in spite of the opposing imperial declaration about a religious peace; even the existence of such a treaty was denied.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).¹⁹ Bishop Julius of Würzburg, drove out all Protestants²⁰ in 1586; other bishops and Catholic cities of the empire were aroused to similar acts.²¹ While in this

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

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*): "Desgleichen ware der Appendix u. Declaration des Religionsfriedens unerfindlich u. in rerum natura nit gewesen, werde sich auch weder in der Mäntzischen noch Cammergerichts-Canzley einig Original oder Bekräftigung befinden; so auch schon 10 Originalia bey Handen, würden sie in Rechten wenig gelten, dieweil der Religionsfriede des Appendix mit keinem Wörtlein gedenkt, sondern inhält, dass keine Declaration von Würden und kräftig 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 (*Lehenmann, ii. xv. s. 274*), "dass sie der angeregten Declaration halben vor der Zeit nichts, als erst diss Jahrs gehört, ihre Rätb, so den Religionsfrieden anno 1555 helfen berathschlagen u. schliessen, wären im Leben u. bey Handen, u. hatten sich sich zwar wol zu erinnern, was gestalt bemeldter Frieden abgehandelt, aber wie es mit der Erklärung ergangen, wäre 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 Protestations. Häberlin's *neueste Reichsgeschichte*, ix. 341.

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 Flacian, 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*.

²⁰ Häberlin's *neueste Reichsgesch.*, xiv. 513. Ranke, *Fürsten u. Völker*, iii. 119.

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 suppressed the Protestants; they were wholly expelled in 1612 (*Bessen's Gesch. des Bisth. Paderborn. Paderb., 1820, ii. 89; s. 127*). In Münster, 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. Erhard, drittes Heft. Münster, 1837*). 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 Werl, † 1591) *Tagebuch v. Gebhard Truchsess*, or his *Church History of Westphalia, 3ter Theil. Münster*, 1780. 8.—Häberlin's *neueste Reichsgeschichte*, xiii. Gebhard Truchsess v. Waldburg, by F. W. Barthold, in *Ranmer's Hist. Taschenbuch. Neue Folge*, i. (Leipzig, 1840) s. 1.

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

²⁴ So especially the treatise of Franciscus Burghardus (rather Andreas Erstenberger), *De Autonomia*, i. e., *von Freystellung mehrererley Religion u. Glauben*. München, 1586, 4. Cf. Salig's *Gesch. d. Augsp. Conf.*, i. 788. Schröckh's *Neuere Kirchengesch.*, iv. 338.

²⁵ Comp. the *Præcticae Romanae de Germanis Haereticis Extirpandis*, Jan., 1573, by Cardinal Charles of Lothringia, in Kiesling's *Beweis der Wahrheit der Evangelisch-Luther. Religion aus den Kunstgriffen der Römisch-Kathol. Kirche ihre Religion zu verbreiten*. Leipzig, 1762. 8., s. 159.—*De Statu Religionis in Germania consilium Romæ scriptum*, written soon after 1600, in Strobel's *Beiträge zur Literatur*, i. 179. On the attempts to bring Protestant princes into the Catholic Church, the Elector August of Saxony, Louis, Palgrave of Neuburg, William IV. of Hesse, see Ranke *Fürsten u. Völker*, iii. 138; iv. 361.

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 Osiander (see *Acta des Colloquii, zwischen den Würtemb. Theologen u. Dr. Jo. Pistorio zu Baden gehalten*. Tübingen, 1590. 4.); and one at Emmendingen, June, 1530, between the Strasburg theologian,

went over to the Catholic Church in 1590, and at once threatened to suppress Protestantism in his territory.²⁷ Archduke Ferdinand, a pupil of the Jesuits,²⁸ since 1596 ruler of Steiermark, Carinthia, and Crain, drove all the Protestants out of his country in 1598.²⁹ Maximilian, also trained by the Jesuits,³⁰ Duke of Bavaria since 1598, in order to gain the Palgrave of Neuburg for the Catholic interest,³¹ appointed a colloquy between the Jesuits and the Protestant theologians at Ratisbon, 1601;³² 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 Zehender, court preacher of the Margrave (Jo. Fechtii Hist. Colloquii Emendingensis. Rostochii, 1694. 8.).

²⁷ 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; Häberlin, xv. 535.

²⁸ 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. Maximilians 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.

²⁹ F. Chr. Khevenhüllers, Count of Frankenburg, Annales Ferdinandei (9ter Th. Regensb. u. Wien, 1640, fol. 12 Bde. Leipzig, 1716 ff. fol.), Th. 5. Joh. Keppler's (then in Steyermark) Leben u. Wirken von Freih. v. Breitschwert. Stuttg., 1831, s. 45 ff. G. E. Waldau's Gesch. d. Protestanten in Oesterreich, Steyermark, Kärnthen, u. Krain. Anspach, 1783, 2 Bde. 8. Partisan for the Catholics is Cäsar's Staats- u. Religionsgesch. v. Steyermark, B. 7.

³⁰ On the spirit of his education, see the Instructions of Duke William V. for the court masters and preceptors of the prince, 1584, in Lor. Westenrieder's Beytr. zur vaterländ. Historie, iii. 146. P. Ph. Wolf's Gesch. Maximilians I. u. seiner Zeit (München, 1807 ff. 4., Bde. 8, incomplete), i. 53.

³¹ Wolf, i. 440 ff.

³² 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: Aetorum Colloqu. Ratisbonensis de norma doctrinae catholicae et controversiarum religionis iudice, ed. II. Monachii, 1602. 4. The Protestant: Colloquium de norma doctrinae et controversiarum religionis iudice Ratisbonae habitum mense Nov. anno 1601. Lavingae, 1602. 4. Other writings, see in Walchii Bibl. Theol. iii. 882. Struven's pfälz. Kirchenhistorie, s. 512, most complete in Senkenberg's Forts. v. Häberlin, i. 36. Maximilian had previously sent to the Palgrave several calumnious works against Luther, especially Conrad Andreae'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. Lavingae, 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-

³³ See the Report by Ulrich Grosse, then apothecary in Donauwerth, in Winckler's *Anecdota Historico-ecclesiastica Novantiqua*, i. 367; Hüberlin, 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 Ratisbon, 1594 (see the Acts in *Lehenmann De Pace Religionis*, i. 481; extracts in *Struven's Hist. der Religionsbeschwerden*, i. 373). The Protestants, in their *gravamina*, insisted that the conditions of the Religious Peace were not observed, "dass auch derselb wol zuweilen in einen andern Verstand will gezogen werden, darzu dann der Papst u. seine Legaten u. Nuntii, so hin u. wieder im Reich umziehen, auch jetzo noch bey dieser während der Reichsversammlung zur Stelle seyn, nit wenig helfen. Denn es wird öffentlich ausgehen, dass weil. König Ferdinand hochlöblichstem Gedachtnus ohne päpstlichen Consens nicht gebührt habe, ein Religionfrieden zwischen den Ständen im Reich zu treffen, dass auch derselb länger nicht, dann bis nach vollendetem Tridentischen Concilio kräftig seyn soll: derhalben er numehr sein Endschaft erreicht, u. länger nit bindlich seye. Dahero dann die Augspurg. Confession unschuldig für ein verdampfte Religion angezogen, u. die darwider in das Reich geschickte päpstliche Bull mit angedroheter Execution wiederum öffentlich angeschlagen, auch die im Religionfrieden suspendirte geistliche Jurisdiction wider münzlichen wieder aufzurichten unterstanden werden will. Wie dann der Papst u. seine Nuntii ihre Jurisdiction durch die Jesuiter ihrer im Reich angemassen Gewalt u. Botmässigkeit so weit extendiren, dass sie die andern zu excommuniciren u. degradiren, die Zeit u. Jahr zu verändern sich unterstehen, auch wol die Kais. Maj. dahin bewegen wollen, dass Ihre Maj. keinem geistlichen Stand seine Regalia leihen soll, er habe dann des Papsts Confirmation über seine Election oder Postulation zuvor erlangt, zu welchem Ende er dann auch die Juramenta u. Statuta auf den hohen u. andern Stiften, auch Ritter- u. andern Orden von Tag zu Tag dermassen geschärfet u. geändert, dass den Evangelischen aller Zutritt abgeschnitten wird.—Überdiess wird fürgegeben, als sollten diejenigen, welche vor dem Religionfrieden nicht zur Augsp. Confession getreten, jetzo dasselb nit fürzunehmen Macht haben, u. derwegen keinem Stand, sonderlich den Reichsstädten einige Reformation zu verstatten sein. Derohalben es bey etlichen Städten dahingebraucht, dass sie sich vermittelst Eids verbunden u. reversirt, bey der jetzigen Romischen Religion zu bleiben, keinen evangelischen Bürger in Rath zu ziehen, den Bürgern kein Exercitium, wie flehendlich auch von viel tausend Bürgern darum angesucht wird, zu verstatten, wie in der Stadt Coln geschieht, allda die evangelischen Bürger mit neun vom Rath angerichteten fiscalischen Processen geplagt, gethürnet, um Geld gestraft, u. den Ubelthätern gleich gehalten werden.—Wie in gleichem auch bey etlichen andern oberländischen Städten, als zu Schwäbischen Gmünd, wie auch der Stadt Kaufbeurn u. andern fast dergleichen unterstanden, da der freye Lauf des h. Evangelii wider die Reichs-Constitutiones gehindert, auch präjudicirliche Decreta u. Bescheid ertheilt.—Es befinden sich auch die Evangel. Augspurgischer Confession verwandte Stände in ihren u. Christi Mitgliedern in dem wider den Religionsfrieden nit wenig beschwert, dass anstatt des freywilligen ungezwungenen Auszugs, so den Unterthanen zu einer sondern Wohlthat im Religionsfrieden gegönnet, sie die Unterthanen auszuziehen u. dabey mit allem Ernst gezwungen werden, das Ihrig in einer engen präfigirten 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 evangel. Ort begiebt, wird ihm doch nicht gestattet, uf seine verlassene Statt oder Feldgüter zu gehen, u. die zu bauen, oder die gebaueten Frucht ihres Gefallens einzuheimschen, sondern ihnen ihre Güter noch darzu wider ihren Willen, auch zum Theil unbesusst derselben in ganz geringen Werth gesetzt, und uberdiss die Nachsteuer von den Untertanen mit Gewalt gefordert u. eingenommen werden, alles den Reichsordnungen u. der Billigkeit zuwider. Wie dann auch diejenigen, welche schon zur Romischen Religion treten, solcher harten Weis darbey zu bleiben verpflichtet gemacht werden, dass, wenn sie wieder zur Augspurg. 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 Religion halben vertriebenen an andern Orten kein Schutz gönnen, u. die sie schutzen, verfolgen u. anfeinden; die Declaration des Religionfriedens, so weil. 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 cloisters 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 Catholics, on the other hand, in their rejoinder, maintained, in respect to the Religious Peace, "dass sie denselben bishero—ufrichtig, mit unverfälschtem Gewissen—gehalten, auch mit gemeint seyn, denselbigen in einige Disputation, Erklären, oder in was Namen dessen Veränderung bedacht werden konnte,—für 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 derselbig beständig seyn soll oder könne, disputiret, besagt, oder beschrieben wird.—Wie nicht weniger auch ihnen ganz u. gar kein Gefallens an dem unbeschiedenen Ausschreien geschieht, wollen es auch wissender Ding ungern verhängen, do sie die Katholische u. ihre Religion hin u. wieder uf der Gegentheil Canzeln unverläumd, unausgedänzelt, u. ihre höhere Stand unverkertzert, u. vor den rechten Antichristen ohnausgeschrien 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. Nuntii jezuweilen in das h. Reich verordnet werden, einzig der Inspection halben, damit bey der Katholischen Kirchen die unzertrennte Einigkeit u. alte darbey herbrachte Ordnungen in beständigem Wesen erhalten werden, darüber sie auch im Reich kein andere Verwaltung haben, oder jemand der Katholischen ihnen etwas weiter dem h. Reich oder einigen desselben Stand zu Nachtheil einzuräumen gemeint, u. wird ihnen mit keinen Fugen zugelegt, dass sie die Zeit u. Jahr zu verandern unterstehen, sondern hat allein die Papstl. Heiligkeit die Tage der Zahl halben, der Kirchen u. mathematischen Nothdurft nach, mit Wissen der Kais. Maj. u. anderer Potentaten (wie es Julius Casar gethan, u. andere löbliche Kaiser auch thun wollen) zurückgezogen, u. also die Zeit oder Jahr, wie es von den Anklagern den Katholischen für ein antichristische Notam will gedeutet u. fürgerupft werden, keineswegs immutirt oder verandert." The Catholic states were not required to reply to the attacks in respect to the nuncios, because "in Betrachtung auch dieserseits weniger nit gedult werden muss, dass ihre Superintendenten ihrer Meinung nach viel Ordnung machen, u. bisweilen ihre Herrn selbst u. deren Untertanen, um deswillen sie den Katholischen Ceremonien etwas nachgeben u. verhängen, oder anderer Ursachen halben, excommuniciren u. zuweilen dem Bösen gar zuerkennen." The regalia had been constantly given by the Emperor after the papal confirmation. The Catholic states were not bound

by the Religious Peace to concede ought to the Evangelicals. In Evangelical cities no Catholic was endured. As to the Declaration of the Emperor Ferdinand, "so weiss man doch wol was es mit derselben für ein Meynung habe, u. ist zu vielmalen, so wol auch durch Ew. Kais. Maj. selbst erklärt worden, dass man sich einer solchen Declaration in wenigsten nicht zu behelfen hätt, indem sich dann die katholischen Stände uf den ausdrücklichen Inhalt des Religionfriedens in §. *Und soll alles das*, etc., nochmal referirn," in which all Declarations against the Religious Peace were declared to be invalid. That the right to a seat was refused to some persons chosen bishops, because they adhered to the Augsburg Confession, was in consequence of the spiritual reservations, etc. Besides this, the Catholic states brought *complaints* against the Evangelical party. "Zum Ersten, obwohl gesetzt u. geordnet, dass kein andere Religion u. Glauben, dann die beyde im h. Reich zugelassen u. geduldet werden solle; so ist doch offenbar am Tag, u. der Kais. Maj. gar unverborgten, wie mancherley Secten, u. irrige u. verdammte Lehre mit dem Namen der A. C. sich jetzt bekleiden, u. unter solchem Schein öffentlich in Kirchen u. Schulen gepredigt u. gelehrt werden, so es doch der A. C. sowohl als der alten Kathol. Religion stracks zuwider. Ob es aber nun geringer Schulstrit u. Disputationes, oder Spaltungen in den Hauptarticuln seyn, referirt man sich Kürze halben auf die *hinc inde* ausgangne Schriften u. Bücher, darinnen es viel anders laut, u. die Gelehrten, so davon ohne Affection tractiren, selbst bekennen. Zum Andern, ist nit die geringste Beschweruuss Katholischer Seiten, dass gegen den Inhalt Religionfriedens von des andern Theils Predigern u. andern Dienern in Kirchen, Schulen u. taglichen Schriften, von den Herrschaften, u. dem gemeinen Volk der Kathol. Religion vielerley unerfindliche Lehren u. Zulagen, ohne allen Grund zugelegt u. aufgemessen, und gleich darauf von ihnen, den Augsb. Confessionsverwandten—für abgottische Idololatrie u. Unchristen ausgerufen, dem Türken u. Feinden verglichen, ja unmilder angegeben, ausgeschrien u. verdammt werden, welchs ja zu anders nichts dienen mag, dann die Gemüther sowol bey des h. Reichs Ständen, den Oberkeiten, als den Unterthanen zu verbittern, gegen einander zu verhetzen, u. gefährliche Unruhen zu erwecken.—Auch nit ohne, dass selbig der Augsp. Conf.—ungleiche Lehren u. deren Nachfolger sich anfänglich, die sie in Landen, Städten u. Communen einschleifen, still eingezogen, u. in politischen Dingen der Oberkeit willfährig erzeigen: so giebt aber die Erfahrung, wenn sie durch ihre Practiken sich stärken, zunehmen u. gewaltig werden, wie ungestüme sie ausbrechen, was Unruhe sie erwecken, was für gefährliche, abscheuliche Trennung, Zerrüttung u. Veränderung des Religion- u. Profan-Wesens, Verhinderung der Commencien, Schmalierung des gemeinen Nutzes, überschwängliche Theuerung, Ufrührungen, Blutvergiessen, Verderbung u. Verwüstung, Land u. Leut gefährliche Veränderung der Oberkeiten u. Regimenten daraus zu gewarten seyen, dessen allein die betrübte Niederland u. angranzende Ort nur zu viel offenbare Zeugnuuss u. fast gefährliche Exempla sowol den Ständen Augsb. Conf. als Katholischer Religion seyn konnten.—Zum dritten ist in dem Context des Religionfriedens ausdrücklich versehen u. geordnet, wenn ein Erzbischof, Prälat, oder ein ander geistlichen Stands von der alten Religion abtreten würde, dass er das Erzbisthum, Bisthum, Prälatur u. Beneficium (fürbehalten seinen Ehren) verlassen, u. davon abtreten sollte. Dem aber zu entgegen, werden etliche ansehnliche Erz- u. Bisthum, Prälatur u. Beneficia, von den Augsb. Confessionverwandten behalten, besessen u. genossen, darinnen die Katholische Religion abgethan, u. die Unterthanen zu widriger Religion gerichtet, theils auch genöthigt.—Zum vierten wird im Rel. frieden bey dem §. *Weil aber* der Stift u. Kloster halb dieser Unterschied gemacht, erstlich dass die Stift u. Klöster dem Reich ohn Mittel unterworfen, sie seyen vor oder nach dem Passauischen Vertrag mit der That occupirt, den Katholischen wieder restituirt werden sollen. Was aber die Stift, Klöster u. geistl. Güter anlangt, die dem Reich nit ohne Mittel unterworfen, wird dieser Unterschied gemacht, dass diejenigen, so vorm Passauischen Vertrag verändert, u. zu milden u. zu andern Sachen angewendet worden, also bleiben mögen. Welche aber zu der Zeit des Passauischen Vertrags noch in ihrem Wesen entsetzt, u. doch bey der Kathol. Kirchen Güter, dass dieselben darbey künftiglich auch gelassen werden sollen. Nun ist ja unlaugbar, sondern offenbar dass in vielen der A. C. verwandten Churf. u. Fürsten, Grafen u.

Herrn Landen, auch Städten viel Kirchen, Stift, Klöster, u. Gottshausen, so zur Zeit des Passauischen Vertrags nit von ihnen eingezogen, sondern noch unverändert bey der alten Religion—gewesen, darum dieselben auch—darbey hatten sollen—gelassen werden. Und weist die leidige Erfahrung aus, wie unmillt an vielen Orten mit den dazumal noch ubrigen Stiften, Kirchen, u. Klöstern umgangen, do die alte Religion verboten u. abgeschafft, die Kirchen verändert, Altär abgerissen, 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 worshiping in Catholic churches, etc.—To these complaints of the Catholics the Evangelical party responded at the Diet of 1598 (Lehmann, 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 Passauischen Vertrags dahin ausdrücklich ist verhandelt worden, was in damalen fürgeschlagenen künftigen Religionfrieden gegen einem u. dem andern Theil bündlich seyn, dasselb auch beydertheil u. aller Ständ, u. ordentlichen Zuthun der Kais. Maj. beschlossen werden sollen, derwegen dieser Vergleichung zuwider nichts hat kommen noch sollen uf des einen Theils allein Anbringen u. Begehren dem hernach ann. 55 uferichten Religionfrieden einverleibt oder zugesetzt werden. Ob nun wol bisher fürgeben, u. noch bestritten werden will, als sollten die Evangel. Stände in solehen Vorbehalt auch gewilligt, u. auf damaln Röm. Kon. Maj. vielfaltige Handlung denselben ohnwidrosprochen 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 erkennen, welcher Gestalt Ihre Churf. u. F. Gn. zu ernstlichstem diesen von ihnen unwilligten Zusatz des Vorbehalts aus dem Religionfrieden—wieder zu cassiren begehrt, darbey sich ausdrücklich dessen bezeugt, dass sie Gewissens halben darum auch nicht zu willfahren, noch mit solcher Willfahung sich zu beschweren wüssten. Es müssen auch die Gegentheil geständig seyn, dass seithero bey allen Reichsversamlungen zu Regensburg u. Augsburg, etc., ann. 56, 57, 59, 76, solcher Erklärung u. Protestationis—wiederholt worden. Zudem es der Evangelischen Erachten nach wider einander laufen, u. nit zu vergleichen seyn will, dass einem jeden, der sich zu der Religion Augsb. Conf. begiebt, solches an Ehren, Haab, u. Gütern unnachtheilig seyn, u. dagegen, wenn einer im geistl. Stand ans Gottes Erleuchtung von den rom. Misbräuchen zu der christl. evangel. Religion sich begiebt, aller seiner Dignitäten u. Einkommen alsbald zu Straf de facto entsetzt seyn soll. Und dieweil solches bey der ganzen Welt u. aller Posteritat anderst nicht als für ein besonder schmähbafte Macul u. Verdammung der Evang. Rel. kann verstanden werden, dass derselben Bekenner nit allein keiner geistl. Dignität oder Prälatur fahig, sonder auch die er zuvor gehabt durch Einnchmung u. Erkenntnuss evangelischer Wahrheit deren als unwürdig entsetzt seyn sollen, so haben die Evangelischen solehem Vorbehalt sich billig zu widersetzen gehabt:—derwegen sie auch ohne Schen bekennen, dass sie sich bey solcher Widersprechung des oft angeregten Vorbehalts zu handhaben schuldig erachten, u. ihrer christl. Evangel. Religion solehem Schimpf u. Spott ufzutragen Gewissenshalben nachzugeben nit wissen, dessen sie auch bey ansehnlichen Erz. n. andern Stiften in ruhiger Possession *vel q.* gelassen werden. Und haben sich die Römische Religionsverwandten der Profanation halben gar nicht zu befahren; sonder uber dass sich die Evang. Stände—zu Genügen erboten, solche Stift vermög ihrer ersten Foundation unzweifeliche Intent zu ihrem rechtlichen Gebrauch, wahren Gottesdienst, christlicher Aufzug der Jugend, u. zu andern christl. Übungen dawieder zu richten, so würd’ ihnen auch nit zuwider seyn, noch ferner sich zu vergleichen, die besagte Profanation 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,³⁵ to grant concessions by letters patent, July, 1609,³⁶ to Bohemia, which alone remained to him; and Archduke Matthias was not only forced to restore to the L'vangelical party in Austria and Hungary their impaired rights, but also to enlarge them, March, 1609.³⁷ 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, 1609,³⁸ while the

kommen, deren sie in allem Ueberfluss sitzen, ihren selbst geistlichen Rechten u. Canonicus zuwider mit Wahrheit können vorgerueckt werden." Secondly, on the *Confiscation of the Ecclesiastical Endowments*: "Darauf wird kürzlich geantwort, in civile esse tota lege perspecta de aliqua ejus particula judicare. Sintemal der buchstabilich Inhalt, u. auch die Meinung des Religionfriedens des Orts also beschaffen, dass es den Augsb. Confessionsverwandten nicht allein diejenige geistliche Güter, so sie zur Zeit des Passauschen Vertrags schon ingehabt, in Händen lässt, sondern auch was dergleichen Güter in ihren Herrschaften u. Gebieten gelegen, u. keinem Reichsstand subjeirt, fürders sich deren anzumassen, u. zu ihren Kirchen- u. Schul-Brauch oder dergleichen milden Sachen zu verwenden zugiebt. Dieweil dann in dem Religionfrieden klar u. ausdrücklich versehen, u. den Augsb. Confessionsverwandten Ständen nicht weniger als den andern zugelassen, die evangel. Religion vermög Augsb. Confession in ihrer Obrigkeiten u. Gebieten anzurichten;—so haben die Gegentheil leicht zu erachten, dass sie zu Erhaltung billiger Gleichheit in Religionfrieden mit Unbilligkeit Evangelischer Oberkeit mit freyem Willen der Ihrigen das anzurichten zu benehmen unterstehen, darbey sie doch sich auch mit grossem Zwang begehren handzuhaben, alles was ihrer Römischen Religion im geringsten zuwider, mit grosser Verfolgung—abzuschaffen."

³⁵ Schmidt's Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen, Buch iii., cap. 13 und 17.

³⁶ See below, § 14, Note 23.

³⁷ In Hungary, at his coronation, November 19, 1608, he was obliged to concede equal religious freedom to Catholics and the adherents of the Augsburg and Helvetic Confessions. In Austria the estates had assembled with arms upon the Ens in Horn, and demanded the abolition of the religious oppressions as practiced under Rudolph (see Note 18), and also, particularly, religious freedom for the cities and market-places of the princes of the land. By the mediation of the Moravian estates the matter was at last adjusted, and Matthias gave the *Capitulation-Resolution* of March 19, 1609 (in Raupach's *Evang. Oesterreich*, i., Appendix, p. 52), in which Maximilian's guarantees (Note 12) were confirmed. In relation to the cities and market-places there was only an oral promise given to the Moravian ambassadors; but the free exercise of Protestant worship was confirmed to those cities on the Ens which could show that they had a right to it. Compare Raupach's *Evang. Oesterreich*, iv. 172; Schmidt, *Buch* iii. cap. 20; Haberlin, xxii. 572.

³⁸ Haberlin, xxiii. iii.

Emperor favored the claims of electoral Saxony. A large part of the Protestant states³⁹ had already formed the Evangelical Union at Ahausen,⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ In opposition to this was formed the Catholic League,⁴² 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;⁴³ and after the Count Palatine, Wolfgang William of Neuburg, had become Catholic,⁴⁴ in order to obtain the whole province of Jülich, with the help of the

³⁹ That is, the Palatinate, Würtemberg, 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 Ægidius Hunnius and David Seleis, 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 Häberlin, xix. p. xviii.), unless "he were allowed to add a protestation that this did not imply assent to their Calvinistic doctrine." "Dieweil einmal Reichskundig, was vor Irrthum u. Greuel hinter der Calvinischen Lehre stecken, u. wie dieselbe dem allein seligmachenden Wort Gottes, auch der christl. Augsb. Conf. handgreiflich zuwider; dass man demnach vielmehr ipso facto, als nuda protestatione, von ihnen in diesem Werk sich zu separiren schuldig, allermeist aus folgenden Gründen u. Ursachen. Dann erstlich ist männiglich unverborgten, wie Gott in seinem Wort befiehlt, falsche Lehre u. deroelben öffentliche Vertheidiger facto zu fliehen, u. in Glaubenssachen auch ab omni specie hujusmodi consociationis sich zu hüten.—Wie könnte man auch mit gutem Gewissen recht sagen, dass sich die Calvinische sub eodem scripti titulo vor Stande der Augsb. Conf. dargeben, so doch sie derselben nicht nur in einem oder zweenen, sondern per accumulationem errorum nunmehr in 6 oder 7 articulis offenbarlich zuwider.—Dann sie die Papisten desto weniger den Religionsfrieden zu halten sich schuldig werden erkennen, dieweil man andere verworfene Secten in die gemeinschaftliche Augsb. Conf. u. den darauf fundirten Religionsfried ziehen wollte.—Es würden auch durch diesen Actum die Sacramentirer in ihrer gottlosen Lehre trefflich gestärkt werden," u. s. w.

⁴⁰ Gründl. Nachricht von der Evangel. Union in Ph. E. Spiess Archivische Nebenarbeiten u. Nachrichten, Th. 1 (Halle, 1783), s. 72. Häberlin, xxii. 537.

⁴¹ Häberlin, xxiii. 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, xxiii. 323. Wolf, ii. 631.

⁴⁴ Struven's Pfalz. Kirchenhistorie, s. 532. Wolf, iii. 487. 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.

Häberlin's neuere teutsche Reichsgeschichte, continued by R. K. Freyh. v. Senkenberg, Bd. 24-27. F. Schiller's Gesch. des 30 jähr. Krieges. Leipz., 1791, 2 Th. (Werke, Bd. 14 u. 15), continued by K. L. v. Woltmann. Leipz., 1809, 2 Th. (also in the Supplementen zu Schiller's Werken. Leipzig, 1823. Bd. 5 u. 6). K. A. Menzel's Gesch. des 30 jähr. Krieges in Deutschland (in his Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen, Bd. 6-8). Dr. J. W. D. Richter's Gesch. d. 30 jähr. Krieges aus Urkunden u. andern Quellschriften, B. 1. Leipzig, 1840. [Alfred Michiel's Secret History of the Austrian Government, and its Systematic Persecution of the Protestants. Lond., 1859. Elizabeth Stuart, von Dr. Södl, 3 Bde. Hamb., 1840. Geschichte Kaiser Ferdinands II., von F. von Huther, i.-ix. Schaffhausen, 1854-58. Gfrörer, Gustav. Adolphus. Chapman, History of Gustavus Adolphus and the Thirty Years' War, 8vo. Lond., 1856.]

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,¹ 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,² 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 Bohemia³ 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 Münter's vermischte Beyträge zur Kirchengesch. Kopenhagen, 1798, s. 127. Compare Ranke, Fürsten u. Volker, iv. 387.) Two Relations by him are still extant: the one is a Latin manuscript on his work in Bohemia (Ranke, iii. 459; iv. 403); the other, printed in Latin, comprises his whole agency as nuncio: Car. Carafa Ep. Aversani Commentaria de Germania sacra restaurata sub summis PP. Gregorio XV. et Urbano VIII. regnante Aug. et Piiss. Imp. Ferdinando II. Colon. Agripp. 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

Austria.⁴ The Protestant Union was dissolved;⁵ 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.⁶ The Catholic Church was every where re-established by force.⁷ In the pursuit of the troops of the Palatinate many other German countries had been overrun and oppressed,⁸ 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.⁹ 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 Becanus, to the court preacher of electoral Saxony, Hoe von Hoeneegg, March 17, 1621 (Fortges. Sammlung v. Alten u. Nenen theol. Sachen, 1747, s. 858): Nunc igitur vellem amice ac familiariter cum Rev. ac Nob. Dominatione Vestra conferre, an non expediret, ipsas literas Majestatis penitus tollere ac abolere propter has causas: 1. quia a spiritu Calvinistico profectae sunt; 2. quia magna ex parte dederunt occasionem rebellionem; 3. quia juste metuendum est, ne novam rebellionem concitent, nisi aboleantur; 4. quia ex earum abolitione nullum fiet praedictum aut nostrae Romanae, aut Vestrae Augustanae confessioni. Imo tam nostra, quam Vestra Confessio magno periculo liberabitur, si communi consensu tollatur illud idolum rebellionem Calvinistarum. Haec privatim propono. Si Rev. ac Nob. Dominatio Vestra non probat has rationes, non repugno. Si autem probat, quod mihi est gratius, rogo, ut pro suo in S. Caes. Majestatem pio affectu conetur optimo modo inducere Serenissimum Electorem, ut in abrogationem seu abolitionem clementissime consentiat, etc. Comp. below, § 14, Notes 27, 28.

⁴ 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, i. 274; iv. 419; Appendix, p. 237.

⁵ Häberlin-Senkenberg, xxv. 43.

⁶ 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.

⁷ Acta n. Actitata, welcher sich bey der in Chur-n. Fürstl. Pfälz angestellten Reformation gebräuchet, 1638. 4. Struven's pfälzische Kirchenhistorie, s. 556. How the Upper Palatinate was divided into stations by the Jesuits, and their doings therein, see Carafa, p. 318; Kropff Hist. Soc. Jesu in Germania superiori, iv. 271.

⁸ 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.

⁹ Already in 1626, in the Suabian circle, the Protestants were commanded to restore the property of the Church; Carafa, p. 268; Struven's Religionsbeschwerden, i. 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.¹⁰ But when this was carried into execution its provisions were further extended,¹¹ so as to allow of no doubt that it was intended to effect the entire extermination of Protestantism in Germany.¹²

Count John of Nassau-Siegen had previously catholicized his province, in spite of all the *reversalia* earlier given; Carafa, p. 234; Häberlin-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.; Kaufbeuern was made wholly Catholic (Wagenseil's *Beitrag zur Gesch. der Reformation*. Leipzig, 1830, s. 39); and Hagenau; see Struven's *Religionsbeschwerden*, i. 675; Häberlin-Senkenberg, xxv. 633. Comp. the imperial decrees in Carafa, *Decreta*, p. 11 ss.

¹⁰ In *Londorp der Röm. K. Maj. u. des h. R. R. Acta publica*, iii. 1047. Khevenhüller's *Annales Ferd.*, xi. 438; in Latin in Carafa, app., p. 3. 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 benefices 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, xi. 183), 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. 350: *licet tot tantaeque difficultates emererint, quae et a me et a multis aliis ministris multorum mensium labore superatae sunt, etc.*

¹¹ Thus in Augsburg the Protestant service was wholly abolished; see Häberlin-Senkenberg, xxvi. 51. In Würtemberg 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 Würtemberg*, 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): *Pacis compositio—in Com. Augustae anno 1555 edita, quam jureconsulti quidam catholici—questionibus illustrarunt Dilingae*, 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. 31: *Aequaline jure Confessionistae religione sua, templis, ministeriis, ceremoniis utuntur, quo Catholici? Resp. Nequaquam. Nam Catholici ex antiquissima et immemoriali possessione jus acquisitum habent fidei, religionis, Ecclesiarum suarum: Confessionistae autem se noviter intruserunt; et cum repelli non possent, tolerati sunt, etiam promissione facta propter necessitatem. Igitur Catholici nihil a Confessionistis acceperunt, sed jure suo proprio ac pristino utuntur: Confessionistae autem, quibus nullum jus competit, ea solum detinendo habent, quae ipsis 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.¹³ In alliance with France,¹⁴ 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-

fuerunt. Quicquid autem concessum non reperitur, prohibitum censi debet.—Confessionistae praeter aut contra jus singulari fruuntur permissione et indulgentia ipsis concessa, non sine Catholicorum praejudicio ac damno. Tales autem concessionis strictam interpretationem habent. Qu. 37, p. 168: Religionem catholicam in Imperio tenere, et subditos suos ad eandem compellere, communi jure omnibus concessum est: at vero catholicam religionem mutare, et novam sectam Lutheranam introducere, atque subditos ad eandem compellere, generali lege prohibitum est, iis exceptis, quibus id indulgentia permissum. Qu. 44: The declaration of King Ferdinand in favor of the Protestant subjects of the spiritual electors was surreptitious; first produced at the Diet of Ratisbon, 1576. Cap. xi. qu. 67: The protestation of the Cardinal and Bishop of Augsburg, Otto, against the religious peace had the effect of making it invalid in the bishopric of Augsburg, and the episcopal jurisdiction in this bishopric had not been at all suspended.—The polemics which the Jesuits had been for a long time carrying on against Protestantism and the religious peace (Salig's Geseh. d. Augsb. Conf. i. 767) now became very animated. By order of the Elector the Leipsic theologians wrote: "Nothwendige Vertheidigung des heil. Röm. Reichs Evangelischer Churfürsten u. Stande Augapfels, nemlich der wahren, reinen—Augsp. Confession, u. des auf dieselbe gerichteten hochverpönten Religionfrieds," 1628. 4. With this began a long series of quarrelsome writings, in the titles of which this metaphor of the "apple of the eye" was repeated to satiety: "Brill auf den Evangel. Augapfel durch Andr. Fabricium, 1629. 4. Evangelischen Augapfels Brillen-Butzer. Leipzig, 4. Ausbutzer des genandt: Evangelischen Brillen-Butzers. Dillingen, 1629. 4. Wer hat das Kalb ins Aug geschlagen? Dillingen, 1629. 4. Dillingischer Kälber-Artzt. 1629. 4., u. s. w." Comp. Menzel, vii. 194.

¹³ Ranke, Fürsten ü. Völker, iii. 528 ff. Menzel, vii. 236.

¹⁴ As early as 1629 there were negotiations about it; in 1630 it was regarded as established (Ranke, iii. 553), and Jan. 13, 1631, formally abolished; Häberlin-Senkenberg, xxvi. 252. A. F. Gfrörer's Geschichte Gustav Adolphs, Königs v. Schweden, u. seiner Zeit. Stuttgart u. Leipzig, 1837. 8.

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*,¹⁵ 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;¹⁶ of the Catholic princes, only Bavaria maintained the advantages it had acquired.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ The right of refor-

¹⁵ A. A. (Adam Adami, Benedictine, at last titular Bishop of Hildesheim, † 1663) *Arcana pacis Westphalicae*. Francof. 1638. 4. (best edition: Adam Adami *relatio historica de pacificatione Osnabrugo-Monasteriensis*, cura J. G. de Meiern. Lips., 1737. 4.) Joh. Gottfr. v. Meiern (privy counselor in Hanover, † 1745) *Acta pacis Westphalicae publica*. Hanover u. Göttingen, 1734–36. 6 Theile, fol. Also a Register, by J. L. Walther. Göttingen, 1740. fol.—The two instruments of the peace have been often published: in the Latin original in J. J. Schmaussen's *Corpus juris publici S. R. Imp. academicum*, new edition. Leipz., 1794. 8., p. 741 ss. J. St. Pütter's *Geist des Westphäl. Friedens*. Göttingen, 1795. 8. R. K. Freih. v. Senkenberg's *Darstellung des Osnabrück- u. Münsterischen od. sogen. Westphälischen Friedens*. Frankf. a. M., 1804. 8.

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 controversis hac Transactione communi partium placito statuta sunt, ea pro perpetua dietae Pacis declaratione, tam in Judiciis, quam alibi observanda, habebuntur, donec per Dei gratiam de Religione ipsa convenerit, non attentu cuiusvis seu Ecclesiastici seu Politici, intra vel extra Imperium, quocumque tempore interposita contradictione vel protestatione, quae omnes inanes et nihil vigore horum declarantur. In reliquis omnibus autem inter utriusque Religionis Electores, Principes, Status omnes et singulos sit aequalitas exacta mutuae. According to § 51 and 53, 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 tanquam unum corpus considerari nequeunt, ut etiam Catholicis et Augustanae Confessionis Statibus in duas partes cunctibus, sola amicabilem compositio lites dirimat, non attentu votorum pluralitate.*

mation 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, 1624.¹⁹ All these regulations were likewise to hold equally good for the Reformed (Calvinists), who were now for the first time favorably acknowledged.²⁰ 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 erunt semper, nec decedentibus nisi ejusdem religionis consortes surrogentur.—Exercitium vero religionis in mixtis Episcopatibus ita restituatur et permaneat, uti 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 totum Imperium hactenus usitata praxi etiam jus reformandi exercitium Religionis competat, ac dudum in Pace Religionis talium Statuum subditis, si a religione Domini Territorii dissentiant, beneficium emigrandi concessum;—conventum est, hoc idem porro quoque ab utriusque Religionis Statibus observari, nullique statui immediato jus, quod ipsi ratione territorii et superioritatis in negotio Religionis competit, impediri oportere. § 31. Hoc tamen non obstante Statuum Catholicorum Landsassii, Vasalli et Subditi cujuscunque generis, qui sive publicum sive privatum Aug. Conf. exercitium anno 1624 quacunque anni parte—habuerunt, retineant et etiam in posterum una cum annexis, quatenus illa dicto anno exerceverunt, aut exercita fuisse probare poterunt. § 34. Placuit porro, ut illi Catholicorum subditi Augustanae Confessionis addicti, ut et Catholici Augustanae Confessionis Statuum subditi, 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 profitebuntur et amplectentur, patienter tolerentur, et conscientia libera domi devotioni suae sine inquisitione aut turbatione privatim vacare, in vicinia vero, ubi et quoties voluerint, publico Religionis exercitio interesse, vel liberos suos exteris suae Religionis scholis, aut privatis domi praeceptoribus instruendos committere non prohibeantur. § 35. Sive autem Catholici sive Augustanae Confessionis fuerint subditi, nullibi ob Religionem despiciatui habeantur, nec a mercatorum, opificum, aut tribuum communione,—multo minus publicis coemeteriis, honoreve sepulturae arceantur. § 36. Quod si vero subditus, qui nec publicum nec privatum suae Religionis exercitium anno 1624 habuit, vel etiam qui post publicatam pacem religionem mutabit, sua sponte emigrare voluerit, aut a Territorii Domino jussus fuerit, liberum 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 commeatus adire. § 37. Conventum autem est, ut a Territoriorum Dominis illis subditis, qui neque publicum, neque privatum exercitium religionis suae dicto anno habuerunt,—terminus non minor quinquennio; illis vero, qui post pacem publicatam Religionem mutant, non minor triennio, nisi tempus magis laxum et spatiosum impetrare poterint, 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 dictos Protestantes vertuntur, hactenus non fuerunt compositae,—adeoque illi duas partes constituunt, ideo de jure reformandi

Emperor 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.²¹ As a protest on the part of the Pope was of course to be anticipated, it was deprived of all influence beforehand,²² and so had no effect whatever when it actually came.²³ Although the Protestant churches had still to

inter utramque ita conventum est, ut si aliquis Princeps vel alius Territorii Dominus vel alicujus Ecclesiae Patronus posthac ad alterius partis sacra transierit, aut Principatum, aut ditionem, ubi alterius partis sacra exercitio publico de praesenti vigent,—nactus fuerit,—ipsi quidem Concionatores aulicos suae Confessionis citra subditorum onus aut praedictum securum atque in Residentia sua habere liceat. At fas ei non sit, vel publicum Religionis exercitium, leges aut constitutiones ecclesiasticas hactenus ibi receptas immutare, vel templa, scholas, hospitalia, aut eo pertinentes redditus, pensiones, stipendia prioribus adimere, suorumque sacrorum hominibus applicare, vel juris territorialis, Episcopalis, Patronatus alicujus quocumque praetextu subditis Ministros alterius Confessionis obtrudere, ullumve aliud impedimentum aut praedictum directe vel indirecte alterius sacris asferre. Et ut haec conventio eo firmiter observetur, liceat hoc mutationis casu ipsis communitatibus praesentare, vel quae praesentandi jus non habent, nominare idoneos Scholarum et Ecclesiarum 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.

²¹ I. P. O., Art. V. § 38. Silesii etiam Principes August. Conf. addicti, Duces scilicet in Brieg, Liegnitz, Münsterberg et Oels, itemque Civitas Vratislaviensis in libero suo ante bellum obtentorum jurium et privilegiorum, necnon Aug. Conf. exercitio ex gratia Caesarea et Regia ipsis concessio manutenebuntur. § 39. Quod vero ad Comites, Barones, Nobiles eorumque subditos in reliquis Silesiae Ducatibus, qui immediate ad Cameram Regiam spectant, tum etiam de praesenti in Austria inferiori degentes Comites, Barones et Nobiles attinet, quamvis Caesareae Maj. jus reformandi exercitium Religionis non minus, quam aliis Regibus et Principibus competat; tamen—ad interventionem Regiae Majestatis Sueciae, et in gratiam intercedentium Augustanae Conf. Statuum permittit, ut ejusmodi Comites, Barones et Nobiles, illorumque in praedictis Silesiae Ducatibus subditi ob professionem Aug. Conf. loco aut bonis cedere aut emigrare non teneantur, nec etiam prohibeantur dictae Confessionis exercitium in locis vicinis extra territorium frequentare. § 40. Praeter haec autem—Sacra Caes. Maj. ulterius pollicetur, se illis, qui in his Ducatibus Aug. Conf. addicti sunt, pro hujus Confessionis exercitio tres Ecclesias propriis eorum sumptibus extra civitates Schweiniz, Jauer et Glogavium prope moenia—aedificandas—concessuram. § 41. Et cum de majore Religionis libertate et exercitio in supra dictis et reliquis Caesareae Maj. et Domus Austriae regnis et provinciis concedendo in praesenti Tractatu varie actum sit, nec tamen ob Caesareanorum Plenipotentiariorum contradictiones convenire potuerit; Regia Maj. Sueciae et Aug. Conf. Ordines facultatem sibi reservant, eo nomine in proximis Comitibus aut alias apud Suam Caes. Maj., pace tamen semper permanente et exclusa omni violentia et hostilitate, ulterius respective amice interveniendi et demisse intercedendi.

²² I. P. O., Art. V. § 1; see above, Note 18.

²³ By the bull, *Zelo domus Dei*, d. 26. Nov., 1648, published 3d Jan., 1651; in Bower's *Hist. d. Rom. Papste*, edition of Rambach X., ii. 21. Sane cum intimo doloris sensu accepimus, quod per plures pacis Osnabrugis—necnon alterius pacis Monasterii—initiarum articulos gravissima Religionis catholicae—illata fuerunt praedicta. Etenim pactionibus—inter alia bona ecclesiastica aliaque ab haereticis occupata illis eorumque successoribus in perpetuum addicuntur; haereticis Augustanae, ut vocant, confessionis liberum suae haereseos exercitium in plerisque locis permittitur, et locorum pro aedificandis

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-

ad hunc effectum templis assignatio promittitur; ipsique cum catholicis ad publica munia et officia, ac ad nonnullos Archiepiscopatus, aliasque dignitates et beneficia ecclesiastica, precumque primiarum Ferdinando in Imperatorem electo a prae-fata Sede apostolica concessarum participationem admittuntur; Annatae, jura pallii, confirmationes, menses papales, et hujusmodi jura et reservationes in bonis ecclesiasticis dietae Confessionis Augustanae excluduntur; confirmationes electionum, seu postulationum praetensorum Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum aut Praelatorum ejusdem Confessionis potestati saeculari attribuuntur; plures Archiepiscopatus, Episcopatus, Monasteria,—et alia beneficia et bona ecclesiastica Principibus haereticis eorumque haeredibus, etiam sublata denominatione ecclesiastica, in feudum perpetuum sub dignitatis saecularis titulo conceduntur; contra pacem hujusmodi nullumve ejus articulum nulla jura canonica vel civilia,—juramenta, aut concordata cum Romanis Pontificibus, ullave alia statuta, sive politica, sive ecclesiastica, decreta, dispensationes, absolutiones, aut alias exceptiones allegari, audiri, vel admitti debere disponitur; numerus septem Electorum Imperii olim apostolica auctoritate praefinitus, sine nostro et sedis praefatae beneplacito augetur, et octavus Electoratus in favorem Caroli Ludovici, Comitis Palatini Rheni, haeretici, instituitur; aliaque multa, quae pudet referre, orthodoxae religioni sedique praefatae Romanae, et inferioribus Ecclesiis, caeterisque praemissis summopere praejudicialia et damnosa decernuntur. Et quamvis Ven. Frater, Episcopus Neritonensis, noster et Sedis praefatae—nuncius—fuerit palam nostro—nomine protestatus, ejusmodi articulos esse irritos, nullos;—ac notissimi juris sit, quamenque transactionem seu pactionem in rebus ecclesiasticis sine praefatae Sedis auctoritate factam nullam nulliusque roboris et momenti existere: attamen quo efficacius praemissorum indemnitati consultum sit;—praedictos—utriusque pacis articulos, caeteraque in dictis instrumentis contenta—ipso jure nulla, invalida, injusta, damnata—omnino fuisse, esse et in perpetuo fore; neminemque ad illorum,—etiamsi juramento vallata sint, observationem teneri,—atque perinde ac si nunquam emanassent, pro non extantibus et non factis perpetuo haberi debere, tenore earundem praesentium decernimus et declaramus. Et nihilominus ad abundantiorum cautelam—articulos praefatos aliaque praemissa—potestatis plenitudine penitus damnamus, reprobamus, cassamus, annullamus, viribusque et effectu vacuumus.

¹ Hottinger's *Helvet. Kirchengesch.*, iii. 887.

² Hottinger, iii. 899.

³ Just after it had been suggested to the canton by the Catholics to expel all the Reformed preachers, and to tolerate only Catholic worship; Hottinger, iii. 885.

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.⁴ Through him the Jesuits, too, obtained foothold in Lucerne, 1574, and in Freiburg, 1586,⁵ and here, as in Germany, opened an uninterrupted warfare against the Reformation.⁶ 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 soon⁷ 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*⁸ 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,⁹ in 1579. By this means, as the Catholic cantons soon afterward conceded to this nuncio spiritual jurisdiction¹⁰ (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,¹¹ and then soon expelled all the Reformed worship from the places (Laufen and Zwingen) under his control.¹² 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,¹³ and in 1587 made

⁴ Hottinger, iii. 900, 916. De Porta Hist. Reform. Ecl. Rhaet., ii. 1. Meyer's Evangel. Gemeinde in Locarno, ii. 264.

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; 1593, in Baden, etc. Hottinger, iii. 914.

⁸ Hottinger, iii. 911.

⁹ Hottinger, iii. 912.

¹⁰ Hottinger, iii. 935. L'Histoire de la Vie du Pape Sixte V., traduit de l'Italien de Greg. Leti (à Paris, 1690), ii. 49.

¹¹ Hottinger, iii. 910.

¹² Hottinger, iii. 918.

¹³ Hottinger, iii. 931. The document is in Lauffer's Beschreibung Helvetischer Geschichte, x. 331.

a league with Spain, in view of a possible religious war.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.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.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.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,¹⁸ and Geneva afterward found protection against the schemes which were constantly set on foot for its destruction,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 fomented and came into conflict. From Milan constant efforts were going forth to arouse a fanatical Catholicism in the Italian princi-

¹⁴ The document is in Dumont Corps Diplomatique, v. i. 459.

¹⁵ Höttinger, iii. 948, 962.

¹⁶ La Vie de S. François de Sales, par M. de Marsollier. 2 Tomes. Paris éd., 5. 1748. 12.

¹⁷ Marsollier, i. 252.

¹⁸ Thuanus, lib. 129. Spon's Hist. de Genève, ii. 371. Hence in Geneva the annual festival of thanksgiving called *L'Escalade*.

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.

palities.²⁰ 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.²¹ 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.²² 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.²³ The Reformed were totally expelled from Wallis as early as 1626, after long persecutions.²⁴

SECOND CHAPTER.

THE REFORMATION IN OTHER LANDS.

§ 14.

IN BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA.

[Anton Gindely, *Böhmen u. Mahren im Zeitalter der Reform.*, 2 Bde. Prag., 1857. Franz Palasky, *Böhmens Geschichte*, 3 Bde. 1854. Tomek, *Geschichte Böhmens*. Pescheck, *Gesch. der Gegenreformation in Böhmen*. Dresd., 1844. Elwalt, *Die alte u. neue Lehre d. Bohm. u. Mahr. Brüder*. Danzig, 1756. *The Reformation and Anti-Reformation in Bohemia*, 2 vols. 8vo. London. K. A. Müller, *Fünf Bücher vom Böhmischem Kriege*.]

²⁰ The religious equality conceded in 1537 (§ 10, Note 44) was at once violently opposed: see De Porta, *Hist. Ref. Eccles. Rhæt. 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. 33. 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.

²¹ Hottinger, iii. 1017. De Porta, ii. 289.

²² De Porta, ii. 451. *Haberlin's Neueste Teutsche Reichsgeschichte*, xxv. 161.

²³ De Porta, ii. 603.

²⁴ Hottinger, iii. 1039.

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,¹ and endeavored to set them right by his treatise "On the Adoration of the Sacrament," 1523.² 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 *sub una* 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 legatos habuerunt, de fide sua consulentes: inveni ferme omnia sana, nisi quod obscura phrasi et barbara utuntur pro Scripturae phrasi. Deinde quae me movent, sunt, quod parvulorum baptismum nullius fidei et fructus asserunt, et tamen eos baptisant, et rebaptisant 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 u. neue Lehre der Böhmisches und Mährischen Brüder. Danzig, 1756, s. 355). Luther first took exceptions 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 Böhmen u. Mähren, Waldenses genannt" (in Walch, xix. 1593). 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: "Aufs erste, was ich am Sacrament des Leibes Christi an euch Fehl habe, ist gnug drohen angezeigt (comp. § 3, Note 22). Wiewol wirs noch nicht in den Schwang bringen mögen bey uns, dass wir so sittig u. christlich das Sacrament handelten unter beyder Gestalt, u. solche Uebung der Lehre u. Liebe u. sittigs Leben unter uns aufrichten, als

ren felt repelled by Luther's views;³ but at last they changed many things after his hints, and he responded to this docility by publishing,⁴ in 1533, the Confession which they had handed in to

wir von euch hören. Es ist noch grüne mit uns, u. gehet langsam von statten: bittet aber für uns." 2. "Dass ihr die jungen Kinder täuget auf zukünftigen Glauben, den sie lernen sollen, wenn sie zur Vernunft kommen, nicht auf gegenwärtigen." The children, he held, were endowed with faith through the faith of the Church. 3. Their explanation of faith: "In Gott gläuben sey mit Liebe u. guten Werken Gotte nachfolgen." 4. "Dass ihr noch aus der papistischen Kirche habt sieben Sacramente, so doch die Schrift nicht mehr dann die zwey, die Tauf u. den Tisch des Herrn, hat." 5. That they their "Diener oder Pfleger, die sich bey uns Priester u. Pfaffen heissen," chelos zu bleiben anhielten." "Wiewol ich das gerne gehört habe, dass ihr niemand wehret ehelich zu werden, aber das Predigtamt müsse er lassen."—"Das sind die Stücke, die mir an euch bewusst noch etwas mangeln an der lautern Lehre des Evangelii, unter welchen ich das grösste achte, dass ich vom Glauben u. Werken erzählt habe. Denn wiewol ich nicht weiss, ob ihr recht oder unrecht haltet; so sehe ich doch wohl, dass ihrs nicht klärlich dargebet.—Es mag aber auch wohl sein, wie die Euern sagen, dass euer Ding gar viel bass in eurer Bömischen Sprache laute, denn ihrs zu Latein geben könntet: darum vielleicht etliche Stücke anders von uns verstanden werden, denn ihrs haltet.—Wenn ichs bey euch erlangen könnte, wollte ich bitten, dass ihr die Sprachen nicht also verachtet, sondern weil ihr wohl könntet, eure Prediger u. geschickte Knaben allzumal liesset gut Lateinisch, Griechisch u. Ebräisch lernen. Ich weiss auch fürwahr, dass wer die Schrift predigen soll u. auslegen, u. hat nicht Hülfe aus Lateinischer, Griechischer, u. Ebräischer Sprache, u. soll es allein aus seiner Muttersprache thun, der wird gar manchen schönen Fehlgriff thun.—Hiemit befehle ich euch Gottes Gnaden, u. bitte demüthiglich, euere Liebe wolle diess mein Schreiben nicht in Veracht aufnehmen, als hätte ich euere Fehl Lust gehabt zu rügen; sondern weil ihr wisset, dass man euch für die ärgsten Ketzer hält, ich Zeugniß gebe, wie gar viel näher ihr seyd dem Evangelio, denn alle andere, die mir bekannt sind.—Weil ich höre, dass von Gottes Gnaden bey euch so ein feiner, züchtiger äusserlicher Wandel ist, dass mann nicht so schwelget, frisst u. säuft, flucht u. schwöret, pranget u. öffentlich übel thut, wie bey uns; sondern ein jeglicher sich seiner Arbeit nähren muss,—u. auch niemand darben lasset: habe ich mich nicht mögen enthalten, u. aus christlicher Pflicht euch anzeigen, was mich dünkt, das noch an eurem immerlichen Wandel des Glaubens u. der Lehre Mangel habe, welchen ich gerne aufs allerlauterste sehen u. hören wollte. Denn wir, die wir mitten in Sodomia u. Gomorra u. Babylonia wohnen, nicht sehen, wie wir möchten einen solchen feinen, züchtigen Wandel auswendig anrichten, Gott helfe uns denn bass; so haben wir doch die rechte, lautere Lehre des Evangelii, als einen hellen Lichtstar, mitten unter diesem verkehrten u. unschlachtigen Geschlecht der Finsterniss, den wir jedermann mittheilen, u. wiederum von jedermann auch gebessert werden wollten: welches wir auch von euch erwarten. Die Gnade unsers Herrn Jesu Christi sey mit euch. Amen."

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. Buddeus, p. 22). Among the Brethren was published a Bohemian reply to Luther's exceptions (Extracts in Joh. Hederici Examinatio Capitum Doctrinae Fratrum. Francof. ad Od. 1850, 8vo; in German in Carpzov's Religionsuntersuchung d. Böhm. u. Mähr. Brüder, s. 715 ff.).

⁴ 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 Glaubens, der Dienst u. Ceremonien der Brüder in Böhmen u. Mähren, welche von etlichen Pickarden, u. von etlichen Waldenser genannt werden, sammt 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.⁵ Thus he regained the confidence of the Brethren, and was often visited and questioned by them.⁶ Following the example of the German Protestants in Augsburg, the Brethren also handed in a Confession of Faith⁷ to

by Walch, xiv. 306). A new translation is the *Apologia verae doctrinae eorum qui vulgo appellantur Waldenses vel Picardi*, oblata D. Georgio March. Brand. nunc demum multis 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 gratuito miserentis, habenda fiducia*. Fol. 69: *Sacramenta quemadmodum sunt res externae sensiles et terrenae, ita etiam ad externos corporeosque sensus percellendos, a quibus mens et intellectus omnia recipiant,—instituta: quorum quidem quaedam ab ipso Christo, quaedam vero ab Ecclesia tradita sunt.—Quae vero institutionis Christi sunt, haec apud nos modis omnibus praestare, ac incomparabiliter magis ad rationem salutis requiri*. That the bread and wine in 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 adhuc mentem nostram in iis requirat audireque velit, dicimus, credimus et asserimus, corpus Christi hic esse vere, spiritualiter, efficaciter, sacramentaliter, sed non corporaliter, sive sensibilibiter corporibus, sed bene spiritibus ac mentibus nostris.*

⁵ Luther here says that for a long time he could not understand the explanations of the Brethren about their doctrine, because they made use of entirely different expressions. But after much discussion with them about their doctrine of the Lord's Supper, he had ascertained that they agreed with him that in the Sacrament the true body and blood of Christ were received. "Da ich das Stücke befand, ward ich gelinder gegen ihrem Thun, weil sie doch sonst von der heil. Dreyfaltigkeit, von Christo, von dem ewigen Leben, u. von allen Artikeln des Glaubens nicht unrecht lehren noch hielten, u. beschloss, weil sie nahe bey der Schrift geblieben, dass man sie gar unbillig Ketzler gescholten hätte, sonderlich bey den Papisten." He published this book to promote agreement with the Brethren. "Denn wiewohl ich obgenannter Brüder Weise zu reden nicht weiss anzunehmen; so will ich sie doch auch wiederum nicht übereilen, noch so eben zwingen, nach meiner Weise zu reden, sofern wir sonst der Sachen eins werden u. bleiben, bis dass Gott weiter schiecke nach seinem Willen. Denn weil sie ihre Lehre in einen solchen Methodon oder Ordnung gefasset haben, desgleichen weder der Papst noch alle die seinen nicht haben;—so haben doch wir auf unserm Theil eine heller u. gewisser Weise,—von der Gnaden u. Vergebung der Sünden zu reden, weil wir die Werke u. Glauben so rein u. richtig von einander scheiden, u. einem jeglichen sein eigen Art u. Amt zuschreiben.—Derhalben befehle ich dies Büchlein zu lesen u. zu urtheilen allen frommen Christen, u. bitte, dass sie mit uns allesammt beten wollen Gott unserm Vater um Einträchtigkeit der Lehre u. des Glaubens: u. ob jemand wäre, dem nicht gnug in diesem Büchlein gesehen wäre, der wollte das ansehen, wie sie sich demüthiglich erbieten, u. wenn sie schon nichts anders damit verdienen, so ist doch billig, dass man sie das zubrochen Rohr u. glummend Tocht seyn lasse. Denn wir alle selbst auch noch nicht so ganz u. vollkommen sind."

⁶ Thus in 1535 some Brethren were with him; see his letter to their Senior, Benedict Gäbe, April 18, 1535 (de Wette, iv. 599), also 1536 and 1542; see Comenius, ed. Buddeus, p. 23, 25.

⁷ Prooemium Confessionis ann. 1573, in *Camerarii Hist. Narratio de Fratrum Orthod.*

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.⁸ 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.⁹ And the opposing party, which was strongest in Prague, effected the abolition of these articles, in July, 1524,¹⁰ 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.¹¹

Thus, at the period of the Smalcald 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.¹² After the defeat of the latter, they were also obliged to submit.¹³ There-

Ecclesiis in Bohemia, p. 270: confessionem hanc Ecclesiarum nostrarum, reliquis plenior, Bohemica lingua a nostris conscriptam anno 1535, exhibuerunt Regi—Ferdinando II. Domini, qui Ecclesiis nostris conjuncti sunt et in sua ditione locum nobis concedunt. Qui Rex et accepit et respondit Dominorum nostrorum legatis benignissime, eaque confessio mox typis expressa bohemicæ, et paulo post in linguam latinam conversa, ut Vitebergæ typis exprimeretur. Confessio Fidei ac Religionis Baronum ac Nobilium regni Bohemiae Seren. ac Invict. Romanorum Bohemiac, etc., Regi Viennæ Austriae sub anno Dom. 1535, oblata. Witeberg, s. a. 4, with a Preface by Luther, reprinted in an Appendix to Lydii Waldensia, tom. ii (also in Niemeyer, Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis publicatarum, p. 771).

⁸ 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.

⁹ See Libri de Casibus et Seditiõibus in Communitate Pragensi regnante D. Ludovico Rege Hungariæ. These make the seventh book in G. B. Pontani a Braitenberg Bohemia Pia. Francof. 1608, fol. p. 94. See those articles, *ibid.* p. 98.

¹⁰ 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, 439.

¹¹ The envoys of the Brethren, who came to Luther in 1542, related (Comenius, ed. Buddeus, p. 25), quomodo Hussitice per Bohemiam et Moraviam Ecclesie paulatim in Lutheranismum transendo, doctrinam quidem Evangelii recipiant, in vite tamen christianæ studio nihil emendent. Remque illam detrimento cedere Ecclesiis nostris—dum licentiosi alibi quoque purum Evangelium sine discipline jugo haberi posse jactantes, ut se nobis nemo amplius adjungat, nonnulli etiam recedant, efficiant.

¹² Menzel's neuere *Gesch. der Deutschen*, iii, 74 ff. Von Bucholtz, *Gesch. der Regierung Ferdinands I.*, vi, 341.

¹³ 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,

¹⁴ Adr. Regenvolscii *Systema Historico-chronolog. Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum* Traj. ad Rhen. 1652, 4, p. 194. The Edict read, *Ut omnes Picardi, qui nec Romanæ, nec Bohemicae, i. e. Calixtinae Ecclesiae subijci vellent, divenditis suis bonis intra dies 42 omnibus regis possessionibus excederet. Illi enim, qui in fundis debebant Baronum et equestris Ordinis virorum, nequaquam exterminati sunt.* Lochner's *Entstehung u. erste Schicksale der Brüdergemeinde* (Nürnberg, 1832), s. 54 ff. Von Bucholtz, vi. 432.

¹⁵ *Regenvolscius*, p. 70. *Succedebant porro Calixtinis in Bohemia et Moravia non solum Lutherani sive Augustanae Confessionis, sed etiam Helvetici seu Helveticae Confessionis socii. Lutherani passim, Helvetici in ditionibus Nobilium et civitatibus quibusdam coctus suos habebant.—Utrique loca et templa Calixtinorum occupabant, et in plerisque ritus eorum externos sequebantur. Omnes autem isti Evangelici, tam Fratres, quam Calixtini, iique postea alii Lutherani, alii 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. 593.*

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 Böhmeim, 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. 130.

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

¹⁹ After the precedence of the *Consensus Sandomiriensis*, agreed upon in 1570 between the Brethren, the Lutherans, and the Reformed in Poland. Comenius, ed. Buddeus, p. 41: *Anno 1575, celebravit Maximilianus comitia Pragaë, ordinesque Regni sub utraque syncretismum sub communi unius confessionis tessera inire permisit, frustra id, quanquam omni nisu, tam Jesuitis quam Pseudo-Hussitis impedire tentantibus. Cum enim supplicibus suis libellis protestationibusque inter alia inseruissent, Ordines sub utraque non esse in fide unanimes, sed fovere inter se Picardos, Calvinistas, Lutheranos: Ordines, ut consensum testari possent, confessionis communis conscribendae iniverunt consilium, electis ad hæc theologis certis, illisque ex Baronum, Nobilium, et Civico Ordine inspectoribus datis. His ergo magistri Pragenses obtulerunt libros M. Hus-*

for his assent, a common confession,²⁰ Maximilian, in view of the opposition of the Catholic estates, did not venture to give more than an oral pledge.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.²² By a letter patent, forced from the Emperor by the circumstances (January, 1609), entire legal equality with the Catholics²³ 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

si, veterumque Bohemorum de religione facta synodica et comitialia decreta. Qui Augustanam confessionem erant amplexi (magna jam Ordinum pars), obtulerunt eandem confessionem suam, sicut et suam illi qui ex fratribus erant. Conferebant ergo in singulis fidei articulis et sensum, et loquendi formulas singularum partium, exprimebantque formulis talibus, quibus quaelibet pars subscribere posset et vellet, ad particulares nimis subtiles et scholasticas quaestiones differentias non descendendo. Comp. Die Documente in Z. Theobaldus, Hussitenkrieg. Nürnberg, 1621, in the Appendix.

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 Glaubensbekenntnisse der Böhm. Brüder. Frankf. u. Leipz. 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 in to 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.

²¹ See the guarantee about their Confession of the Estates *sub utraque*, in the *Andere Apologia*, s. 130.

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

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. 601. By this their own Consistory was guaranteed to the Utraquists, the University of Prague given up, the choice of *defensores* allowed, and the provisions of the treaty of Augsburg extended to them. "Es sollen auch wider den obbemeldeten errichteten Religionsfrieden, u. wider die von Uns ihnen, den Ständen *sub utraque*, ertheilte feste Sicherung keine Befehle, u. nichts dergleichen, was ihnen irgend worin die geringste Verhinderung oder einige Aenderung verursachen könnte, weder von Uns, Unsern Erben u. nachfolgenden Königen in Böhme, noch von sonst jemandem an sie ergehen, 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.²⁴ At last the Archbishop of Prague and the Abbot of Braunau, by seizing the newly-built evangelical churches, occasioned a general insurrection (1618).²⁵ Matthias died during these disturbances, and the Estates refused to acknowledge as king his successor, Ferdinand II.,²⁶ 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,²⁷ 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.²⁸ 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.²⁹

§ 15.

POLAND, PRUSSIA, AND LIVONIA.

In Poland,¹ where the Hussite opinions had already in former

²⁴ See Die andere Apologie, s. 19. Pelzel's Gesch. der Böhmen; Prag u. Wien, 3te Aufl., 1782, Th. 2, s. 680. Menzel's neuere Gesch. der Deutschen, vi. 159.

²⁵ Die andere Apologie, s. 28, 109. Menzel, vi. 164.

²⁶ See § 11, Notes 28 and 29. Compare Wolf's Maximilian, iii. 664; iv. 224.

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 diligenter 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. 134 sq.); 1623, the Emperor himself came to Prague, and encouraged this work of conversion (Carafa, p. 153 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 Wsetinen, and under the barons of Zerotin and Waldstein.

¹ *Adriani Regenvolscii* (a fictitious name; it was a Reformed preacher, Andreas Wengierski), *Systema historico-chronologicum Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum Ultrajeiti*, 1652. 4. *Stanisl. Lubienecii*, *Equitis Poloni, Hist. Reformationis Polonicae*. Freistadii, 1685.

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 hinderance. 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

8. (this refers chiefly to Unitarianism). Salig's *Historie der Augsb. Confession*, ii. 515. *Die Schicksale der Polnischen Dissidenten*, Hamburg, 1768-70. 3 Th. 8. Chr. G. v. Friese's *Kirchengeschichte des Königreichs Polen* (2 Theile. Breslau, 1786. 8.), Th. 2. [Valerian Krasinski, *History of the Reformation in Poland*, 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1838; its *History, Constitution, and Literature*, Lond., 1855. Dunham's *History of Poland*, in *Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia*, 1841. J. Fletcher, *History of Poland*, Lond., 1831. N. A. De Salvandy, *Histoire de Pologne avant et sous Jean Sobieski*, 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1841. J. Lelevel, *Histoire de Pologne*, 2 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1844. R. Roepell, *Geschichte von Polen*; Hamb. 1841. *Fasti Polonici*, 1624 sq., published at Breslau, 1854.]

² Hartknoch's *Preuss. Kirchenhistorie*, s. 658.

³ Christ. Hartknoch's *Preuss. Kirchenhistorie*. Frankf. a. M. 1686. 4. D. H. Arnoldt's *kurzgefasste Kirchengesch. des Königreich's Preussen*, 1769. 8. Georg v. Polenz, *der allererste evang. Bischof*, v. Dr. Böckel, in *Ständlin's u. Tzschirner's Archiv f. alte u. neue Kirchengesch.*, iv. 355. *Der Dom zu Königsberg in Preussen*, von Gebser u. Hagen. Königsb. 1835 (Abth. 1, *Gesch. der Domkirche u. des Bisthums Samland*, with a full account of the reform in the dukedom of Prussia, by Gebser. [Comp. George von Polentz, *der erste evangel. Bischof*, von George v. Polenz. Halle, 1858.]

⁴ D. H. Arnoldt's *ausführl. u. mit Urkunden versehene Historie der Königsb. Universität*. 2 Th. Königsb. 1746. 8.

⁵ F. K. Gadebusch, *Livlandische Jahrbücher*, Th. 1. Riga, 1780. 8. L. A. Gebhardt's *Gesch. v. Liefland, Esthland, Kurland, u. Sengallen* (allgem. *Welthistorie*, Th. 50), s. 477.

Grand-master of the Teutonic Order since 1521; this, too, in spite of all the efforts of the Archbishop of Riga.⁶

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;⁷ 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.⁸ 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,

⁶ 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. Pransisius, were attached to the Reformation, as was also the Franciscan, Franc. Lismanius, confessor of the widowed Queen Bona (Regenvolscius, p. 124). The King held the Institutions of Calvin in special esteem (Salig, ii. 572). Calvin dedicated to him, 1549, his *Comm. in Epist. ad Hebraeos*; he here says, among other things: *Corruptum deformatumque Dei cultum, quia innumerae in ejus locum superstitiones irreperint, intelligis: gratiam Christi multis tenebris indigne obrutam, vim mortis ejus imminutam, ipsum fere laceratum ac discerptum, eversa funditus salutis fiducia: conscientias misere, imo horrendum in modum vexatas fuisse atque cruciatas, a sincera rectaque Dei invocatione in varias perplexasque ambages miseris homines abductos, Ecclesiam crudeli tyrannide oppressam, denique nullam Christianismi partem sinceram relictam esse. Haec te intelligentia, o Rex nobilissime, non frustra a Deo fuisse credibile est, quin ministrum ad res magnas elegerit. Ac ne innocuus piorum sanguis de inclyto Poloniae regno vindictam exposcens, tantam ejus felicitatem nunc retardet: ne qua gutta funderetur haecenus, mirifica Dei indulgentia factum fuit. Ea fuit clementia et mansuetudine felicitis memoriae Rex Sigismundus Majestatis tuae pater, ut quum saevitiae contagio tot Christiani orbis regiones occupasset, ipse puras manus continuerit. Jam vero Tua Nobilitas, adeoque eximii quique inter tuos proceres non modo Christum se illis offerentem facile admittunt, sed cupide jam ad eum aspirant.—Agedum ergo, Magnanime Rex, faustis Christi auspiciis curam cum regia tua celsitudine, tum heroica virtute dignam suscipe: ut aeterna Dei veritas, qua et ejus gloria, et hominum salus continetur, quaecumque imperium tuum patet, jus suum Antichristi latronicio creptum recuperet. Calvin exhorts the King still more earnestly to begin the reformation in an epistle dd. Non. Dec., 1554 (Calvini Epistolae Genev., 1575, p. 139). He received a gracious response, as appears from his letter to the King, 1555 (l. c., p. 167): *Ex litteris, quas M. V. mittere dignata est, intelligo, meam sedulitatem gratam fuisse, nec fastidio vel contemptu rejectum fuisse meum illud scriptum.—Imo quia M. V. illud se humaniter excepisse, et libenter se inespexisse testatur, et ubi liberius otium contigerit, sibi in animo esse attentius singulas ejus partes meditari, plus inde fiduciae ad iterandum scribendi officium offerri mihi visum est.* In the year 1556 Melancthon also wrote to the King, and sent to him the Augsburg Confession; see the letter in Lubieniecii, *Hist. Ref. Pol.*, p. 91.*

⁸ Lochneri *Comm. qua enarrantur Fata et Rationes earum Familiarum Christ. in Polonia, quae ab Ecclesia Rom. Cath. alienae fuerunt inde ab eo tempore, quo Fratres Bohemi eo migraverant usque ad Consensus Sendomiriensis tempus in the Acta Societatis Jablonoviaucae nova*, T. iv. fasc. ii. (Lips., 1832. 4.) p. 25 ss.

without doubt, would have been the general introduction of the Reformation;⁹ and Rome had to use all the means at its command to prevent it.¹⁰ Now, too, the King expressly conceded religious freedom¹¹ to the cities of Dantzic (1556), Thorn, and Elbingen (1558), and granted admission to all public dignities to the evangelical nobles of Lithuania (1563).¹²

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.¹³

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 Concordia¹⁴ had died out, the Augsburg and the Swiss Confessions were also separated in Poland.¹⁵ Thither, too, came, in 1548, the Brethren¹⁶

⁹ Regenvolscius, p. 77.

¹⁰ The King demanded of the Pope, through ambassadors: 1. The celebration of the mass in the mother tongue; 2. Communion under both kinds; 3. Permission of the marriage of priests; 4. Abolition of the annates; 5. A national council to rectify abuses and to adjust religious disputes; see Sarpi, *Hist. du Conc. de Trente*, liv. 5, c. 23, ed. Courayer, ii. 154. The Pope, 1556, sent Aloysius Lipomanus, Bishop of Verona, as legate to Poland (see the Acts in Raynald, 1555, No. 55 ss.), who, however, at the diet had to put up with hearing himself greeted by the deputies with a *Salve progenies viperarum* (Lubieniecius, p. 76). The Pope wrote to the Archbishop of Gnesen (Raynaldus, 1555, No. 61): *Illud quidem, de quo actum fuerat, ut Concilium vestrae Nationis Episcoporum isthic haberetur ad componendas de fide et religione controversias, nullo modo a nobis probari potuisset.—Neque enim in Conciliis Provinciae aut Nationis alicujus de fidei religionisque catholicae dogmatibus disceptari ac statui quidquam, vel Majorum nostrorum instituta, vel juris ratio, et Saecrorum Canonum decreta patiuntur: de his enim rebus in oecumenicis generalibusque Conciliis agendum, ut quae ad omnes pertinent ab omnibus approbentur.* Lipomani by his severity provoked hatred, and did not bring much to pass; more was achieved by his successor, Joh. Franz Commendon, who came to Poland in 1563 (see his Instructions in Schelhorn's *Ergötzlichkeiten aus der Kirchenhist.*, ii. 749).

¹¹ Lengnich's *Gesch. der Preussischen Lande unter König Sigism. Augusto* (Danzig, 1723, fol.), ii. 156.

¹² *Fundamenta liberae Religionis Evangelicorum, Reformatorum et Graecorum in Regno Poloniae*, 1764, fol. App. A. (Wernsdorfs), *Erweis der Gerechtsamen der Dissidenten in Polen*. Berlin, 1772. 8., s. 48.

¹³ See Note 5. K. L. Tetsch's *Kurlandische Kirchenhistorie bis zum Ableben Gott-hards ersten Herzogs v. Kurland*, 3 Theile. Riga, 1767-70. 8.

¹⁴ See § 8, Note 26.

¹⁵ According to Regenvolscius, p. 120, the Swiss Confession first appeared at Cujavien *in 1544.

¹⁶ See § 14, Note 14. Their first church was in Posen, and their first preacher, from

expelled from Bohemia, who, however, in 1555, retaining their church government, attached themselves to the Reformed.¹⁷ Next, the Unitarian Italians, especially after they had been expelled from Geneva, in 1558, found much access to the Polish nobility,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.¹⁹ On the other hand, the Lutherans, under the influence of the Melancthonian school which ruled in Wittenberg,²⁰ united with both the Reformed and the Brethren at the Synod of Sendomir, in 1570.²¹ 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;²² but he died in 1572, and with

1553, 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.

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., 1575, p. 170); so, too, *Wolfg. Musculus*, in Berne; see *Comenius*, ed. *Buddeus*, p. 29.

¹⁸ Peter Gonesius, a Pole, who had been in Wittenberg and Moravia, first advanced the Unitarian position, after his return in 1556; *Lubieniecicus*, p. 111. But in 1558 came thither, besides others, George Blandrata, Joh. Paul. Alciatus, Joh. Val. Gentilis. *Salig's Gesch. d. Augsb. Conf.*, ii. 625. *Lochner Comm.*, in the *Act. Soc. Jablon.*, iv. ii. 86 ss.

¹⁹ *Lubieniecicus*, p. 201. As early as 1564 a royal edict had warned the Italians to quit the country (*Regenvols.*, 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 (*Lubieniecicus*, p. 194).

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).

²¹ *D. E. Jablonski Hist. Consensus Sendomiriensis, cui subjecitur ipse Consensus. Berolini, 1731. 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): *substantialiorem praesentiam Christi non significari duntaxat, sed vere in Coena eo vescentibus repraesentari, distribui et exhiberi corpus et sanguinem Domini, symbolis adjectis ipsi rei minime nudis, secundum Sacramentorum naturam.* Then they also adopted the definitions of the *Confessio Saxonica* (see § 9, Note 27).

²² On the state of affairs should be especially consulted the epistles of Stanislaus Hosius, in *Stanisl. Carnovii Ep. Wladislaviensis Epistolae illustrium virorum.* Cracov., 1578. 4. (reprinted in *Dlugossi Hist. Polon.*, ed. Lips., ii. 1633), lib. i. Thus Hosius wrote to the King, *Ep. 9: Quaesio Majestatem Vestram, ut ipsa secum expendat, quale sit eorum consilium, qui novam quandam illi fiduciam obtrudunt, et eam judicio Majestatis Vestrae comprobari volunt: quin et illud audent postulare, ne quid Episcoporum, sed Haereticorum judicio tribuat omnia. Qualem autem fiduciam offerunt? eam certe, quam non solum Christiani, verum etiam ipsi rident Germani Lutherani, et eam vocant ocream Polonam, etc.* *Ep. 16 ad Stanisl. Carnovium*, dd. S. Joh. Bapt., 1568: *non jam doceri volunt oves a pastore, sed pastori docendi formam praescribere, quod mihi fit*

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 royal power was

ab hædis meis Elbingensibus. Persuadet sibi Burgimager, se plus in scripturis intelligere, quam non solum Episcopus ejus civitatis intelligat, verum etiam tota catholica Ecclesia. Posteaquam vero jugum Episcoporum excusserunt, Regiam quoque Majestatem non pluris faciunt. A nemine cogi, sed ipsi cogere volunt omnes.—De Trideismo cjiendo non video cur magis laboret (Rex), quam de sectis aliis extirpandis: quin illius ego sententiam valde probo, qui dixit: *bellum hæreticorum pax est Ecclesiae*. Mordant et comedant invicem, ut tanto citius consumantur ab invicem. De Augustana Confessione præcipuum esse vellem R. D. V. curam.—Ut hoc fundamentum subruï posset, omnes nobis machinæ sunt adhibendæ.—Ego vero scripsi Regiæ Majestati, si vellet novam fidem concedere meis hædis Elbingensibus, ut illis permitteret Gregorianam (the Unitarian) potius. Nam frustra fieri per plura, quod potest fieri per pauciora: nam ad illam pervenietur ad extremum.—Sat scio, quod secus quibusdam, etiam Ordinis nostri viris, visum fuit in Comitii Lublinensibus. Nimirum ut duæ tantum sectæ prescriberentur, Lutherismus autem et Calvinismus canonisaretur. Quod autem scribit R. D. V. de admissione nescio qua Comitiorum, vivendi et credendi suo arbitratu, meminerunt etiam Elbingenses in scripto suo, quod mihi transmiserunt, ejus rei. Sed ego de admissione hæc nihil hæctenus certi cognoscere potui. Ep. 22 ad eundem, dd. 14. Oct., 1570. One Clefeld had assured him, quod Regia Majestas omnino pollicita fuerit, se recepturam Confessionem Augustanam. Et propterea Vilnae novum templum aedificaverat, ut ibi prædicaretur Evangelium—secundum Latherum. Another had told him: ego tibi sancte promitto, quandoquidem certum est, Majestatem Regiam in his quæ instant Comitii aliquid in causa religionis constituere velle, me, quæcunque constituta fuerint, alacriter ea recepturam.—Et in proximis Comitii Lublinensibus (Aug., 1569) hæc omnia fere quæ nunc scribo renuntiata per me fuerunt Regiæ Majestati. Dixi passim in Prussia spargi, quod nova quaedam fideicula in his Comitii condi deberet: hæc potissimum ob causam ad ea me profectum esse.—Respondit mihi Majestas ejus, me non debere credere vulgi sermonibus, nihil tale sibi in mentem venisse unquam, se constanter in confessione fidei Catholice—permansuram.—Visa est Majestas illius hoc sermone meo permoveri, nisi quod crebrius audit hæreticos quam Catholicos, quum eorum sit major vigilantia. Ex quo fit, ut si quam in rectam sententiam sit perducta, facile de ea se dimoveri patiat.—Nulla fere XV. his annis Comitia fuerunt, in quibus hæretici quod voluerunt non obtinuerint. Ep. 23 ad eundem, dd. 13. Jan., 1571. Utinam adduci posset Regia Majestas, ut id faceret, quod ab ea supplicet petivi: nimirum ut palam Christum confiteretur, seque non alium Christum agnituram unquam præter eum, qui fuit agnitus 600 jam annis in Polonia, coram omnibus testatum faciat. Hæc mihi sola esse videtur ratio, qua rationibus Ecclesiae vel potius Regni totius prospici possit.

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 Historico-eccl.*, vii. 726. Universi nobis invicem spondemus,—in Regem non consentiendum prius, quam Jura nostra omnia post electionem illi offerenda jurejurando confirmaverit,—imprimis vero jurejurando recipiat, pacem universalem inter Dissidentes in Religione conservari et tueri.—Quandoquidem autem in hæc Republica non parvum reperitur dissidium in causa Religionis Christianæ; occurrendo ne ea de causa inter incolæ perniciosa aliqua seditio oriatur, ejus exempla in aliis Regnis luculenter 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,²⁴ could have much influence upon ecclesiastical affairs; these were mainly dependent upon the nobility and their relation to the bishops.

In Poland, as every where else, there began about this time a reaction toward Catholicism.²⁵ The most dangerous foe of the Reformation, Stanislaus Hosius, Bishop of Culm, afterward of Ermeland, and cardinal († 1579),²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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.²⁸ 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

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 confiscationis bonorum, infamiae, carceris, exilii; et alicui Superioritati et Officio ad ejusmodi 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.

²⁴ Compare the answers which he gave to the zealous Catholics who called upon him to suppress the heretics (Regenvolscius, p. 215): Rex sum populorum, non conscientiarum.—Nolle se conscientiis dominari, siquidem Deus haec tria sibi reservavit, creare aliquid ex nihilo, nosse futura, et dominari conscientiis.

²⁵ Ranke's Fürsten u. Völker von Süd-Europa, iii. 78, 365.

²⁶ On him see Salig's Hist. d. Augsb. Conf., ii. 598. Among his works (ed. Antwerp, 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, sicut peccando Petrum est secuta, sic et pro peccato suo satisfaciendo Petrum imitetur, errorem suum corrigat, et sciat, quod juramentum non est vinculum iniquitatis, nec ullius absolutiois indigere se ab hoc juramento, sibi certo persuasum habeat. Quandoquidem cassa et irrita sunt omnia omni jure, quae per Majestatem tuam parum considerate facta sunt.*

²⁷ Sacchini Hist. Soc. Jesu, P. ii. lib. viii. 114, P. iii. lib. i. 112, lib. vi. 103. Hartknoch, s. 1049. The laws prescribed by the Pope to the college in Braunsberg, see in Theiner's Schweden, and his Stellung zum heil. Stuhle, Th. 2. Urkundenbuch, s. 153.

²⁸ Ranke, iii. 369.

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 decisions of the Catholic courts;²⁹ and the disciples of the Jesuits were often so far led astray by the arrogance of the nobles and ecclesiastical fanaticism that they violently attacked the dissidents and their churches, raging against them with slaughter and burnings.³⁰ 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 personally very tolerant, and caused the Religious Conference of Thorn³¹ to be held in 1645, to bring about peace among the contending parties; but he could not radically alter the existing state of affairs.

§ 16.

IN HUNGARY AND TRANSYLVANIA.

Jo. Buri (Ecl. Evang. Carponensis V. D. M. Leopoldo I. Imp.) *Micæ historico chronologicae* (MS. highly esteemed, and much used by subsequent historians; see Dr. Czvittinger spec. *Hungariæ literatæ*, p. 94 ss.). *Historia diplomatica de statu religionis Evangelicæ in Hungaria*, 1710, fol. (Pauli Ember, Debreceni) *hist. Ecclesiæ reformatæ in Hungaria et Transylvania*, locupletata a F. A. Lampe. Traj. ad Rhen., 1728. 4. Salig's *Gesch. d. Augsb. Conf.*, ii. 803. Jo. Ribini (preacher in Pressburg)

²⁹ See the grievances of the cities as presented to the diets of 1601 and 1605, in Hartknoch, s. 1070, 1072.

³⁰ Especially in Posen and Cracau: see Regenvolscius, p. 223, s. 231 ss., 244.

³¹ *Acta Conventus Thoruniensis*. Varsaviæ, 1646. 4. They are also in Calovii *Hist. Syncretistica*, p. 199. On this conference see D. H. Hering's *neue Beitr. zur Gesch. d. Ref. Kirche in den Preuss. Brand. Ländern*, ii. 1. C. W. Hering's *Gesch. d. Kirchl. Unionsversuche*, ii. 1. The royal instructions for the conferees state the object of the conference as follows (Calovius, p. 234): *Concordiam et unitatem Religionis ac beatam Ecclesiæ Patriæque pacem, omnium votis tantopere expetitam*. The business of the collocutors is comprised—in *tribus actionibus*. *Ac in prima quidem investigent quam accuratissime propriam et genuinam singularum partium doctrinam et sententiam*. In altera de veritate vel falsitate doctrinæ conferant; in tertia, si quid circa præses et mores controversum sit, discutiant. Primum, i. e., perfectam totius doctrinæ liquidationem et sincerationem permagni facimus, cum compertum Nobis sit, maximam jam præsentium malorum causam esse sinistras partium intelligentias, et hoc uno fomite tam luctuosum dissidium in hoc inprimis Regno foveri. They were mutually to explain their doctrinal positions so long, donec cuius liquido—constare possit, quid unaquæque pars revera docerit, quidve putetur vel fingatur docuisse. The true doctrine as held by all parties thus eliminated, hæc sola sit, tum sequentium in hoc Congressu collocutionum, tum (si forte pax nondum perfecte coalesceret) futurarum deinceps disputationum, scriptionum, concertationum materia, semotis omnibus figmentis, cavillis, criminationibus; imo penitus extinctis funestis hisce odiorum, irarum, infestationum facibus et incitabilis. However, even this object of the conference was not fulfilled.

- Memorabilia Augustanae Confessionis in Regno Hungariae de Ferdinando I. usque ad Carolum VI., 2 Tom., 1787-89. 8. Kurze Gesch. der Evang. Luther. Kirche in Ungarn vom Anfange d. Ref. bis Leopold II. Göttingen, 1794. 8. (Mich. Dion. Dolleschal's, preacher at Vég Ujhely.) Die wichtigsten Schicksale der Evang. Kirche Augsb. Bekenntnisses in Ungarn v. J. 1520 bis 1608. Leipzig, 1828. Historia Ecclesiae Evang. Aug. Confessionis addictorum in Hungaria universe, praecipue vero in XIII. oppidis Scepusii (Zips) Halberstadt, 1830. 8.
- Chr. Schesdi Oratio de Origine reparatae et propagatae coelestis Doctrinae in Transylvania 1580, in the Fortges. Sammlung v. alten u. neuen theol. Sachen, 1732. s. 559. Ge. Haner Hist. Ecclesiarum Transylvanicarum. Francof. et Lips., 1694. 12. Jos. Benko (Reform. preacher in Közep-Ajta) Transsylvania, P. i. Tom. ii. (Vindobonae, 1778. 8.) p. 121 (lib. iv. cap. 12, de statu ecclesiastico).
- [Scriptores Rerum Hungariaerum, veteres ac genuini; recens. J. G. Schwandtner. Vindob., 1746, 2 fol. Péterffy, C., Sacra Concilia Ecclesiae Romano-Catholicae in Regno Hungariae celebrata, MXVI. usque ad a. MDCCXXXIV. Viennae, 1742. 2 fol. Count Mailath, Gesch. der Magyaren, 5. 8vo, 1820-30. Zweite Ausg., 1852-55. Ladislas Szalay, Hist. Hungar., 5 vols. 8vo. (to 1690). Geschichte d. Evang. Kirche in Ungarn, mit Rücksicht auf Siebenbürgen. Berl., 1854. History of Protestantism in Hungary, with a Preface by Dr. Merle D'Aubigné. Lond., 1854. Mich. Horvath, Gesch. Ungarns. Pesth, 1854, 2 Bde. 8vo.—J. Paget, Hungary and Transylvania, 2. 8vo. Lond., 1839. J. A. Fessler, Gesch. d. Ungarn, 10. 8vo. Leipz., 1815-25. De Sacy, Histoire générale de Hongrie, 2. 12mo. Paris, 1778.]

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,¹ 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;² but still many cities and several powerful nobles³ joined in the movement. After 1523 they had the upper hand in Hermannstadt.⁴ In 1525 the five royal free cities in Upper Hungary declared for the Reformation.⁵

¹ Ribini, i. 5. G. Bod de Reformationis Hungaricae Ministris Diss., in Gerdesii Scripnum Antiquarium, vii. 346.

² The proposal of the Diet of Ofen, sanctioned by the King, was, Artic. LIV (Historia Diplom., p. 3; Lampe, p. 58): Omnes Lutheranos et eorum fautores, ac factioni ipsi adhaerentes, tanquam publicos haereticos, hostesque sacratissimae Virginis Mariae, poena capitis et ablatione omnium honorum suorum Majestas Regia veluti catholicus Princeps punire dignetur. Then, 1525 (l. c.): Lutherani omnes de regno exstirpentur, et ubicunque reperti fuerint, non solum per ecclesiasticas, verum etiam per saeculares 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 Gerdesii Scripnum Antiqu., vii. 133.

⁴ Compare the King's admonitory epistle to this city; Hist. Dipl., p. 3; Lampe, p. 59.

⁵ Leutschau, Seben, Bartfeld, Eperies, and Caschau; Lampe, p. 64.

After the death of King Louis II., who fell in the battle of Mohacz, 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.⁶ Among the distinguished preachers of the Reformation in Hungary was Matthias Devay (called Lutherus Ungaricus),⁷ who returned in 1531 from Wittenberg to his native land; in Transylvania, John Hónter, 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.⁸

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 lately-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.⁹ 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;¹⁰ but only Anabaptists and Sacramentarians seemed to be aimed at in the prohibition. No

⁶ Benko Transsilvania, i. ii. 125.

⁷ On him see Lampe, p. 72. Ribini, i. 30.

⁸ Dav. Czvittingeri Specimen Hungar. literatae. Francof. et Lips., 1711. 4. p. 178.

⁹ Lampe, p. 92 s.

¹⁰ Ribini, i. 70. *Art. V.* Cultum divinum et religionem ad pristinam normam esse redigendam, et haereses undique tollendas. *Art. XI.* Anabaptistas et Sacramentarios, —qui adhuc in regno supersunt, procul expellendos esse de omnium bonis; —nec amplius illos—intra regni fines esse recipiendos.

steps were taken against the royal cities in Upper Hungary, which in 1549 handed in to the King their Confession¹¹ (*Confessio Pentapolitana*). In the Turkish part of Hungary the Reformation advanced unimpeded.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.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 Emericus 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, ii. 192, 198, comp. p. 200. I [Gieseler] have in manuscript several letters of this description, addressed to Breslau preachers. Thus Mag. Jo. Creslingus Parochus Schemnitziensium writes to Ambr. Moibanus, 1543. Interim autem vide admirabile et consolantissimum 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 istis bellicis tumultibus quam latissime vagatur. Tota enim Transsylvania Evangelium recepit, frustra prohibente—illo Georgio Monacho Episcopo, omnium praesentium in Hungaria malorum auctore (Georg Martinuzzi, see Engel's *Ungrische Gesch.*, iv. 132).—Et quod magis mireris, Valachia quoque Transsylvaniae vicina et Turcis subjecta Evangelium recepit. Tam vetus quam Novum Testamentum sua lingua in Corona, Transsylvaniae civitate, impressa sunt.—Sed et per Hungariam paulatim Evangelium serpit. Quod si isti bellici tumultus non intervenissent, dudum Pseudoepiscopi graviores tumultus, quam ipsimet Turcae, contra Evangelii professores concitassent. Adalb. Wurmloch, in Bistriz, writes to Joh. Hess, pastor in Breslau, 1546: Reformatae sunt hic in Transsylvania Ecclesiae urbium Saxoniarum Dei beneficio, magna ex parte etiam in Hungaria. Audimus et certo intelligimus, Budae (Ofen, then under Turkey) paucis illic relictis Hungaris praedicari sincerum Evangelium, et crassum quendam Satanam papisticum vehementer obstitisse, ita ut res pertraheretur ad Praefectum urbis exercitusque. Qui audita controversia plus visus est approbare Evangelium, maxime ob has causas, quod doceat, unum colendum Deum, reprobetque abusum imaginum, quas Turcae abominantur, et nos propter illas plurimum. Respondit tamen Praefectus, se non esse eo collocatum a Caesare suo ad diluendas Religionis nostrae controversias, sed ad conservandum regnum Caesaris ea in qua possit tranquillitate. Est et alia Hungariae civitas, Segedinum nomine, cui praest Bassa quidam Turcicus, qui defendit Evangelium et illius ministros praedicatores contra omnem impetum et furias Papistarum.

¹³ Decretum, dd. 1. Jun., 1557 (Benko, i. ii. 136): Ecclesias quoque Hungaricas in Religione cum Saxonibus idem sentientes Regina sub patrocinium recipit, et Ministris illarum justos proventus integre reddi et administrari mandaturam se promittit.

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;¹⁴ in Hungary the first synod that adopted a Calvinistic Confession was that of Csenger (1557 or 1558), in the *Confessio Czengerinâ*.¹⁵ In 1566 all the Hungarian Reformed Churches signed the Helvetic Confession.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷

Together with these parties the Unitarians also crept in. In Hungary they were steadfastly repelled;¹⁸ in Transylvania, from 1566, there was much controversy with them.¹⁹ 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 praecipue Germani ea possideant, et gubernent 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.*

¹⁵ Lampe, p. 109. The *Conf. Czengerina*; see in the *Syntagma Confessionum, Genevae, 1612*, p. 186; in *Augusti Corpus libr. symbolicorum Eccl. Reformatae*, p. 241; in *Niemeyer Collectio Confessionum Reform.*, p. 539.

¹⁶ Lampe, p. 125.

¹⁷ After the controversy had continued from as far back as 1557 (Benkő, 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 fiant ordinationes piae in tranquillitatem Ecclesiarum, ut Ecclesiae Saxonicae, et quicumque praesentiam corporis in Coena asserunt, habere possint unum certum Superintendentem, virum gravem, pium et eruditum, gregi Domini sedulo invigilantem, qui in unitate doctrinae, et ceremoniarum conformitate, ac disciplina evangelica Ecclesias gubernet, et in sotes ac inobedientes digna poena animadvertat: rursus qui diversam assertionem absentis videlicet corporis Christi contendunt, suum habeant Superintendentem, cujus cura et vigiliis, solitis ritibus et ceremoniis, Ecclesiae eorum in disciplina evangelica gubernentur; atque ita distinctis limitibus et functionibus quibuscunque suis omnibus prospiciant, et controversiae ac contentiones passim inter utramque partem grassantes vel hoc modo sedentur.*

¹⁸ Thus Lucas Agriensis 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 disorder.

²⁰ They, however, at first only received permission to dwell in Clausenburg; Benkő, i. ii. 134, 136.

²¹ Compare the imperial edict, 31st Oct., 1567, in Ribini, i. 207.

²² According to the testimony of one of the first Hungarian Jesuits, Stephanus Arator, it was asserted (Gerdessii Serin. Antiqu., vii. 174): Eo jam ventum fuerat, ut ante introductionem publicarum scholarum Soc. Jesu in Hungaria in toto Regno nonnisi tres Magnates numerarentur catholici, ex Nobilibus vero vix ulli. Gregor v. Berceviczy Nachrichten über den jetzigen Zustand der Evangelischen in Ungarn. Leipzig, 1822, s. 8.

²³ Acts in the Hist. Diplom., p. 8, and in Lampe, p. 314 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, templa, et compita in processionibus etiam propagarunt, in iis etiam locis, ubi nulla ipsis a Regno facta fuit potestas. Nam et Varadini S. Aegidii templum, ubi alias purior religio docebatur, violenter occuparunt, non juventutis instituendae, sed religionis promovendae causa, ac in civium injuriam Crucifixum armatis manibus publice eduxerunt, ac turbas dederunt maximas, quas nisi ii, quorum interfuit, compressissent, seditio orta fuisset. His non contenti contra Regni statuta vicinos pagos percurrerunt, ut Religionem suam latius spargerent; domum ministri Ecclesiae S. Kosmani invaserunt, injuria affectum ejecerunt, libros quos habuit disperserunt, ipsum ac cives contumeliose tractarunt, cact.

der. But in Hungary, where they had been called (1586) by George Draškowitz, Archbishop of Kolocz,²⁴ 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,²⁵ in 1603, and openly avowed his purpose of exterminating them. The Emperor, in 1604, gave his formal assent to this procedure.²⁶ 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 Vienna²⁷ (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 praesertim in hoc suo Ungariae regno—ex tot falsis opinionibus et sectis erutam, ubique florere et dilatari cupiat;—idcirco Majestas sua sacratissima, motu proprio deque regiae suae potestatis plenitudine, tam sancti Regis Stephani,—quam vero omnium aliorum divorum quondam Ungariae Regum—decreta, constitutiones et articulos pro praefata sancta catholica Romana fide et religione, quovis tempore praeclare et pie editos et evulgatos, non secus ac si de verbo ad verbum praesentibus literis inserti et inscripti essent, hoc speciali suo articulo elementer ratificat et confirmat. Ac ne deinceps in generalibus praesertim et arduis regni tractatibus et diactis alicui religionis negotium ad remorandos et interrumpendos publicos tractatus quovis colore et praetextu impune movere liceat, benigne statuit et serio decernit, ut contra tales inquietos rerumque novarum cupidos poena a divis quondam Regibus Ungariae in eisdem decretis et articulis statuta confestim procedatur, et caeteris in exemplum irremissibiliter puniantur.*

²⁷ *Pacificatio Viennensis*, 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. Regiaque Majestatis priorem resolutionem*, declared, *quod omnes et singulos Status et Ordines intra ambitum Regni Hungariae solum existentes, tam Magnates, Nobiles, quam Liberas civitates et Oppida privilegiata immediate ad coronam spectantia, item in confiniis quoque Regni Hungariae milites Hungaros in sua Religione et confessione nusquam et nunquam turbabit, nec per alios turbari aut impediri sinet. Verum omnibus praedictis Statibus et Ordinibus liber ipsorum Religionis usus et exercitium permittetur: absque tamen praedictis catholicae Romanae Religionis, et ut Clerus, templa et Ecclesiae catholicorum Romanorum intacta et libera permaneant, atque ea quae hoc disturbiorum tempore utrinque occupata fuere, rursus iisdem restituantur.* (This last condition was thus explained by the Archduke Matthias, *Non mala fide adjectum esse; sed ut utraque pars in eorum Religione et exercitio et templis non turbentur*; Lampe, p. 336.) Art. VIII. *Hungari non consentiant, quo Jesuitae in Regno Hungariae jura stabilia et possessionaria*

vania. At his coronation, too, in 1608, Matthias II. confirmed these conditions,²⁸ and pledged himself not to recall the Jesuits.²⁹ But the powerful Catholic clergy protested against all these concessions.³⁰ 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 overrun the land in 1623 and 1626; each time the promise to observe the Peace of Vienna was solemnly renewed, and each time immediately broken.³¹ At the

habeant et possideant. Sua tamen Majestas juribus suis inhaeret quoad clausulas donationum: tantum fiant donationes juxta decreta Regni et more antiquitus solito.

²⁸ Hist. Dipl., p. 22. Ribini, i. 358: Art. 1. Quantum itaque ad primum Constitutionis Viennensis Articulum attinet, deliberatum est per Status et Ordinis inelyti Regni Hungariae, ut Religionis exercitium tam Baronibus, Magnatibus et Nobilibus, quam etiam liberis civitatibus ac universis Statibus et Ordinibus Regni in suis ac Fiscis bonis, item in confiniis quoque Regni Hungariae militibus Hungaris sua cuique Religio et Confessio, necnon oppidis et villis eam sponte ac libere acceptare volentibus ubique liberum relinquatur, nec quisquam omnium in libero ejusdem usu ac exercitio a quoquam impediatur. Quinimo ad praevendenda inter Status et Ordines aliqua odia et dissensiones, ut quaelibet Religio suae professionis Superiores seu Superintendentes habeat, statutum 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.

²⁹ Hist. Dipl., p. 23. Art. 8. Hic quoque Articulus de Jesuitis in vigore suo permaneat, nimirum ut ipsi nulla in Regno Hungariae bona stabilia et possessionaria habere et possidere valeant.

³⁰ Ribini, i. 361.

³¹ 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 eum in Ungaria felicitatis cursum, quem in aliis provinciis, tenere non potuit: nam concessio libertatis Religionis promissionibus ac diplomatibus regis roborata perfringi non potuit.—Inter tot tamen et tantas Religionis clades divina bonitas supra omnem humanam spem magna suppeditavit auxilia, quibus Religio catholica in regno sublevata fuit. Nam imprimis magnorum virorum facta est ad catholicam fidem accessio, in quorum amplissimis dominiis sacerdotes catholici collocati fuerunt expulsis haeresum seminatoribus.—Deinde effectum est, ut omnia majora officia, et Regni Magistratus administrarentur per Catholicos, qui et ipsi Religionis rem potenter promoverunt. Ad haec cum antea in Ungaria Academiae et scholae nullae, immo ne mediocres literarum exercitationes reperirentur, hisce annis aliquot introductae 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 timerent. Non enim admisissent Ordines Regem 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.³² Since the Evangelical party had thus lost, for the most part, the protection of the lords of the land, persecution became the more oppressive.³³ 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,³⁴ but no abiding change in the state of affairs could be effected.

§ 17.

IN DENMARK, NORWAY, AND ICELAND.

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

nitates, ac Religionis praestitutae libertates jurasset, quas parens sacramento suo firmaverat 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 expunctis iis, quae catholicam Religionem praepediabant, posse aliquando mitius iuramentum 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, asserens etiam juratos Regni articulos servatis servandis posse everti, si Rex una cum regnicolis mutationi decretorum assentiretur. In speciali inquebat, res Religionis facile corrigendas, si plures catholici fierent, et una cum Rege Religionis incommoda aut dedecora abrogarent.—His rationibus permotus Caesar non solum in electionem, sed et in coronationem—praemissa privilegiorum confirmatione non secus a filio quam a patre facienda consensit.

³² Berceviezy, s. 23.

³³ Comp. the Gravamina of the Evangelicals, 1638, in the *Hist. Dipl.*, Append., p. 16.

³⁴ The chief passage reads thus (*Hist. Dipl.*, p. 42): Quod omnes Status et Ordines Regni, ipsaque liberae Civitates, necnon Oppida privilegiata, et milites Hungarici in confinibus Regni liberum habeant ubique suae Religionis exercitium cum libero templorum, campanarum et sepulturae usu, nec quisquam in libero suae Religionis exercitio a quoquam quovis modo, aut sub quovis praetextu turbetur et impediatur. Secundo de non impediendis aut turbandis rusticis in sua confessione declaratum et conclusum est, ut illi quoque propter bonum pacis et tranquillitatem Regni, sive sint Confiniarii, sive Oppidani, sive villani in quorumcunque dominorum terrestrium et Fisci bonis, juxta vigorem praescripti Articuli et conditionis in libero suae Religionis exercitio ac usu, modoque ut supra simili, a Sua Majestate Regia, vel ejusdem Ministris, aut dominis suis terrestribus, quovis modo aut quovis sub praetextu non turbentur aut impediuntur; haecenus autem impediti, coacti et turbati liberum ipsorum Religionis usum reassumere, exercere et continuare permittantur, neque ad alias Religioni ipsorum contrarias ceremonias peragendas compellantur. The prolix discussions of the diet about the execution of this treaty are given in the appendix to the *Hist. Dipl.*

lished in an enlarged form in his *Annales Eccl. Danicæ diplomaticæ, or Kirkehistorie des Reichs Dänemark* (Kopenhagen, 4 Theile, 1741-53. 4.), Th. 2, s. 754 ff., and Th. 3. Dr. F. Münter's *Kirchengeschichte v. Dänemark u. Norwegen* (Leipz., 3 Theile, 1823-33. 8.), Th. 3. [*Danske Kirkeshistorie after Reformationen*, Ludv. Helvig, 2, 8vo, Kopenh., 1851; 2d ed., 1857. *Hist. Eccles. Islandicæ*, P. Petursen, Copenh., 1847. Dunham's *History of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway*, in *Lardner's Cab. Cyclop.*, 1840. G. L. Baden, *Hist. Denmark*, 5 vols., Copenh., 1829-32. F. G. Dahlmann, *Gesch. Danemarks*, 3, 8vo, Hamb., 1839-44.]

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 enlightening of the people and the pursuits of industry, he was also favorably disposed toward the Reformation.¹ 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.² 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, 1522.³

After Christian II. had been deposed,⁴ Frederick I., Duke of

¹ In 1519 he called Martin Reinhard from Wittenberg to Copenhagen into the theological faculty; Münter, iii. 25; Lutherus ad Spalatin., dd. 7. Mart., 1521 (de Wette, i. 570): *Rex Daciæ etiam persecquitur Papistas, mandato dato Universitati suæ, ne mea damnarent. Ita retulit, quem illuc dedimus, D. Martinus, reversus ut promoveretur, rediturus illuc.*

² On the collection of decrees which appeared on Trinity Sunday, 1521, see Münter, iii. 42. There it reads: Art. 17. "Kein Pralat, Priester, oder Geistlicher dürfe sich Landereien kaufen, wenn er nicht St. Pauli Lehre 1 Tim. 3. befolgen, eine Frau nehmen, u. wie seine alten Vorfater im heil. Ehestande leben wolle."

³ Münter, iii. 68.

⁴ Among the grounds of the deposition which the estates brought forward (*Ludewig Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum*, v. 315) this is found, p. 321: *Nobilissimam et ex catholica stirpe genitam conjugem suam Lutherana hæresi infectæ, ejusdem hæresis pullulatores*

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.⁵ 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 struggle⁶ (1524). Personally, too, he became more and more inclined to the Reformation. And thus Luther's doctrine now began to be more vigorously diffused,⁷ especially in Jutland, where John Tausen⁸ 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.⁹ The number of the Lutherans increased with rapid strides. Wiborg, in Jutland, and Malmö, in Schonen, became the centres of the Reformation, which

contra jus pietatemque in regnum nostrum catholicum introduxit, Doctorem Carolostadium, fortissimum Lutheri Athletam, enutrivit.

⁵ 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 Reiche gefunden würden, sie am Leben u. Gute zu strafen."

⁶ The edict reads (see Henr. Muhlî de Reformatione Religionis in Cimbria Comm., in his *Dissertationes historico theologice*, Kiliae, 1715. 4., p. 37): "Dass Niemand bey Hals, Leib u. Gut nun der Religion, papstischer oder Lutherischer, willen einem andern an Leib, Ehre u. zeitlichen Gütern Gefahr u. Unheil sollte zufügen, sondern ein jeder sich in seiner Religion also sollte verhalten, wie ers gegen Gott den Allmächtigen mit reinem Gewissen gedächte zu verantworten."

⁷ John Michelsen, a companion of the expelled King, contributed very much thereto by his Danish translation of the New Testament. Leipzig, 1524; see Münter, iii. 128.—Comp. Chr. Thom. Engelstoft *Reformantes et Catholici Tempore, quo sacra emendata sunt in Dania concertantes*, Spec. inaug. Hafn., 1836. 8.

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

⁹ The Constitution in Pontoppidan, ii. 806: 1. "Von diesem Tage an soll jedermann der geistlichen Freiheit so weit geniessen, dass niemand befugt seyn soll, in eines andern Gewissen zu forschen, ob er Lutherisch oder papistisch sey. Vielmehr soll ein jeder seiner Seelen Sorge tragen. 2. Die Lutherischen insonderheit, welche bisher keine vollige Sicherheit u. Geleit gehabt haben, nimmt der König von nun an in eben denselben Schutz u. Schirm, als die Papisten. 3. Der in einigen hundert Jahren den Kirchendienern, Canonikern, Monchen u. andern geistlichen Leuten verboten gewesene Ehestand wird erlaubt, u. jedem freygestellt, entweder in die Ehe zu treten, oder in Reinheit des Lebens zu verbleiben. 4. Die Bischöfe sollen hinfüro kein Pallium zu Rom holen, sondern allein vom Könige ihre Bestätigung holen, wann sie erst vom Capitel, welches hierin seine Freyheit behalt, rechtmässig erwahlet sind."

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,¹⁰ 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.¹¹ With his co-operation the University of Copenhagen was arranged anew;¹² he crowned the King and Queen (August 12, 1537),¹³ and consecrated the new evangelical bishops or superintendents, September 2; the new ecclesiastical

¹⁰ Danish in 43 articles; in German in Pontoppidan, ii. 836; in Latin in Muhlus, p. 133, and Münter, iii. 308.

¹¹ On Bugenhagen's residence in Denmark, see Joh. Joach. Müller's *entdecktes Staatscabinet*, 4te *Eroffnung* (Jena, 1716), cap. 9. Balth. Münter *Symbolac ad illustrandam Bugenagii in Dania Commorationem*. Hafn., 1836. 8.

¹² Münter, iii. 471.

¹³ *Die Kronung König Christians III. v. Dan. u. s. Gemahlinn Dorothea durch Dr. Joh. Bugenhagen*, herausgeg. von Dr. G. Mohnike. Stralsund, 1832. 8.

order was published on the same day,¹⁴ and it then received legal sanction from the Diet of Odense, 1539.

In Norway,¹⁵ 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 Iceland¹⁶ all reformatory movements were kept in check by the two bishops of the country, till Giffur 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 1548, John Aresen, Bishop of Holum, 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;¹⁷ however, their efforts were unsuccessful, as were those of other Catholic missionaries;¹⁸ and the whole Danish kingdom has ever since remained true to the Lutheran Church.

§ 18.

IN SWEDEN.

Jo. Baazii (provost in Joncoping, in East Gothland) *Inventarium Ecclesiae Sueo-Gothorum, continens integram historiam Ecclesiae Succiae libb. VIII. descriptam.* Linco-

¹⁴ On their redaction, see Münter, 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.

¹⁵ Münter, iii. 515.

¹⁶ Ludw. Harboe (bishop, who spent 1741-46 as Visitator in Iceland) *Om Reformationen i Island*, in *det Kjøbenhavnse Selskabs Skrifter*, v. u. vii. Münter, iii. 530.

¹⁷ Thus, in 1613, six Catholic preachers, who had been trained in Jesuit schools, were deposed; Pontoppidan, iii. 611.

¹⁸ *Nachrichten von den Missionsversuchen der Römischen Kirche in Dänemark u. Norwegen*, in Münter's *Magazin für Kirchengesch. u. Kircheurecht des Nordens*, B. 2, St. 4, s. 7.

plae, 1642. 4. Dr. J. A. Schinmeier's Lebensbeschreibungen der drey Schwed. Reformatoren, des Kanzlers Lorenz Anderson, Oluf Peterson, u. Lorenz Peterson. Lübeck, 1783. 4. Geschichte Schwedens von E. G. Geijer, from the Swedish, by Swen P. Leffler (in Heeren's u. Ukert's Gesch. d. Europ. Staaten), 2ter Bd. Hamburg, 1834. 8. R. C. H. Römer de Gustavo I. rerum sacrarum in Suecia Saec. XVI. instauratore. Traj. ad Rhen., 1840. 8.

[Swenska Kyrkoreformationens historia, af L. A. Anjon, 3, 8vo, Upsala, 1850-51 (comp. Reuter's Repertorium, März, 1852). Munch, Origin, History and Migrations of Scandinavia, Christiana, 1851. Aug. Theiner, Schweden u. seine Stellung zum heiligen Stuhle, 3 Bde., Augsb., 1839. A. E. Knos, Die Schwedische Kirchenverfassung, mit Vorwort von Dr. G. C. A. Harless, Stuttg., 1852. The History of Sweden in Heeren's Gesch. d. Europäischen Staaten, 4, 8vo. F. W. Schnbert, Schwedens Kirchenverfassung, 2 Thele., 1820-21. Eric Gustav Geiger, History of Swedes (Orebro, 1836), translated by J. H. Turner, 3, 8vo, Lond. A chapter on the Church in Sweden, in Journal of Sacr. Lit., Oct., 1858. Anders Fryxell, Hist. of Sweden, translated and edited by Mary Howitt, 2, 8vo, Lond., 1844.]

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, 1523, to the Bishop of Skara (Geijer, ii. 43): *Periculose pullulare incipit haeresis illa Lutherana per quendam Magistrum Olavum in Ecclesiae Stregnesensi, praesertim contra decreta s. Rom. Ecclesiae ac ecclesiasticam libertatem ad effectum, ut status modernae Ecclesiae reducatur ad mendicitatem 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. "Wann sie vermerken, dass wir den Vortheil 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, 1524,³ and the incautious expressions of several of the new preachers.⁴ The disputation held in Upsala, 1524, had no special result.⁵ 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 Westerås, 1527, proposed to resign; but instead of this the Church was surrendered to his discretion.⁶ 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,⁷ and inclined to look upon all

königlichen Amtes anbefohlen ist,—sagen sie sogleich, wir wollten einen neuen Glauben u. Luther's Lehre einführen, da es doch nicht anders ist, als wie ihr jetzo gehort habt, dass wir ihnen nicht gestatten mögen, wider das Gesetz ihrem Geize zu frohnen." Comp. Gustav's Apologie gegen die Verlaumdungen des entwichenen Erzb. v. Upsala Johannes Magnus, early in 1527, in Baazius, p. 206, and, taken from this, in Gerdesii Hist. Reform., T. iii. Monumenta, p. 181: *Intelligimus, proh dolor! nos aliquorum improborum vocibus et scriptis lacerari, quasi novam fidem velimus in dilectam patriam introducere, et novatores quosdam in patriae perniciem defendere.—Religionis verae curam nos habere juxta Dei verbum non dilitemur: veriorem nullam habemus religionem, quam a Christo et Apostolis traditam: de hac non controvertitur, sed de ritibus quibusdam ab hominibus inventis, praesertim immunitate Praelatorum Ecclesiae. Ritus inutiles cupiunt docti abrogatos, quos etiam ipsi Praelati vident non posse verbo Dei defendi. Hos dum volumus abrogatos, novam vel aliam quam vere christianam religionem introducere minime insimulari possumus, etc.*

³ Instigated by Melchior Ring and Knipperdolling; Schinmeier, s. 47.

⁴ Objections against bishops, saints, and rites; in Schinmeier, s. 50.

⁵ The questions in dispute, and the declarations of both parties upon them, were printed 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 Westerås are in Geijer, ii. 63. 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 Westerås Ordinance made still more definite arrangements about the Church (in Baazius, p. 223, and Gerdesius, iii. 312). The bishops were to give efficient preachers to the congregations; otherwise 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 inheritance 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 Westerås, 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 Wunderzeichen, Menschenerfindungen u. Fabeln, wie es bishero viel geschehen." But the burghers 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,⁸ 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.⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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;¹¹ so that

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

⁸ See these in Baazius, 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.

⁹ A violent epistle of the King to the archbishop, Lawrence Peterson, 24th April, 1539; see Schinmeier, s. 101; Geijer, ii. 89. E. g. "Es sey kein Wunder, wenn die Gemeinen sich der evangelischen Lehre widersetzten, so lange es ihnen an gehöriger Unterweisung fehle. Er hätte billig dafür sorgen sollen, dass sie mit würdigen Lehrern hinlänglich versehen worden wären.—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 Bischöfe das so lange gemisbrauchte Schwert wieder erhalten würden, welches man ihnen mit so vieler Mühe aus den Händen gerissen hatte. Und da er selbst nicht verstande, wie die Predigten eingerichtet werden müssten, so wollte er ihm nur sagen, dass er darin nicht auf die alten Gebrauche schimpfen, sondern den Kern der Religion vortragen solle.—Christus u. Paulus predigten den Gehorsam gegen die Obrigkeit; aber auf den Schwedischen Kanzeln höre man nichts anders, als Ausrufungen über Tyranny 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 Baazius, p. 272; Gerdesius, iii. Monum., p. 197: *Habemus hoc saeculo gratia Dei singulari 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. (1560–68),¹² did not plant any roots. But much more serious movements succeeded under John III. (1568–92), from the attempt to reintroduce Catholicism.¹³ 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;¹⁴ 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;¹⁵ but his successor (1573), Lawrence Peterson Gothus, went decidedly into this movement.¹⁶ Now, under the protection of the Queen, and the agency of Stanislaus Hosius,¹⁷ 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 lec-

Sed proh dolor, multi nostratium hoc minime considerantes vix audire purum verbum Dei gestiunt: tantum abest, ut vitam suam juxta idem verbum instituant. Alii ipsum verbum odio Vatiniano prosequuntur, et quod aperte non audent, tacite effutunt, adseribentes Evangelio omnium adversitatum causam. Reliqui fructum nullum praedicatione Evangelio ostendunt, licet ejus praedicatione videntur delectari: verum (quod magis dolendum est) sub libertate Evangelii licentiam peccandi studiosius sectantur multi, quasi finis praedicationi Evangelii sit, eaque libertas christiana, ut liceat homini Christiano (adhuc peccatori) agere quae lubet.

¹² Schinmeier, s. 136 ff.

¹³ Aug. Theiner's Schweden u. seine Stellung zum heil. Stuhle unter Johann III., Sigismund III., u. Karl IX. (2 Theile, Augsb., 1838 u. 1839), Th. 1, s. 336; Th. 2, Urkundenbuch, s. 28.

¹⁴ He held the writings of George Cassander in special esteem; Geijer, ii. 215.

¹⁵ At the suggestion of the King the statements were inserted, that Anshar had introduced the true Christian religion; that the writings of the fathers helped to the true understanding of the Holy Scriptures; that good works should be preached together with faith; that in baptism they should retain the exorcism, the lights, the sign of the cross, and the white garments; that in the Eucharist there should be the elevation of the host; that several altars should be allowed in the principal churches, and private confession observed. Münter's Magazin, ii. i. 7.

¹⁶ The agreement which he and the other clergy must privately subscribe, see in Baazius, p. 365, and Münter's Magazin f. Kirchengesch. u. Kirchenrecht des Nordens, ii. iii. 41; Geijer, ii. 220 ff.

¹⁷ Comp. his letters to the Queen, the King, and John Herbest, the Catholic court preacher of the former, scattered in his collection of letters, in *St. Hosii Opera* (Colon., 1584 fol.), ii. 336 ss. The secret mission of the Jesuit, Stanislaus Warszewicz, and his negotiations with the King, 1574, are given in Theiner, i. 390, from his report to the general of the Jesuits.

tures, disputations, and sermons;¹⁸ several others soon followed them; Swedish youth were trained in the foreign Jesuit schools;¹⁹ Catholic books were translated and disseminated;²⁰ in 1576 an almost thorough-going Romish liturgy was issued,²¹ 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;²² 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 Herbest (Opp., ii. 408): Ego divinitus id factum esse puto, quod venit ad vos Norvegius ille, quem esse virum prudentem, et bene doctum, et non vulgari iudicio praeditum audio, magna praeterea pietate: censerem hunc modis omnibus amplectendum, ut Ecclesiam habere posset, in qua Dei verbum praedicaret.—Expedit autem, ut is, qui mittitur ad vos, omnem occasionem fugiat, qua 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 asserre, et planum omnibus facere, quod nihil aliud quam hoc fuit hactenus in Papatu praedicatum. 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, sermonem miscet variis de rebus.—Ministri, homines illiterati, promittunt Latini sermonis et elegantiam mirantur, operam omnem promittunt, miseri laqueum, quo suspendantur postea, sibi contexunt. Adeunt Regem, commendant virum. Rex gratam sibi esse commendationem significat, gaudet in sinu rem dextre confectam. Hanc opportunitatem nactus Rex Patrem Laurentium in theologiae Professorem cooptavit, statuens, ut quotquot Holmiae ministri essent (erant autem plus minus 30) Patris lectionibus interessent.—Porro cum salutis nostrae inimicus omnem animarum fructum semper impedire contendit, excitavit acmulum quendam P. Laurentio, Abrahamum (Augermannum) Scholae Rectorem: is animos auditorum subvertit et alienos a Patre fecit. Progreditur tamen Pater, quotquot auditores veniant, insinuat 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, Ollmütz, 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. 273.

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 opsatt Ar*, 1638, af Laurent. Raymundio (pastor at Thuring, in South Ermanland), edited by V. Stiernman. 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,²³ nominally an imperial, but in fact a papal legate. Meanwhile, as the Pope neither accepted the conditions,²⁴ 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,²⁵ the King gradually cooled down in his Catholic zeal.²⁶ 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;²⁷ but the King held fast to the new liturgy in the most obstinate style.²⁸

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.²⁹ After long resistance, Sigismund, too, confirmed these arrangements;³⁰ 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. 459.

²³ Theiner, i. 456 ff. On the secret change of the King, May, 1578; *ibid.*, s. 487. Possevin's report to the Pope; *ibid.*, Th. ii.; *Urkundenbuch*, s. 257 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.

²⁷ Geijer, ii. 226. *Imago primi saeculi Soc. Jesu Antverp.*, 1640, fol., p. 219: *tantas spes moriens regina secum abstulit, hac sublata deseruimus locum, non deposuimus curam.* Theiner, ii. 22.

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 scholis patriae alicubi suam doctrinam per vim aut dolum admisceant. Sin vero privatam agunt vitam in hoc regno, qui alienae Religioni 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.³¹ 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.³² Though inclined to Calvinism, he was obliged to yield to the general zeal for Lutheranism;³³ and to this Sweden has remained true without swerving.

§ 19.

IN ITALY.

Dan. Gerdessii Specimen Italiae reformatae. Lugd. Bat., 1765. 4. Thom. M'Crie's History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy. Edinb. and London, 1827; 2d ed., 1835; in German by Dr. G. Friederich. Leipzig, 1829. 8.

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 praeficiantur. To quiet his conscience, Sigismund, by advice of the nuncio who accompanied him, handed in a secret protestation (Ranke, Fürsten u. Volker von Südenropa im 16ten u. 17ten Jahrh., iii. 381), come S. Ma non con la volontà sua ma per pura forza si era indotto a concedere ciò che haveva concesso; and the nuncio at the same time induced him, che concedesse da parte agli cattolici altrettanto quanto haveva concesso 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): *Quoniam promiserit Rex noster ore et manu, non esse sua indulgentia hic tolerandos alienae Religionis docentes; tamen videmus multos in patria remanere post Regis discessum factionis Jesuíticae socios, qui non solum publica habent exercitia Holmiae, in Drotningholm et Wastenis: sed frequenter oberrant in patria, ut simpliciores decipiant. Concludimus igitur purgandam necessario esse patriam ab his omnibusque Sectariis, et approbamus unanimi consensu, ut omnes Sectarii ab Evangelica Religione alieni, qui sedem elegerunt in patria, omnes ac singuli intra spatium sex hebdomadam toto Regno discedant, aut auctoritate Magistratus compellantur abire. Officarii politici, qui a Sectariis sunt seducti, nec amore nostrae Religionis tanguntur, hi sunt ab officiis removendi. Maneant tamen Sueci in patria privatam vitam agentes,—quandiu scandala Religionis non pariunt.* By order of the duke, the archbishop, Abraham Angermann, thereupon had a general church visitation, 1596, to extirpate all relics of the papacy (Baazius, p. 571 ss.). The cloister at Wadstena was now abolished.

³² *Exegesis historica non minus aequas quam graves causas commemorans, quibus Ordines Sueciae Sigismundum renunciantes—Carolus—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. 335). 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).

[Kiesling, *Epistola de Gestis Pauli III. ad Emend. Ecclesiae spectantibus*, Lips., 1747. Schelhorn, *De Consilio de emendanda Eccl. jussu Pauli III., sed ab eodem neglecto*, Tiguri, 1748. De Porta, *Hist. Ref. Eccl. Rhaeticarum*. D. Erdmann, *Die Reformation u. ihre Märtyrer in Italien*, Berl., 1855. Jules Bonnet, *Vie de Olympia Morata*, 3me ed., 12mo, Paris, 1856.]

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;¹ they were reprinted in part under fictitious names, that they might be circulated without impediment.² 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.³

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, *b.*): Calvus bibliopola Papiensis—bonam libellorum partem in Italiam deportavit, per omnes civitates sparsurus. Neque enim tam sectatur lucrum, quam cupit nascenti pietati suppetias ferre.—Is promisit ab omnibus eruditis in Italia viris Epigrammata se missurum in tui 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 Ippofilo de terra nigra* (Scaligeriana 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 Aretius Felinus.

³ Paul Sarpi *Hist. du Concile de Trente trad. par Courayer*, i. 85: Dans l'Italie même plusieurs personnes goûtèrent la nouvelle Réforme. Car ayant été deux ans sans Pape et sans Cour Romaine, on regardoit les malheurs, qu'elle avoit essayés comme l'exécution d'une sentence de la justice divine contre ce Gouvernement; et l'on prêchoit contre l'Eglise Romaine dans les maisons particulières de plusieurs Villes, et sur-tout à Faënza 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'Evangeliques. Clement VII. said, in his brief to the inquisitor in Ferrara and Modena, 15th Jan., 1530 (Raynald. h. a., No. 51): Cum, sicut ex relatione pro parte tua nobis facta cum gravi nostrae mentis molestia innouit, in diversis Italiae partibus adeo pestifera haeresis Lutheri non tantum apud saeculares personas, sed etiam ecclesiasticas et regulares, tam mendicantes quam non mendicantes, invaluerit, ut aliquando nonnulli ex eis suis sermonibus et verbis, et quod deterius est publicis praedicationibus tali labe plerosque inficiant, caet.

readable edition of the Holy Scriptures.⁴ 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.⁵ 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 1535,⁶ Reginald Pole in 1536,⁷ Federicus Fegosius, Archbishop of Salerno, in 1539,⁸ John de Morone, Archbishop of Modena, in 1542.⁹ Others, however, united more decidedly with the German reformers; and, even when they did not wholly abandon the Catholic wor-

⁴ The New Testament was first published, Venice, 1530. 8. 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 Flaminus 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. eccl. et lit.*, 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 Amoen.*, 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 Carnesecca (l. c., p. 146), *propterea quod execranda secta Zuingliana progreditur omnino crescendo, et multi sequentes opinionem Lutheri condemnant idololatriam Missae.* Comp. p. 154: *Et nos, vir praestantissime, si non volumus naufragium facere in istis periculosissimis scopulis, humiliter alijciamur coram Deo, neque induci nos sinamus ulla ratione, quantumvis verisimilis appareat, ut nos separemus ab Ecclesia catholica.—In voluntate autem judicandi res divinas humana disputatione refutabimur abs Deo, et his contentiosis temporibus ita applicabimur uni parti, et odio prosequemur alteram, ut penitus amittamus judicium ac caritatem, et perhibeamus lucem tenebras, et tenebras lucem, et persuadendo nobis, quod simus divites ac beati, erimus pauperes, miseri et miserabiles, quod non sciamus separare pretiosum a vili, quae scientia absque spiritu Christi doceri non potest.—Wholly in the same evangelical spirit with the commentary of Flaminus is the *Comm. in Psalmos*, written by Jo. Bapt. Folengius (*Benedictine 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 Epist.*, 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, Evangelii doctrinam ei probe cognitam esse dicunt.* Against Surius, who declares this to be a calumny, see Schelhorn *Amoenit. hist. eccl. et lit.*, 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 Oratione*, 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

¹⁰ Renca v. Este u. ihre Töchter, von E. Münch, 2 Bde., Aachen u. Leipzig, 1831 u. 33, kl. 8.

¹¹ In 1542 it was the general report that Modena was città Lutherana (Quirini in the Praef. to Poli Epistt., T. iii. p. 84).

¹² Luther writes, as early as March 7, 1528, to Gabr. Didymus (de Wette, iii. 289): *Laetus 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 Paolio Roselli, wrote to him two letters of counsel and encouragement, July 26 and Aug. 1, 1530 (in Mel. Opp. ed. Bretschneider, ii. 226 u. 243). In the first he writes: *Scias igitur, Italos omnes expectare Augustensis hujus vestri conventus decreta. Quicquid enim in eo determinatum fuerit, id caeterae omnes christianae provinciae approbabant ob Imperatoris praeceptum auctoritatem.* In 1539 Melancthon wrote ad Venetos 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 Alterius (Altieri. comp. on him F. Meyer's *die evang. Gemeinde in Locarno*, i. 33, 36, 465), secretary of the English ambassador at Venice, wrote to Luther (the letter is in Seckendorf, 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 permittant quemlibet ritu suo vivere, dum tamen seditio et publicae quietis perturbatio caveatur. 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 Plieninger, s. 148 ff.; Dr. C. Schmidt in *Hlgen's Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol.*, vii. iv. 123.

most remarkable preachers of Italy became favorable to the Reformation, viz., Bernardino Ochino,¹⁴ General of the Capuchins, and revered almost as a saint, and Peter Martyr Vermigli,¹⁵ the learned Augustinian. From this circle¹⁶ proceeded, in 1540, the

¹⁴ (Bure. Gotth. Struve) De Vita, Religione, et Fatis Bern. Ochini Senensis, in the Observaciones Italicenses, iv. 409. De B. Och. Dialogorum libris, *ibid.*, v. 1. De B. Ochini Scriptis reliquis, *ibid.*, v. 64. Nachlese von B. Ochini Leben u. Schriften, in Schelhorn's Ergötzlichkeiten, iii. 765, 979, 1141, 2129. [Bock, Historia Antitrim., 1784.]

¹⁵ P. Mart. Verm. Florentini Vita per Josiam Simlerum Tigurinum. Tiguri, 1563. 4.; recusa in Gerdessii Scrinium Antiquarium, iii. 1; also in Melch. Adamus, in his Vitae Theologorum exteriorum principum. F. Ch. Schlosser's Leben des Theodor de Beza u. des Peter Martyr Vermili. Heidelberg, 1809. 8. s. 363. Vie de Pierre Martyr Vermigli, Thèse par Ch. Schmidt. Strasb., 1835. 4. [Also in Hagenbach's Leben u. Schriften d. Reformatoren, by C. Schmidt, 1859.]

¹⁶ On these occurrences in Naples there is a report by the Catholic Ant. Caracciolus in the Vita Cajetani Thienaci, who, with Joh. Petr. Caraffa, had founded the Order of the Theatines (Ant. Caracc. 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—Lutheriana labe infecte studuerunt. Nam primo Germani equites ad duo mille, et sex millia peditum, qui post directam Romam eo convolaverant, ut Lauthreum obsidentem repellerent, impii dogmatis, quod Luthero propinante imberbant, multa et nefaria exempla passim ediderunt. His postea alio amandatis unus Joannes Valdesius Hispanus, qui anno 1535, Neapolim venit, longe majorem mentium stragem dedit, quam multa illa Haeticorum militum millia. Ille enim literis tinctus iis, quae ad comparandam eruditi opinionem satis vulgo essent, placido adpectu, quique innocentiam praese ferret, comitate suavitateque sermonis teterrimam impietatem incredibili vafraimento occultabat. Itaque brevi ad se traxit multos his artibus illectos deceptosque. In his duo fuere, ceteris omnibus insigniores, et digna corvo ova, Bernardinus Oecchinus, et Petrus Martyr Vermilius, ambo haeticorum postea Antesignani. Bernardinus, magni concionator nominis, ostentatione asperissimi victus atque indumenti, egregiae sanctitatis famam sibi conciliaverat. Petrus vero, linguarum peritia excultus in coenobio S. Petri, cui praeerat, epistolas Pauli Apostoli publice exponendo ad sensum haeticorum dextere pervertebat. Initium detegendae impietatis a Nostris (the Theatines) factum: quippe Cajetanus, perspicaci vir ingenio, rem odorari coepit. Advertit enim dogmata, quae illi Satanae Reipublicae Triumviri de purgatoris poenis, de summi Pontificis potestate, de libero hominum arbitrio, de reorum justificatione passim inspergebant, sapere novitatem temerariam, atque adeo detestabilem impietatem. Observaveratque Oecchinum ab usque anno 1536, quo in aede S. Joannis Majoris concionatus fuerat, ambiguus quibusdam dilemmatis, et obtrectatione in ecclesiasticos magistratus coepisse auditores nequissimas persuasionibus inescare. Hoc vero anno 1539, nempe paulo post quam Nostris Paulinam aedem adepti sunt, is ipse Oecchinus cilicino indumento, et raucis declamationibus, h. e. instrumentis ad concitandam multitudinem instructissimus, e Metropolitani templi pulpito multo liberius apertiusque Lutheriana serebat dogmata. Cajetanus igitur, qui ad hos audiendos observandosque et ipse ire, et alios dedita opera mittere solitus erat, nihil jam enuctandum ratus Cardinalem Theatinum (Caraffa), qui tum Romae Paulum III. P. M. ad instituendum in ea urbe supremum Inquisitionis magistratum magis magisque sollicitabat, de iis rebus atque hominibus impiis certiore fecit; et Neapolitanos interim ipse monuit, ut porro sibi caverent. Denique conatus est modis omnibus hypoeritis illis larvam detrahare. Quocirea etsi illi sub ovina pelle lupi aliquot annos cum magna Campaniae pernicie latitaverunt; tamen aliquando tandem, crescente nimirum in dies nequitiae suspicione, et patefactis promiscuis et pudibundis virorum ac foeminarum coetibus, quos clanculum coegebant, omnes ut periculo praeverterent, quod sibi ab urbe imminerebat, alius alio aufugerunt. The Reformed Josias Simler relates, on the other

treatise *Del Beneficio di Christo*,¹⁷ which had a very wide circu-

hand, in the *Vita Petri Martyris* (see Note 15) Serin. Antiqu., 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 Bucei commentaria in Evangelistas, et annotationes in Psalmos, quas ille sub Aretii Felini nomine ediderat, diligenter evoluit, Zwinglii quoque librum de vera et falsa religione, et alterum ejusdem de providentia Dei, nonnulla etiam Erasmi et legit, et se horum omnium lectione multum profecisse saepe ingenue confessus est. Interea quotidie pene cum amicis, qui parae religionis studiosi erant, aliquid ex sacris literis et commentabatur, sic ut hujusmodi colloquiis multum utrinque in vera religione aedificarentur.*—Fuit eo tempore non spernenda ecclesia piorum hominum in urbe Neapolitana: nam in illo coetu multi viri erant nobiles et docti, multae etiam excellenti virtute foeminae.—Quamvis autem hujus Ecclesiae prima laus debeat Valdesio, nihilominus tamen Martyris quoque virtus commemoranda est, qui posteaquam a Domino ampliore luce divinae veritatis donatus fuit, et se coetui piorum adjunxit, eam quam veram doctrinam esse norat statim aliis quoque praedicare voluit. Etenim epistolam D. Pauli ad Corinthios priorem publicae interpretari coepit, idque magno cum fructu, namque illum non tantum ejus Collegii socii audiebant, verum etiam aliquot Episcopi et multi nobiles. But as he did not interpret 1 Cor. iii. 13 sq. of purgatory, he was forbidden to give lectures. Sed Martyr—causae bonitate fretus Romam ad Pontificem provocavit, et illic amicorum ope adversarios superavit. Habuit enim tum in urbe amicos potentes et gratiosos, Herculeum Gonzagam Cardinalem Mantuanum, Casparem Contarenum, Reginaldum Polum, Petrum Bembum, Fridericum Fregosium, omnes et doctos et apud Pontificem gratiosos, et qui tum viderentur aliquam reformationem Ecclesiae desiderare. Horum gratia et opibus subnixus facile obtinuit, ut interdictum illud adversariorum 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 unknown. 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 vix fuerit nostra aetate, saltem lingua Italica, libellus scriptus tam suavis, tam pius, tam simplex, et ad instruendos, praesertim in articulo de justificatione, rudiores atque infirmiores tam aptus tamque idoneus. Imo dicam amplius, Reginaldum Polum, Cardinalem Britannum, istius Moroni amicum summum, existimari ejus libri auctorem, aut bonam partem in eo habere: saltem certum est illum defendisse et promovisse cum suis Flaminiis, suis Priulis, aliisque alumnis.* 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 (Schellhorn's *Ergötzlichkeiten*, ii. 27 s.). Laderchius *Ann. Eccles. ann. 1567, No. 49*, calls Valdesius the author of this book, and says that Flaminio had written an Apologeticus for it. In fine, a report of the Inquisition declares (Ranke, *Fürsten u. Völker*, ii. 138): *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 particulamente a Modena de mandato Moroni, inganno molti, perche trattava della giustificatione con dolce modo ma hereticamente.* Schellhorn (*Amoen. hist. eccl. et liter.*, i. 157), and after him many others, conjecture that Palearius is the author, because he says in his *Oratio pro se ipso*: *Ex Christi morte quanta commoda allata sint humano generi, cum hoc ipso anno thusee 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. —[Compare *Benefit of Christ's Death*, Lond., 1856, from an Italian edition, 1543, 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 1543 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 spirit¹⁸ at a college which he there founded. Even in the States of the Church the Reformation found friends; very many in Bologna.¹⁹

The controversy about the Lord's Supper, which unhappily divided the Reformers every where, was also transferred to Italy.²⁰ 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.²¹

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, 1537,²² and brought forward far-reaching projects

another copy, was published at Leipz., 1855. Comp. Gersdorf's Rep., Nov. 1855. Notes and Queries, x. 384, 406; xi. 447; also for June 20, 1857.]

¹⁸ Simler in Vita Petri Mart., in the *Scrini. Antiqu.*, iii. 17.

¹⁹ When, in 1533, John von Planitz was in Bologna, as ambassador of the Elector of Saxony to the Emperor, the Bolognese 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 *Seckendorf 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; *Seckendorf*, 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): *Intellexi istic circumferri 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 Beza, *Epistt.*, p. 40, calls his *Considerationes—scriptum impium et irreligiosum*: this does not refer to Unitarian doctrine, but rather to mystical excesses (Bock, *Hist. Antitr.*, ii. 319).—Beza, *Epistt.*, p. 190, calls Ochino—*Arianorum clandestinum fautorem*; Stanislaus Hosius, in the *De Judicio Tigurinorum* (*Opp.*, i. 695), accuses him in the same way; other conflicting opinions in Bock, *Hist. Antitr.*, ii. 509. [*Comp. Fock's Socinianism*, 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.²³ 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.²⁴

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 Strasburg, and published by Luther in Wittenberg in a German translation with biting notes, 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. ad 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 Schellhorn refuted him (*De Consilio de emendanda Ecclesia, auspiciis Pauli III. conscripto, ac a Paulo IV. damnato ad Eminent. A. M. Card. Quirinum Epistolâ J. G. Schellhornii, Tiguri, 1748. 4.*), yet, since then, this *Consilium* has been again received into the Catholic collections of councils (in Mansi *Concill. Supplem.*, v. 537, and in *Jod. le Plat Monum. ad. hist. Conc. Trident. spectantia, ii. 596*).

²³ Its characteristics may be seen from the Introduction: *Sanctitas tua mandavit, ut nullius aut commodi tui, aut ejusquam alterius habita ratione, tibi significarem abusus illos, gravissimos scilicet morbos, quibus jam pridem Ecclesia Dei laborat, ac præsertim hæc Romana curia: quibus effectum propre est, ut paulatim ac sensim ingravescentibus pestiferis his morbis magnam hanc ruinam traxerit, quam videmus. Et quia Sanctitas tua—probe noverat principium horum malorum inde fuisse, quod nonnulli pontifices tui prædecessores prurientes auribus, ut inquit Apostolus, coærcaverunt sibi magistros ad desideria sua, non ut ab eis discerent quid facere deberent, sed ut eorum studio et calliditate inveniretur ratio qua liceret id quod liberet. Inde effectum est, præterquam quod principatum omnem sequitur adulatio, ut umbra corpus, difficillimusque semper fuit aditus veritatis ad aures Principum, quod confestim prodirent doctores, qui docerent Pontificem esse dominum beneficiorum omnium, ac ideo, cum dominus jure vendat id quod suum est, necessario sequi, in Pontificem non posse cadere Simoniam. Ita quod voluntas Pontificis, qualiscumque ea fuerit, sit regula qua ejus operationes et actiones dirigantur; ex quo procul dubio effici, ut quidquid libeat, id etiam liceat. Ex hoc fonte, sancte Pater, tanquam ex equo Trojano, irrupere in Ecclesiam Dei tot abusus et tam graves morbi, quibus nunc conspicimus eam ad desperationem fere 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 (*Epist. Poli, ed. Quirini, ii. 141*): *plurima christiane mecum disseruit, quo effectum est, ut iterum conceperim magnam spem aliquid Deum boni acturum, neque portas inferi praevalituras esse contra Domini spiritum. How much the Evangelical party expected from this Reformation, see Poli *Epist. ad Contarenum*, dd. 10. Jun., 1537 (*Epist. Poli, ii. 68*): *in maximam spem veni, Pontifice perseverante in censura morum, in caeteris non ita magnam futuram controversiam, ut non facile ad professionem unius fidei in caritate omnes provinciae consentiant.**

²⁴ See the articles as compared above, § 7, Note 42. *Comp. Contareni Epist. s. Tract. de justificatione*, written in Ratisbon, May 25, 1541, to explain and defend the *file justificamur* (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 prodiit. In *Epistoll. Regni. Poli, ed. Quirini, P. iii. p. cix.*, it is found like the Paris edition; p. cxxii. the Venetian changes are added). In Rome this view of the doctrine made a great sensation (*Jo. Casa in Vita Contareni, Epist. Poli, iii. p. clxxv.*: *Nec deerant Romæ, qui dicerent, nulla alia de causa ipsum Germanis gratum acceptumque esse, nisi quia adversariis indulisset, ac decreta, quæ pugnacissime defendere debebat, iisdem proditi-*

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.²⁵ The Pope receded, and, by advice of the Cardinal John Peter Caraffa (1542), appointed an Inquisition for the suppression of Protestantism in all Italy.²⁶ 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 Ochino²⁷ and Peter Martyr Vermigli: the lat-

disset. Hæc vero graves acerbaque voces—non tantum illic, ubi plurimum ipsi obesse poterant, improbe mittebantur, verum etiam per omnem Italiam fusæ ac disseminatæ magnopere illius exstimationem ac dignitatem lædebant, and Contareni had to be defended by his friends; e. g., by Aloysius Priolus (Epistoll. Poli, iii. p. xlvi.), 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 perfundi gaudio, cum hanc consonantiam opinionum viderem, quanto nulla quamvis suavis harmonia animum et aures unquam permulcere posset; nec vero tantum ob eam causam, quod magnum fundamentum pacis et concordie jactum esse videbam, quam quod hoc fundamentum illud agnoscerem, quod super omnia, ut mihi quidem videtur, gloriam Christi illustrat; est vero fundamentum totius doctrinæ Christianæ. 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 gratulor.—Quod vero jubes, ut ne divulgem, sed secreto apud me habeam, quæ de hæc concordia sunt scripta, doleo ita tempora exigere. July 16 he expresses himself in praise of the Tractatus of Contareni (l. c., p. 28): Cum vero eadem (quam proposuisti de justificatione sententia) tuo nomine notam aliquam inferre videbatur, quasi in ea novi alicujus dogmatis approbatorem te ostenderes (novitatis enim opinio, ut audio, fuit, quæ plures ab ea abalienavit), ad neminem quidem magis, quam ad me pertinebat, omnem ejusmodi labem, quantum in me esset, eluere.—Cum ad reliqua dignitatis munera per te sanctissime præstita hoc accessit, ut *istam veritatis sententiam, quam quasi margaritam pretiosam partim absconditam, partim apertam Ecclesia semper tenuit*, ipse in multorum manus et quasi possessionem daret, 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 (Epistt. Poli, iii. p. i.), cap. v. (l. c., p. xli.). Against him, Kiesling ad Quirinum epist. de Contareno, purioris doctrinæ de justificatione in conv. Ratisbon. teste et confessore. Lips., 1749. 4.

²⁵ From this proceeded, in 1542, the papal directions, De modo concionandi (in Epistt. Poli, ed. Quirini, T. iii., præf., p. 75), in which Cardinal Pole had the most important part.

²⁶ Comp. Onuphrius and Antonius Caraffa, in Ant. Caraccioli de Vita Pauli IV., Collectanea Historica, p. 44 and 156. The Bulle, *Licet ab initio*, 21st July, 1542, in Coquehines Bullarium, iv. i. 211.

²⁷ 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 Strasburg.²⁸ Not less was the surprise when, in 1548, Pierpaolo Vergerio, Bishop of Capo d'Istria,²⁹ who had been frequently employed as a papal legate, fled to the Protestants, at first betaking himself to the Grisons; and when Galeazzo Caraccioli,³⁰ 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.³¹

The Inquisition became still more cruel, when its leading spirit, Cardinal Caraffa, took the papal chair as Paul IV., 1555–59.³² Under him the persecution was also extended to those who united an evangelical tendency with strict ecclesiastical views;³³ bishops and cardinals were, in 1557, subjected to investigation; John Mo-

bed. According to Ochini's declaration, C. complained of the persecution that was beginning, and repeated his confession about justification: see M'Crie, p. 186. But this is disputed by Jo. Casa in Vita Contareni (Poli Epist., iii. p. exc.); comp. Quirini, l. c., p. lxxxiii. The letter of the Cardinal Caraffa to Ochino to induce him to return is in Jos. Silos Hist. Clericorum regularium. Extracts in Raynaldus, 1542, No. 56, and in Schelhorn's Ergötzlichkeiten, iii. 982. Another by Claudius Tolomeus, in Schelhorn, iii. 1005. Answer of Ochino, *ibid.*, s. 1145. On other letters of the latter to the regents of Siena and to Hieronymus Mutius Justinopolitanus, defending his step, *ibid.*, s. 2108.

²⁸ Martyr was afterward still in correspondence with his church in Lucca: see his letters appended to his *Loci communes theologici*. Heidelberg, 1613 fol.

²⁹ On him, Salig's Hist. der Augsb. Conf., ii. 1148. De Porta Hist. Reform. Eccles. Rhaeticarum, i., ii. 139. [C. II. Sixt, P. P. Vigerius, 8vo, 1855; cf. Reuter's Rep. Aug., 1857.]

³⁰ On him, Thuani Hist., lib. 81. 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 Geneva, and Hieronymus Zanchius, who became professor in Strasburg, afterward in Heidelberg. How they came to know the truth is related in a letter of Zanchius to Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, in Gerdesii Serinium 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, 93, 189, etc. Olympiæ Moratæ Opera. Basil, 1590. Jules Bonnet Vie de Olympia Morata, 3me ed., 1856, Paris.] Among these refugees were also Caelius Secundus Curio, who belonged to the circle in Ferrara, in 1543 fled, and became a teacher in Lausanne (Gerdes. Ital. Reform., p. 234), Francis Stancarus, Laelius Socinus, and others.

³² The Epistola Busdragi to a cardinal, 1558, in Gerdesii Serin. Antiq., i. 319, is manifestly an ironical work, written by one of evangelical views, to set forth the insufficiency 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. 31), in which Polus seeks to prove the innocence of Aloysius Priulus, of the Cardinal Morone, and of himself.

rone³⁴ 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*,³⁵ 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.³⁶ But in this way they brought

³⁴ Jo. Ge. Frickii de Jo. Morono, Articulisque quibus tanquam Lutheranismi suspectus accusabatur, in Schelhornii Amoenitates Literariae, xii. 537. Card. Giov. Morone, Beitrag zur Gesch. desselben, in Münch's Verm. 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, l. 1., p. 568. The chief points of accusation: Art. 3. Dixit Concilium Tridentinum quoad articulum justificationis esse retractandum. 4. Scripsit Vicario suo Mutinensi, quod faceret intimare populis, quod deberent tantummodo confidere in sanguine Christi. 5. Tenuit, Sacerdotem non absolvere poenitentem, ejus audit peccata in confessione sacramentali, sed tantum declarare absolutum. 7. Tenuit, Pontifici non esse parendum uti Vicario Christi, sed tantummodo tanquam Principi temporali. 8. Tenuit, opera nostra, quantumcumque in gratia Dei facta, non esse meritoria. 10. Tenuit, sanctos non esse invocandos. 18. Quod libellum intitulatum *Beneficium Christi* (see Note 17) distribuendum curavit, et bibliopolae haeretico, seu de haeresi suspecto mandavit, ut hujusmodi libellos venderet quam pluribus posset, et iis, qui non haberent, dono traderet, quia ipse pecuniam illorum solveret. In the following articles he is charged with holding intercourse with heretics, particularly those in Bologna and Modena.

³⁵ P. P. Vergerius published them with notes (Opp. i. 236). On this writes the Venetian, Natalis Comes, in his Historiarum tui temporis (Venet., 1581), lib. xi., f. 263: Exiit edictum, ut libri omnes impressi, vel compositi, vel explanationibus ab haereticis scriptoribus contaminati, at non illustrati, sanctissimis magistratibus quaestionum ubique afferrentur, propositis etiam gravissimis suppliciis, si quis illos occultasset, suppressisset, ac non obtulisset. Tanta concernata est omnis generis librorum ubique copia et multitudo, ut Trojanum prope incendium, si in unum collati fuissent, apparere posset. Nulla enim fuit Bibliotheca vel privata vel publica, quae fuerit immunis ab ea clade, ac non prope exinanita.

³⁶ Hier. Zanchii Epist. ad Jo. a Lasco, 1558 (in his Epistoll. Hanov., 1609. 8., lib. ii. 236): In Calabriae castellis duobus, quorum unum est sub ditione Ducis Montis alti, alterum est ejusdem Nobilis Neapolitani, reperta sunt quatuor millia fratrum, e reliquiis illorum fratrum, qui Waldenses appellantur. Hi annos permultos incogniti, tuto in paternis aedibus vixerunt. Etsi enim Missas non probabant, sentiebant tamen posse eas a fidelibus salvis conscientiis adiri. At ubi hanc malam doctrinam dedocti fuerunt, omnes simul ab eis abstinerunt. Itaque factum est, ut non potuerint amplius latere. Persecutio igitur adversus illos est excitata. Scripserunt ad fratres Genevam, ut tum precibus, tum consilio, tum etiam humana ope se adjuvent. To this is to be added what is written by Florillus to Cratalorus (see Note 37): Antea quam Geneva discederem, misimus ad eorum instantiam duos ministros verbi, et duos scholae literariae magistros. Ministri anno praeterito (1560) fuere martyrio affecti, unus Romae, qui vocabatur Jo. Aloysius Pascalis ex Cunio civitate, alter Messinae, Jac. Bonellus, ambo Pedemontani: hoc autem anno residuum illorum hominum martyrio ibi deletum est.

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 Willh. 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. 133.

³⁸ *M'Crie*, p. 224 ff.

³⁹ *Versuche zu Anfange des 17ten Jahrh. die Reformation in Venedig einzuführen*, von Mohrike, in Schubert's *Abhandlungen der kön. Deutschen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg*, ii. 165. To help in forming a judgment about it may serve the letter of Paul Sarpi to the French canonist, Jacques Leschasser, of 12th May, 1609 (in *Le Bret's Magazin*, i. 489): *Observasti tu quidem, quibus rationibus Germania et Anglia ritus religionis mutaverint. At nos neque illae, neque valentiores ullae ad mutandos inducent. Certas leges et mores, licet minus bonos, ferendos tamen, ne mutationibus assueti cuncta mutare in animum inducamus, scis sacras inter leges principem locum tenere. Quibus legibus parendum putabimus, si summas contempserimus? Imo cum Pontificibus haec nobis contentio, quod illi ritus et disciplinae leges quotidie mutare volunt, quas nos manere cupimus, ne status reipublicae conculciatur.*

⁴⁰ *Gerdesii Italia Reform.*, p. 143. *M'Crie*, p. 262.

⁴¹ *De Petri Carnesecae Martyrio in Schelhornii Amoen. Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 180. *Gerdesius*, p. 143, 205. *M'Crie*, p. 277.

⁴² *Opp. ed. Amstelod. 1696*, ed. F. A. Hallbauer, Jenae, 1728. 8., prefixed to the latter edition is also a *vita Palearii* von Hallbauer. *Comp. Schelhorn Amoen. Hist. Eccl.*, i. 425. *Gerdes*, p. 150, 314. *M'Crie*, p. 286. [*Comp. above, Note 17.*]

§ 20.

IN SPAIN.

A. F. Büsching *Comm. de Vestigiis Lutheranismi in Hispania*. Götting, 1755. 4. *Geschichte der Verbreitung des Protestantismus in Spanien, aus d. Franz.* Leipzig, 1828. 8. Particularly Dr. Thom. M'Crie, *History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain*. Edinburg and London, 1829 (German by G. Plieninger, with a preface by Dr. F. C. Baur. Stuttgart, 1835. 8.).

[The Spanish Protestants, and their Persecution by Philip II.; by Señor Don Ad. de Castro, transl. by Thom. Parker, 8vo. Lond., 1851. *Sanctae Inquisitionis Hisp. artes aliquot detectae: Reginaldo Gonsalvo Montano auctore; Heidelberg, 1567: this is the original Spanish martyrology. Engl. transl., 1569, in 3 vols. 8vo. Comp. Essays of Cardinal Wiseman, iii. 1-159. Rossiew St. Hilaire, Histoire d'Espagne, Tom. vii., new ed., 1853 sq., is full on the Reformation. Dunham's Spain and Portugal, 5 vols., in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia.]*

The indignation of the Spaniards, still glowing against the oppression of the Inquisition, naturally produced a certain susceptibility to ecclesiastical changes.¹ In narrower circles a mystical tendency had gained ground, and in connection with this a more spiritual tone of piety.² Among the learned the writings of Erasmus were much read, and awakened a disposition to examine the condition and relations of the Church.³ 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,⁴ 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. 376. 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. 395 ss. 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. 3.

³ M'Crie, p. 136.

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, Nic. Antonii *Bibliotheca Hisp. Nova*, Tom. i. (Matriti, 1783, fol.), p. 639.

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

⁵ Spalatin's account of the Diet of Augsburg (Luther's Werke von Waleh, xvi. 912): "Alphonsus (Valdez), Kais. Maj. Hispanischer Canzlar, auch Cornelius, haben etliche freundliche Gespräch mit dem Philippo gehalten, ihm angezeigt, dass die Hispanier be-redt sind, als sollten die Lutherischen an Gott nicht gläuben, auch an die heil. Drey-faltigkeit, von Christo u. Maria nichts halten, also dass sie meyneten, wo sie einen Lutherischen erwürgeten, Gott einen grössern Dienst zu thun, denn so sie einen Türken erwürgeten."

⁶ Thus was it in case of Jacobus Enzinas, or Dryander, who was burned in Rome in 1546; M'Cric, 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. Senarelacii Hist. Vera de morte Jo. Diazii, 1546. 8. (reprinted in Gerdesii Scrinium Antiqu., viii. 389). Sleidanus, lib. xvii. ed. am Ende, ii. 435. Seckendorf Hist. Luth., iii. 653. M'Cric, p. 190. Comp. Veesenmeyer in Illgen'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, *Philippicæ disputationes XX. adversus Lutherana dogmata per Phil. Melancthonem 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), *Sanctæ Inquisitionis Hispanicæ artes aliquot detectæ, Heidelbergæ, 1567*. 8., p. 31, that a simple peasant was subjected to examination by the Inquisition, because he had said, *praeter Christi sanguinem nullum se aliud purgatorium agnoscere*. He was immediately ready to recant, but the Inquisitors, not contented with this, *ex illa præmissa deducunt misero aratori: ergo Ecclesia Romana, quæ contrarium suis legibus decrevit olim, errat*. Item, *errat Concilium*. Item *justificationem sola fide constare, in qua et noxa et poena homo sit absolutus: et ut tandem finiamus, ex istis deducunt totam illorum dogmatum concatenationem, quas ipsi haereses vocant, onerantque singulis his miserum hominem, ac si omnia disertis verbis asseruisset, vel ipso obstinate reclamante, asserenteque, se neque scire quidem quid ea sibi velint, abesse tantum, ut ea aliquando venissent in mentem. Quis non videt, quam haec agendi ratio plena sit fraude doloque ac diabolica 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

institutionem mediis privati sint, hoc eodem adeo adverso—eos vocat, erudit, collustrat. Ipsi enim Inquisitores, qui fidei ac veritatis ipsius extirpatores sese profitentur, illi ipsi, inquam, sunt eo, quem diximus, modo ejusdem veritatis concionatores, doctores, propagatores. Id clarissimis multorum exemplis est compertum, qui in ipsorum manus inciderunt, complurium rerum ad ipsorum salutem pertinentium ignari, tantum videlicet quod temere potius quam certo consilio garricint, non esse Purgatorium, vel quid simile, ipsorum vero Inquisitorum quaestionibus, consequentiis, inductionibus congrue minusve deductis, egressi sunt insigniter instituti, cujus rei vel is ipse rusticus, de quo jam diximus, luculentum exemplum esse possit.

⁹ Who in 1541 was confined in a cloister; see Regín. Gonsalv. Montanus, p. 259. M'Críe, p. 155.

¹⁰ Montanus, p. 256 ss. M'Críe, p. 161.

¹¹ 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 Memorabilia 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. Antonii Bibl. Hisp., i. 256. M'Críe, p. 216.

¹² M'Críe, p. 235.

¹³ Montanus, p. 238: Erant Hispali illius tempore factiones duae concionatorum, quos auditorum studiosa partium ingens turba sequebatur. Alia, si verba ipsa spectares, ad Epicteti Stoici placita, quam ad Scripturae sacrae normam accedebat propius, eo Epicteto inferior, quod iste factis sermoni consentaneis serio videretur agere, illa omnino secus. De crebris enim jejuniis, de mortificatione et abnegatione sui, de perpetuo precando, de prae se ferenda submissione ac dejectione animi, quam humilitatem ipsi vocant, in ipso vestitu, sermone, vultu, ac in universa demum 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 proram et puppim, quod ajunt, in operibus adversus contrariae factionis institutum collocantes, actuosi inprimis videri cupiebant. Eo studio, utpote ex ignoratione verae justitiae nato, ad Missas complures, ad sacrorum locorum frequentationes, ad Confessionis et communionis, quas vocant, usum frequentissimum, et ad multa alia nugamenta;—a verae justitiae exercitiis, iudicio scilicet et misericordia, atque adeo ab ipsa fide, unica acquirendae justitiae ratione, expiationis ergo divertebant. 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),¹⁴ and Juan Perez (Venice, 1556).¹⁵

But just these secret associations, when discovered, gave to the Inquisition the opportunity of seeing clearly how widely the Reformation was diffused in Spain;¹⁶ and it at once adopted the

coelibatum vel conjugibus, inprimis vero obedientiae votum, monachorum credo aemulatione, qua auditores sibi adstringebant. Hanc aiebant esse ipsam propriae voluntatis abnegationem, eisdemque prorsus ornabant titulis, quibus obedientiam sui ornat Deus. Ut vero in perpetuis tenebris liberius liceret in impostura progredi, a bonorum auctorum lectione, maxime autem Erasmi, a quo nihil scilicet praeterquam superbe sapere edocendi essent, veluti a peste deterrebant suos, ablegant eos ad Henricum Herpium, Bonaventurae opuscula, Abecedarium, Montis Sionis ascensum, et id genus alios, ex quibus humilitatem, inprimis vero coryphaeis obedire didicissent.—Altera factio concionatorum erat quorundam, qui ut sincerius tractabant sacras litteras, ita 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 duodecim annos, quod ad verae justitiae argumentum attinet, purum Christi evangelium audiverit, neque sine fructu.—Erant istius primarii assertores, doctores Constantinus, Aegilius, Varquius (Vargas).

¹⁴ Gerdessii Hist. Reform., iii. 165. M'Crie, p. 202.

¹⁵ M'Crie, p. 208. Perez also published a translation of the Psalms, a Catechismo, and a Sumario de Doctrina Christiano (Antonii Bibl., i. 757); also several works of Joh. Valdez (M'Crie, p. 154).

¹⁶ The abbot Gundisalvus de Illescas says of this, in his Historia Pontifical y Catolica (Salmanticae, 1574), according to the translation in Mosheimii Dissertt. ad. hist. ecd. pertin., i. 672: *Olim quicumque captivi ex carceribus Inquisitionis producebantur, ut infelicibus flammis comburerentur,—erant plebeji:—at proximis annis carceres, theatra et rogos tribunalis nostri plenos vidimus hominibus illustribus nobilissima stirpe satis, viris item tam pietate, quam eruditione, nisi signa prorsus fallunt externa, longe supra reliquos positis. Causam hujus et multorum aliorum malorum, quibus afflicti sumus, in Regibus nostris catholicis unice quaesiveris. Namque hi, quum eximio essent amore ac studio erga Germaniam, Angliam, aliasque provincias, quae Romanae Ecclesiae legibus et imperio sese subdixerunt, viros quosdam eruditos et eloquentia insigni praeditos in has terras miserunt, sperantes fore, ut horum sermonibus homines in errores delapsi ad veritatis reducerentur obsequium. Sed praeclarum hoc consilium malo quodam facto interversum est, plusque nobis calamitatis attulit, quam fructus et utilitatis. Theologi nimirum illi, qui ad alios illuminandos mandati erant, ipsimet lumine capti ad nos redierunt, deceptique ab haereticis exemplum eorum in patriam reversi sunt imitati; nescio utrum id opinionis errore contigerit, an vero arrogantiae vitio ceciderint, idque his hominibus defectionem suaserit, quod sese pro eruditis haberi cernerent, et apud externos populos majorem etiam eruditionis copiam acquisivisse videri vellent. And in another place: Quemadmodum hi captivi prae multis aliis dignitate et praestantia eminebant, ita numerus eorum tantus erat, ut totam certis sin Hispaniam ab illis corruptam et erroribus imbutam fuisse futuram, si binos aut tres menses medicinam distulissent Inquisitores, quia malum hoc curatum fuit. So it is said in Ludov. a Paramo de Origine et Progressu Officii sanctae Inquisitionis, Matriti, 1598, fol., p. 300: Nullus est, qui dubi-*

most decisive measures.¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ In two large auto-da-fés in Valladolid (May 21 and Oct. 8, 1559),¹⁹ and in two in Seville (Sept. 24, 1559, and Dec. 22, 1560),²⁰ the secret Protestants of those places were exterminated; in 1570, after victims had fallen a sacrifice in all parts of the kingdom,²¹ and many evangelical Spaniards had saved themselves by flight,²² 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

tet, quin magnum incendium in Hispaniarum regnis aetate nostra excitatum fuisset, nisi hujus sacrosancti Tribunalis vigilantissimi Patres illud summa diligentia adhibita penitus restinxissent. Quid Hispania futurum erat, si illico antidotum appositum non fuisset?—adeo se diffundere coeperat hoc incendium, ut in periculosissimam inter se conjunctionem Hispaniarum regnis brevissimo tempore ruinae allaturam conspirarent, caet.

¹⁷ Llorente, ii. 214.

¹⁸ Already, Feb. 25, 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.

²¹ See *Martyrum Elogia*, in *Reg. Gonsalvii Montani Inquisit. Hisp. artes aliquot detectae*, p. 173 ss.; reprinted in *Gerdesii Scrinium antiquar.*, iv. 581. The *Martyrologium*, composed by Mich. Geddes, in his *Miscellaneous Tracts*, translated by Mosheim, in his *Dissert. ad hist. eccl. pertin.*, i. 663, is unimportant. The full narrative is in Llorente, ii.

²² On their diffusion, see McCrie, 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.

Histoire Ecclesiastique des Eglises Reformées au Royaume de France (par Theod. de Bèze), voll. iii. à Anvers., 1580. 8. to 1563. *Commentarii de Statu religionis et Republicae in Regno Franciae* (by Jo. Serranus or De Serres, Ref. preacher † 1598, in Geneva), Partes V. 1570–80. 8. 1557–76. *Franc. Belcarii Peguilionis* (Beaucaire de Peguillon, Bishop of Metz † 1593) *Historia Gallica* (1461–67). Lugd., 1625 fol. *Jac. Aug. Thuani* (de Thou, President of Parliament in Paris † 1617) *Historiarum sui Temporis*, libb. 138 (to 1607), first complete edition, Orleans (Geneva), 1620 ff. 5 Bde. fol.*

Histoire de l'édit de Nantes (par Elie Benoist), à Delft, 1693–95., 3 Tomes in 5 Bden in 4. A short history of the Reformation precedes. *Histoire de la Réforme, de la Ligue, et du Règne de Henri IV.*, par M. Capetigue, 8 Tomes. Paris, 1834–35. 8. A. L. Herrmann's *Frankreichs Religions- u. Bürgerkriege im sechszehnten Jahrh.* Leipz., 1828. 8. F. v. Raumer's *Gesch. Europas seit dem Ende des 15ten Jahrh.*, ii. 161 ff. Dr. G. Weber's *Geschichtl. Darstellung des Calvinismus im Verhältniss zum Staat in Genf u. Frankreich.* Heidelberg, 1836. 8., s. 33 ff.

²³ 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.

²⁴ Llorente, iii. 61.

²⁵ M'Crie, p. 389.

²⁶ M'Crie, p. 394.

[W. Haag, *La France Protestante*; 10 Tom. 8vo. Bulletin de la Société pour l'histoire du Protestantisme Français; published since 1850, and full of documents illustrating the early history of the Huguenots. De Felice, *Histoire de Protestants de France*; 2d ed., 1851; English translation by Lobdell, 1851. Browning's *Huguenots*, 8vo, 1845, Phil. ed. Smedley, *Hist. of Ref. Religion in France*; 3 vols. in Harper's Theol. Library. Philip Le Noir, *Hist. eccles. de Bretagne (to the Edict of Nantes)*, edited by B. Vaurigaud; Nantes, 1851. C. Schmidt, Gérard Roussel (preacher to the Queen of Navarre), 8vo, 1845; *la Vie et les Travaux de Jean Sturm*, 8vo, 1855. F. W. Ebeling, *Sieben Bücher Franz. Geschichte*. Bd. i., 1855. Vicomte Th. de Bussière, *Histoire de l'établissement du Protestantisme à Strasb. et en Alsace*, 8vo, 1856. A. Barrel, *Hist. de l'église Ref. de Nîmes, 1533-1802*; 2d ed. 1856. Puaux, *Hist. de la Réforme Franç.*, 2 Tom. Paris, 1857-59. A. Lièvre, *Hist. d. Protestants de Poitou*. Tom. i., 1857. Ch. Brion, *Liste chronologique de l'histoire protest. en France, jusqu'à la Révocation de l'édit de Nantes*, 2 vols. 12mo, 1855. N. G. Soldan, *Gesch. d. Protest. in Frankreich*, 2 vols. 8vo. Leipz., 1855. Von Polenz, *Gesch. d. Franz. Protestantismus*, 1858. Anquez, *Histoire des Assemblées Polit. des Réformés de Fr. 1573 to 1622*, 8vo. Paris, 1859. E. Castel, *Les Huguenots et la Constitution de l'église Ref. de France, en 1559*. Publié à l'occasion du jubilé de 1859, 12mo. Paris, 1859. H. de Triqueti, *Les premiers Jours du Protest. en France (to 1559)*. 2d ed. 12mo. Paris, 1859. Henri Lutteroth, *La Reform. en France pendant sa première Période*, 8vo. Paris, 1859.—Comp. also, Victor de Chalembert, *Histoire de la Ligue, Henri III. et IV.* 2 vols. 8vo, 1854. Aug. Theiner, *Hist. de l'abjuration de Henri IV.* 2 vols. 8vo, 1852. *Recueil de Lettres missives de Henri IV.*, par Beyer de Xeiray (in the Coll. des Docum. ined., vol. vi. 1853). M. Capefigue, *Trois Siècles de l'hist. de France: 1548-1848*. 2 vols. 8vo, 1852. L. Ranke, *Civil Wars in France*; transl. New York, 1854. Comp. the general histories of Anguetil, Henri Martin (4th ed.), Abbé Guettée, Michelet, M. A. Gabourd, D'Aubigné, and Schmidt in Heeren's *Europ. Staaten*.]

UNDER FRANCIS I. AND HENRY II., TO 1559.

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 Briçonnet,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 Gerdessii *hist. Reform.*, T. iv. Monument., p. 10. The Propositiones it rejected were all taken from Lutheri *lib. de captiv. Babylonica*; see in d'Argentré, i., ii. 367. Melancthon at once published an *Apologia adversus furiosum Parisiensium Theologastorum decretum Viteb.*, 1521. 4. (recusa in Lutheri opp. Jen. ii. 451); cf. Seckendorf *Comm. de Lutheranismo*, i. 185.

² *Beze*, i. 5: Alors estoit Evêque de Meaux un bon personnage natif de Paris, nommé Guillaume Briçonnet, lequel nonobstant les Censures de Sorbonne, fut esmeu de tel zele, qu'il n'espargna rien qui fust en son pouvoir pour avancer la Doctrine de verité en son Diocese, conjoignant 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 Moine), Martial et Girard Ruffi, etc.

³ The censures of the Sorbonne, see in d'Argentré, i. ii., in *Indice*, p. iv., u. ii. i. 1 ss.

mian culture,⁴ and in this sense elevated above many ecclesiastical prejudices, and inclined to a reformation; but the severe earnestness of the French Lutherans, and their enthusiasm sometimes degenerating into fanaticism,⁵ 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,⁶ 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.⁷ He declared to them, to pacify them, that he let only fanatics be persecuted;⁸ 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'Argentré, 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'Argentré, ii. i., p. 11), was hung and then burned, in Paris, in 1529 (H. Pantaleonis *Martyrum historia*, Basileae, 1563, 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. 1919 ss.

⁴ Burigny's *Leben des Erasmus mit Zusätzen v. Henke*, i. 234. Capefigue, i. 192. On Francis, see Raumer's *Gesch. Europas*, ii. 172.

⁵ Capefigue, i. 196. On some calumnious writings of the year 1534, see Strobel Von Melancthon'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 *Gerdessii Hist. Reform.* iv., Monum. p. 60. Luther's Preface to the Smalcald Articles: "Es ist hie zu Wittenberg gewest ein Doctor (Gervasius Wain, 1531; 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 gienge alles unter einander wie das Viehe, u. thät jedermann, was er wolt."

⁶ See Vater's *kirchenhist. Archiv*, 1824, iii. 1. *Das Leben Calvin's v. Henry*, i. 17 ff.

⁷ 1532. See § 5, Note 42.

⁸ Francis had several of the Reformed executed in a barbarous way in Paris, January, 1535, at the same time that he, with his children, was taking part in a brilliant procession (Bèze, i. 20. Strobel Von Melancthon's *Ruf nach Frankreich*, s. 29). They were not wholly guiltless; Sturmii *Ep. ad Melancth.*, 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, immanibus et tragicis exclamationibus, ante Regis etiam conclave agglutinarunt, 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;⁹ but Melancthon did not come. After this, too, the

et magis quoque pernicioſa pericula crearentur. Nam perturbatus hac re populus, teritae multorum cogitationes; concitati Magistratus, inflammatus Rex gravissima iudicia instituerunt, nec immerito, si tamen in re modus servari posset. Latomus, then professor in Paris, wrote about it to Erasmus (Erasmi Epist. Basil., 1538, p. 1097): Fuimus praeterita hyeme in magno periculo et invidia Germani omnes in hac urbe propter quorundam temeritatem, qui libellos seditiosos 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 Scriptt. Rerum Germ., iii. 295, in Melancthon's German translation in Bretschneider, ii. 828. It is dated Feb. 1, 1534, *more Gallico*, the year beginning at Easter): Quum ad nos delatae fuerint impudentes quaedam calumniae, quae per Germaniam totam disseminatae, nominis nostri honorem et decus labefactarent;—facturos nos operae pretium putavimus, si illis ipsis calumniis responderemus.—Superiori autumno post Legati mei a vobis reditum, quum is ab iisdem vestris concinatoribus quosdam velut isagogicos libellos de sedandis iis controversiis attulisset, et cur non spe imbuerer optima initio nihil esset; ecce nobis dissensionum et mendacii parens, veritatis et quietis hostis, quosdam excitavit furiosos magis quam amentes, qui omnium expetendarum rerum subversionem haud dubie molirentur ac tentarent, quorum ego paradoxa malo iisdem sepeliri tenebris, unde subito emerſerant, quam apud vos, amplissimi ordines, hoc est in orbis terrarum luce, memorari. Tantum hoc dico, si qui unquam inter vos eorum similes, aut longo etiam intervallo ab iis separati extiterunt; abominati (ut debuistis) illos atque execrati estis omnes. Quae nimirum contagiosa pestis, atque ad deterrimam spectans seditio, ne latius in Gallia serperet, omni sollicitudine, opera, industria restiti. In conscios omnes, quicumque fuere deprehensi, uti more majorum ac legibus animadverteretur, effeci, nulli hominum generi parens aut nationi.

⁹ 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 *Loci Communes*, which work pleased him much. Sturm wrote this to Melancthon, and invited him to France, dd. 4. Mart., 1535 (Bretschneider, ii. 855). About the sentiments of the King he says: Videt in altera causa, quae vetusta est, tamen multa esse vitia, in altera, quae veritate nititur, plurimum periculi a cupidissimis et seditiosissimis hominibus. Melancthon answered cordially, but not without scruples, dd. 9. Maj. (l. c., p. 874): Jam si id agatur, ut, etiamsi leviores quidam articuli nobis donentur, tamen reliqui 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 others, from Cardinal Bellay, June 27 (*ibid.*, p. 879), from Sturm (*ibid.*, iv. 1029), and Guillaume Bellay (*ibid.*, iv. 1033), brought by a special envoy, Barnabas Voraeus 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 displeased 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 chancellor, Brück (*ibid.*, p. 909): "Wir tragen nicht wenig Sorge, so Philipps in Frankreich 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. Martinus u. die andern Theologi nicht werden einräumen können.—Zu dem ist nicht zu

King made another attempt to come to an understanding,¹⁰ but

vermuthen, dass den Franzosen Ernst sey des Evangeliums halben, sondern weil sie die Wankelmüthigkeit bey dem Philippo spüren, dass sie werden anhalten, ihn weiter auszulernen, und darnach seine Unbeständigkeit auszubreiten, u. ihn zu verunglimpfen. So ist auch wohl abzunehmen, dass die Leute, die die Sache fördern, mehr Erasmisch, denn Evangelisch seyn." Cf. Camerarii de Vita Phil. Mel., ed. Strobel, p. 145. Strobel Von Melanchthon's Ruf nach Frankreich u. seinem dahin geschickten Religionsbedenken. Nürnberg, 1791. 8. (from his Neue Beytr. zur Liter., v. 1, a special reprint).

¹⁰ Melancthon'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'Argentré Collect. Judic., i. 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 Melancthon. These declarations, written down by Spalatin, are in Seckendorf, iii. 105; Gerdessii 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 transsubstantiationem velint modis omnibus servatam. Regem igitur quaerere certa, ut habeat quod sequatur, esse enim solum, qui in regno suo imperet. *Tertio*, de Missis—magnam esse alterationem. Hic igitur Regem sic sentire: condonandum esse a nostris aliquid, imo nostris suam Missam esse permittendam, 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 saltem emendandas.—Regem etiam dixisse, se habere orarium ante multos annos scriptum, in quibus de intercessione Sanctorum nulla prorsus sit mentio.—Regem igitur de invocatione et oratione nobiscum sentire; et tamen arbitrari posse sic in oratione Sanctorum mentionem fieri, ut, si memoria fiat Petri, Pauli, etc., naufragantium, oremus et credamus, nos quoque periculo et discrimine liberandos: pro memoria, non pro intercessione. *Quarto*, Regem quoque probare nostram de imaginibus divorum sententiam, ita ut plebs doceatur, non adorandas esse, sed ut pro memoria habere possint. *Quinto*, de meritis Sanctorum theologos Gallicos sententiam suam mordicus retinere; dicere enim, sic mereri, ut pro nobis exaudiantur. Tantum hoc amittendum, ut Rex veritatem intelligat. *Sexto*, Regi etiam nostram de libero arbitrio sententiam placere. Nam quamvis primo theologis displicuisset, inspectis tamen locis Philippi communibus et eos quoque in hanc nostram iniisse sententiam. *Septimo*, de purgatorio sententiam suam theologos pertinacissime tueri, ut ex quo pendeant Missae, indulgentiae, legata ad pias causas, mundaiones Missarum, et breviter omnia. *Octavo*, de bonis operibus theologos vehementer tenere suam sententiam, nempe bona opera esse necessaria: Oratorem vero respondiisse, nos quoque dicere necessaria, non tamen ita, ut per ea vel justificemur vel salvemur.—*Nono*, de votis monasticis dixit, sperare Regem, hoc se impetratum a Pontifice Romano, ut pueri initientur docendi, sed ne ante annum trigesimum vel quadragesimum ad vota monastica cogantur, sed ut liberum sit ipsis deserere, si necessitas tulerit, monasteria, et uxores ducere. Id enim Regi videri esse ex re non solum Ecclesiae sed etiam politicae, ut sint viri idonei, qui ministeriis et functionibus admoveantur.—Ergo monasteria sic instituenda, ut sedes postea sint studiorum, ut sint illic eruditi, qui juventutem doceant, et qui ab ipsis discant.—*Decimo*, dixit Orator, a theologis Gallicis conjugium sacerdotale non probari, sed Regi hoc medium placere, ut nostris conjugibus sacerdotibus conjugium eorum relinquatur, reliqui autem et futuri in coelibatu maneat: qui autem duxerint uxores, ut abstineant ministerio sacro et pastoralis cura.—*Undecimo*, de utraque specie, ait Orator, hoc Regem apud Clementem Romanum Pontificem diligenter egisse, et spem ipsi esse, fore, ut hoc a Romano Pontifice impetret, ut sanciat et statuat, utrumque cuique secundum conscientiae suae modum esse liberum, sive alteram tantum sive utramque speciem accipiendi.—Dixit etiam Orator Gallicus, locum de justifi

was soon turned about by opposite impressions.¹¹ 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.¹² 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.¹³ Persecution, however, increased in the same degree: the most horrible was that of the Waldenses in Méridol and Cabrières in the Provence, which in 1545 ended in a general massacre.¹⁴

Yet the number of the Reformed was already very large when Francis I. died, in 1547, and was constantly increasing under

eratione ut a nostris tractetur, probare Regem.—Praeterea gratissimum Regi futurum, si duo vel tres ex nostris eruditus in Galliam mitterentur ad ipsum, coram eo his de rebus collocaturi. Regem enim adhibiturum colloquio eruditorum et Sorbonicos morosis simos, et qui nobiscum sentiant, ad eruendam veritatem evangelicam.

¹¹ Especially through the influence of Cardinal Tournon. Du Prat died in 1535. In 1541 Francis complains to the Pope of the concessions of the legate at Ratisbon (see § 7, Note 44, at the end).

¹² He wrote the *Institutions* in Basle in 1535. Extracts from the *Praefatio ad Regem*: *Quum perspicerem usque eo quorundam improborum furorem invaluisse in regno tuo, ut nullus sanae doctrinae istic sit locus: facturus mihi operae pretium visus sum, si eadem opera et institutionem iis darem, et confessionem apud te ederem, unde discas, qualis sit doctrina, in quam tanta rabie exardescunt furiosi illi, qui ferro et ignibus regnum tuum hodie turbant. Neque enim verebor fateri, hic me summam fere ejus ipsius doctrinae complexum esse, quam illi carcere, exilio, proscriptione, incendio muletandam, quam terra marique exterminandam vociferantur. Equidem scio, quam atrocibus delationibus aures animumque tuum impleverint, ut causam nostram tibi quam odiosissimam redderent: sed id tibi pro tua clementia perpendendum est, nullam neque in dictis neque in factis innocentiam fore, si accusasse sufficiat. Sane si quis faciendae invidiae causa doctrinam hanc, cujus rationem tibi reddere conor, omnium ordinum calculus damnatam, multis fori praejudiciis confossum jamdudum fuisse causetur; nihil aliud dixerit, quam partim adversariorum factione et potentia violenter dejectam, partim mendacis, technis, calumniis insidiosae fraudulenterque oppressam. Vis est, quod indicta causa sanguinariae sententiae adversus illam feruntur; fraus, quod seditionis et maleficii praeter meritum insimulatur.*

¹³ See § 10, Notes 40, 42. Weber's *Darstellung des Calvinismus*, s. 44.

¹⁴ These Waldenses, the only ones that still remained in their original fatherland, were also quickened by the Reformation, and had conferences with the German and Swiss Reformers. Thus they gave occasion to the Parliament that assembled at Aix in 1540 to condemn them to a fearful sentence; the execution of it was, indeed, delayed by the favorable report upon the Waldenses made to the King by William de Bellay, governor of Piedmont; but it was enjoined, 1545, by a new decree of the Parliament of Aix, and carried out in a horrible manner. See *Histoire mémorable de la Persecution et Saccagement du Peuple de Méridol et de Cabrières, et autres Circonvoisins appelés Vaudois*, 1556. 8.; *Histoire de Persecutions et Guerres faites contre ceux appelés Vaudois*, Geneva, 1552. 8.; *Béze*, i. 35 ss.; Sleidanus, lib. xvi., ed. am Ende, ii. 380; Thuanus, lib. vi., ad ann. 1550; Capefigne, i. 337 ss.; Calvin's *Leben v. Henry II.*, 326.

Henry II., although this weak ruler, under the influence of zealous Catholics,¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ 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,¹⁷ and in 1559, in a general synod at Paris, had agreed upon a Confession of Faith and a church order,¹⁸ 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;¹⁹ among the educated their numbers increased with rapid

¹⁵ Particularly of the constable, Anne de Montmorency, the Cardinal Charles de Lorraine, son of the Duke of Guise, Diana de Poitiers, and Jacques d'Ablon, Marshal of St. André; see Bèze, i. 68; Raumer's *Gesch. v. Europa*, ii. 184.

¹⁶ Capetigue, ii. 39. François de Coligny, Seigneur d'Andelot, was a brother of the Admiral de Coligny.

¹⁷ Bèze, i. 97, in 1555: Ce n'est pas merveilles, si Satan et ses adherans se débordent alors à toute cruauté.—Car il commença vraiment alors d'estre assailli et combatu de plus près qu'il n'avoit esté auparavant en France, où il n'y avoit encores proprement aucune Eglise dressée en toutes ses parties, estans seulement les fideles enseignés par la lecture des bons livres, et selon qu'il plaisoit à Dieu de les instruire quelquesfois par exhortations particulieres, sans qu'il y eust administration ordinaire de la parole, ou des Sacramens, ny consistoire établi: ains on se consolait l'un l'autre comme on pouvoit, s'assemblant selon l'opportunité pour faire les prieres, sans qu'il y eust proprement autres prescheurs, que les Martyrs: horsmis quelque petit nombre tant de moines qu'autres, preschans moins impurement que les autres: tellement qu'il se peut dire que jusques alors le champ du Seigneur avoit esté seulement semé, et avoit fructifié par cy par la: mais qu'en ceste année l'heritage du Seigneur commença d'estre rangé, et mis par ordre à bon escient. L'honneur de ceste ouvrage appartient sans point de doute après Dieu à un jeune homme—nommé Jean le Maçon natif d'Angers, dit la Riviere, etc. He founded the congregation at Paris, which was soon followed by others. Most of the churches received their preachers from Geneva. Weber, s. 51, Note.

¹⁸ Both (Bèze, i. 173 ss.) were written in accordance with Calvinistic principles, although the Reformed were still called *Lutheriens* in France.

¹⁹ On their secret assemblages, Bèze, i. 120: La commune opinion estoit, qu'on s'estoit là assemblé pour faire un beau banquet, et puis paillarder pesle mesle les chandelles estaintes. Ils adjoustoient aussi pour mieux orner ce mensonge, qu'il y avoit des Nonnains et des Moines.—Les Curés et Prescheurs de leur costé employoient leurs personnes et sermons à imprimer ces mensonges au peuple, disans mesmes, qu'on y tuoit les petits enfans, et autres choses semblables, desquelles Satan a voulu diffamer l'ancienne Eglise:

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,² which had been given to them, formed both a political

et ce bruit estoit non seulement entre le commun peuple, mais entre les plus grands jusques au Roy, auquel on tacha de le persuader par faux rapport. On introduit doncques l'un des Juges du Chastelet, lequel osa, à l'appetit des adversaires de l'Evangile, rapporter à la Majesté du Roy, qu'on avoit trouvé en la salle de la maison plusieurs paillasses, sur lesquelles se commettoient les paillardises, et l'appareil aussi d'un bon et somptueux banquet, qui s'y devoit faire: chose qui irrita grandement le Roy, etc.

²⁰ Given in Raynald, 1557, no. 29.

²¹ Bèze, i. 114. Capefigue, ii. 41. In the Parliament an important minority spoke against the execution of the Reformed, demanded a council, and freedom of conscience until it could be convened. The King himself appeared in the Parliament, June 13, 1559, and caused the chiefs of this minority to be arrested; Capefigue, ii. 55. One of them, Anne de Bourg, was burned, Dec. 23, 1559; Bèze, i. 246; Capefigue, ii. 93; Vatter's Kirchenhistor. Archiv., 1824, iv. 13.

¹ Comp. besides, Histoire de l'état de France, tant de la république que de la religion, sous le regne de François II., par Regnier de la Planche (contemporary and Reformed), publiée, par M. Ed. Mennechet., Tomes ii., Paris, 1836. 8.

² Bèze, i. 269. Or pource qu'il a esté fait mention de ce mot de Huguenot donné à ceux de la religion reformée durant l'entreprise d'Amboise, et qui leur est demeuré depuis, j'en diray un mot en passant, pour mettre hors de doute ceux qui en cherchent la cause assés à l'escargée. La superstition de nos devanciers, jusques à vingt ou trente ans en ça, estoit telle, que presque par toutes les bonnes villes du royaume ils avoient opinion, que certains esprits faisoient leur purgatoire en ce monde apres leur mort, qu'ils alloient de nuit par la ville battans et outrageans beaucoup de personnes, les trouvant par les rues. Mais la lumiere de l'Evangile les a fait esvanouir, et nous a appris, que c'estoient coureurs de pavé et ruffiens. A Paris ils avoient le moine bourré, à Orleans le mulet Odet, à Blois par Lougarou, à Tours le roi Huguet, et ainsi des autres villes. Or est il ainsi, que ceux, qu'on appelloit Luthériens, estoient en ce temps là regardés de jour de si pres, qu'il leur falloit necessairement attendre la nuit pour s'assembler pour prier

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., 1560,³ that the Regent, Catharine, determined to adopt a middle course.⁴

Dieu, precher, et communiquer aux saints Sacremens: tellement qu'encores qu'ils ne feissent peur, ne tort à personne, si est-ce que les prestres par derision les feirent succeder 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 Huguenots au pays de Touraine: et premierement à Tours, que ceux de la religion s'assemblans de nuit furent surnommés Huguenots, comme s'ils eussent esté la troupe de leur roi Huguet: et pource que la premiere decouverte de l'entreprise d'Amboise se fit à Tours, qui en baillerent la premier advertissement sous ce nom de Huguenots, ce sobriquet leur en est demeuré. So, too, Thuanus, lib. xxiv., p. 711. It is remarkable that, instead of being content with this explanation, which befits the first appearance of this name, and is adequately verified, the most manifold and strange explanations have been attempted (see Benoist, i. 23). Among these, the derivation from *eidgnots* (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.]

³ Preparations for this were made by the *Assemblée de Notables* in Fontainebleau, Aug., 1560, called by the Chancellor l'Hospital (about him see Raumer'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 Serranus, i. 48. Bêze, i. 277. Thuanus, lib. xxv., p. 761. Cf. Capefigue, ii. 144. Of the same purport is the address with which the Chancellor l'Hospital opened the Estates General (Bêze, 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 Serranus, i. 105), given in full in Bêze, i. 650 ss. (according to Capefigue, 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 (Bêze, i. 649). Here it is said, Que la quatriesme partie de ce Royaume est separee de la communion de l'Eglise, laquelle quatriesme partie est des gentils hommes, de gens de lettres, et des principaux bourgeois des villes, 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 proyé de celui qui le voudroit conquerir, ou bien d'affoiblir 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 heretiques, 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 personages de sçavoir,—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 vraye et certaine reigle de foi, contenant les 12 articles, et ce que depuis nous a esté declaré par les susdits 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-

jeunes, et des ceremonies, tant sur l'administration des sacremens, que sur la maniere de servir Dieu, n'empecha qu'ils ne fussent tous Chrestiens, et qu'ils ne communicassent les uns avec les autres. In any case the Pope must soon do something to bring back the schismatics to the Church, and to confirm the wavering. Proposals are made with special regard to this object: Quant à ceux qui sont encores sous l'obeissance de l'Eglise, il faut entendre, qu'il en y a et en tres grand nombre, qui ne veulent encores s'en departir, et toutesfois sont combatus continuellement en leurs consciences en trois principaux points. Le premier est, qu'ils voyent, que la primitive Eglise n'avoit point *d'images*: ou leur dit, que Dieu a expressement defendu de les mettre en lieu d'adoration: ils voyent, que S. Gregoire mesme a defendu de les adorer (vol. i., § 119, Note *h*). Tous les bons qui depuis les ont recevés, ont déclaré, qu'elles ne servent que à représenter au populaire la memoire des absens, et que ce sont comme histoires escrites pour les simples et ignorans. Ils voyent aussi les grands et enormes abus, les meneries et impostures, et faux miracles, qui depuis quelque temps ont esté decouverts de ce Royaume, et inclinent facilement à l'opinion de ceux, qui n'en veulent du tout point, et entrent contre leur conscience aux Eglises d'autant qu'ils sont contrains de s'agenouiller devant les images.—Parquoi—nostre saint Pere considerera, s'il lui plaist, s'il ne seroit pas raisonnable, qu'elles fussent ostees des autels, et colloquees à l'entour des temples, soit dedans ou dehors.—Le second article est de l'administration des saints *sacremens*, du Baptesme, et de la sainte Communion. Quant au *Baptesme*, il vient à noter, que beaucoup de bons personnages trouvent estranges les exorcismes et oraisons, qui—à present d'autant que ceux qui y assistent ne les entendent point, il semble, qu'on s'en pourroit passer. Et davantage il y a beaucoup de gens, qui estiment, que tous ces préambules soient de la nécessité du Baptesme, qui est contre l'opinion de l'Eglise.—Quant à la *sainte Communion*, il y a plusieurs bons personnages craignans Dieu, qui sont scandalisés de trois poinets, dont le premier est, qu'on ne leur donne à communier, que *sous une espece* seulement, et ne peuvent assseurer leur conscience sur le Concile de Constance, ni sur la coustume introduite depuis quelque temps, attendu que Jesus Christ a dit: Prenez, mangez, et beuvez. Et tout ainsi que S. Paul a dit:—que l'homme boive de ce calice; adjoustant à ces deux textes l'ancienne coustume de l'Eglise continuee par l'espace de mil à douze cens ans.—Nostre S. Pere—jugera, s'il lui plaist, s'il seroit bon de permettre, que ladite Communion fust restituee par privilege, nonobstant la definition dudit Concile de Constance. Pour le second poinet, il vient à noter, que plusieurs font conscience de se presenter à la sainte Communion en *la sorte, que nos Evesques et Curés la distribuent*, c'est à dire à un, à deux ou trois à part, sans qu'aucunes prieres soient entendues, et sans que la cause de ce saint sacrement leur soit déclarée: et voudroient bien, que la maniere de la distribuer selon l'ancienne coustume de l'Eglise fust remise sus, et sont tellement arrestés sur ce poinet, que nos adversaires disent, qu'ils en usent comme nos anciens Peres, et la nous ont laissée par escrit; que si le regret, qu'ils ont de se separer de la communion de l'Eglise, ne les retenoit, il y en auroit un grand nombre qui pieça nous eussent abandonnés: et ne se peut nier, que la comparaison de l'une façon à l'autre ne nous apporte grand prejudice.—Parquoi pour obvier à cet inconvenient, s'il plaisoit à nostre S. Pere le Pape permettre, que la sainte Communion soit une fois le mois administrec selon qu'il estoit en la primitive Eglise, c'est à savoir, que l'Evesque ou le Curé, ou autres pour eux, peussent tous les premiers dimanches des mois, ou plus souvent, s'ils en sont requis, assembler ceux, qui en auroient devotion, devant et apres l'office, et la peussent chanter un Pseaume en langage vulgaire, fissent confession generale de leurs pechés, et prieres publiques pour tous magistrats spirituels et temporels, pour la salubrité de l'air, pour les fruicts de la terre, pour les malades affligés, et pour tous autres, qui ont besoin d'estre consolés pour la bonté et liberalité de nostre Dieu: puis leur fust faite lecture de ce que les Evangelistes, ou saint Paul nous ont escrit concernant le saint sacrement: lequel aussi leur fust baillé sous deux especes.—Il n'y a chose, qui tant tourmente les consciences de ceux, qui veulent vivre selon Dieu, que la crainte de n'avoir les sacremens

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,⁵ 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,⁶ 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,⁷ the Catholics also became more im-

ainsi qu'ils ont esté institués et ordonnés : et toutes les fois, qu'ils sont persuadés, qu'on y a adousté ou diminué pour y faire quelque changement, ils pensent estre certainement hors du chemin de leur salut.—Le troisieme 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 premiere, 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 commemoration, c'est à dire, ce que j'ai fait : et disent, qu'il y a pareille difference entre le prendre et le manger, et le voir et porter par les rues, comme on pourroit dire, si un medecin avoit commandé de prendre une medecine au malade pour sa santé, et que celui là au lieu de la prendre, la fist porter honorablement par la maison.—Pour la seconde raison, ils alleguent, que Jesus Christ est au regne de son Pere, et ne requiert de nous que l'honneur spirituel et l'adoration en esprit et verité.—Voilà la plainte, qui est faite non pas par les separés, 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 departent point, desirent, que ce qui apporte plus de scandale que de fruit, plus d'abus que de devotion, soit du tout osté, ou pour le moins reformé.—*La Messe* est le tiers article, pour lequel plusieurs sont scandalisés. Tout le monde dit, que c'est un grand scandale en la Chrestienté 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 encores avec nous, qui ont passé plus outre, et font grand scrupule en ladite messe, tant pour la substance, que pour la forme d'icelle.—Reste à parler de *la maniere de servir Dieu*, sur quoi vient à noter, que tout ainsi qu'en la primitive Eglise le chant des Pseaumes et prieres publiques en langage entendu d'un chacun contenoit les Chrestiens en la crainte de Dieu, en la devotion de l'invoquer souvent, en la fraternelle amitié ; attiroit 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 separés de nous, attirent en leur compagnie tous ceux qui leur oyent chanter des Pseaumes et faire les prieres. Attendu donc, que c'est une chose bonne et louable, et dont l'Eglise a si longuement usé, il seroit bon d'user de mesme artifice et recevoir en nos Eglises, deux fois le jour, le chant des Pseaumes en langage vulgaire avec les prieres publiques, et telles que chacun Evesque pourroit ordonner en son diocese.

⁵ On this see Serranus, i. 112 b. ; Bêze, i. 489 ; Thuanus, lib. xxviii. ; Salig's Hist. d. Augspurg. Confession, iii. 801 ; Schlosser's *Leben des Theodor de Beza u. des Petrus Martyr Vermili*, Heidelberg. 1800, s. 105, 355, 459 ; Capefigue, ii. 186.

⁶ According to the proposals of the Chancellor l'Hospital in the assembly at St. Germain ; Capefigue, ii. 207. The so-called Edit de Janvier, in Bêze, i. 674. Benoist Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes, T. i. Recueil d'Edits, p. 1.—On this period compare the letters of the papal nuncio in Paris to the Cardinal Borromeo, from October, 1561, to 1565, in the Archives curieuses de l'Hist. de France, par Cimber et Danjou. Serie i., T. vi. (Paris, 1835), p. 1 ss.

⁷ Capefigue, ii. 210.

bittered against them. The Duke of Guise, by the massacre of Vassy,⁸ March, 1562, gave the signal of war. The weak King of Navarre, intimidated by Spain,⁹ 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,¹⁰ 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,¹¹ 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,¹² 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'hist. de France. Serie i., T. iv., p. 103 ss. The Reformed (Bêze, 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, ii. 223. [H. W. G. Soldan, in Raumer's Hist. Taschenbuch, 1854, on the Bartholomew Night; La France et la St. Barthélemy, Paris, 1855; Ranke's Civil Wars, pp. 248-278.]

⁹ Capefigue, ii. 233. Herrmann's Frankreichs Religions- u. Bürgerkriege, s. 180.

¹⁰ See the edict in Benoist, i. Anhang, p. 9.

¹¹ A report, palliating matters, of the General Advocate of the Paris Parliament, Nov. 1, 1572, Vidus Faber ad Stanislaum Elvidium (i. e., Joach. Camerarius); the answer of the latter, see in Gerdesii Scrinium, vi. 575. Against this, see Ern. Varamundi (F. Hotomanni?) de Furoribus Gallicis Narratio. Edinburg, 1573. 4. (often reprinted). A collection of the documents and contemporaneous writings is in the Archives curieuses de l'hist. de France, Serie i., T. vii.; Thuanus, lib. lii.; L. Wachler's die pariser Bluthochzeit, Leipzig, 1826 (as Appendix: the remarkable confession of Henry of Anjou, King of Poland, made in Craeou to his physician in ordinary, Miron, and his conversation with the Elector Frederick III. in Heidelberg). Histoire de la Saint-Barthélemy d'après les Chroniques, Mémoires, et Manuscrits du XVI. siècle, par M. Audin. Paris, 1826. 8. Ranke, histor. polit. Zeitschrift, Bd. 2, Heft 3, s. 590. Herrmann, s. 290. Capefigue, iii. 84. Raumer, ii. 252.—On the reception of the account in other lands, and the manifestation of joy in Rome, see Thuanus, lib. liii. The congratulatory address of Muretus to the Pope is the 22d of his Orations. [Comp. Bulletin of French Prot. Hist. Soc.]

¹² Thuanus, lib. lxxiii. init. They united, ad restituendam in integrum legem Dei, conservandum sanctissimum ipsius cultum juxta formam et ritum S. R. E. Then it was further said: foederis praefectus creatur (naturally, the Duke of Guise), cui universi promptam obedientiam et obsequium sine conditione praestare teneantur: si quis officio non satisfecerit, aut tergiversatus ulla 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. lxxiii. p. 176; Capefigue, iv. 14.

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,¹³ 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,¹⁴ 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,¹⁵ 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 Goldasti Monarchia Imperii, iii. 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. xevi. p. 456. The murderer, the Dominican, Jacques Clement, had inquired of a learned brother of the order, *salvane conscientia Henricum Valesium occidere posset*; and received the answer: *siquidem non odio aut ultionis privatae studio, sed amore Dei inflammatus, pro religione et patriae salute id suscipiat, non solum id inoffensa conscientia facere posse, sed multum apud Deum meritorium, et si in actu ipso moriatur, proculdubio inter beatorum choros animam ejus evoluturam.* Cf. Capefigue, v. 290. The same doctrines were openly taught in the Jesuit college in Paris, and the Jesuits, Petr. Ribadeneira and Joh. Mariana, praised the deed of Clement in their writings; D'Argentré *Collectio Judiciorum*, ii. i. 503. Also Pope Sixtus V.; Raumer, ii. 332.

¹⁵ Comp. on this the *Mémoires de Maxim. de Bethune (Sully)*, Amsterd., fol. T. i. chap. 38 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—*pour infaillible, 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 misericorde de Dieu, et d'obtenir salut par la mort, le merite, et la justice de Jesus-Christ, qu'ils ne peuvent faillir d'estre sauvez, pource que dès lors ne sont ils plus d'aucune Religion erronée, 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 extérieure d'une Religion, qui est en si grande aversion à la pluspart des grands et des petits de vostre Royaume.* The confession of faith made by the King (chap. 49) is the *Professio Fidei Pii 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 meis subditis, seu illis, quorum cura ad me in meo munere spectabit, teneri, doceri et praedicari, quantum in me erit, curaturum (spondeo).* Capefigue, vi. 300. Raumer, ii. 362. Ranke, *Fürsten u. Völker von Südeuropa*, iii. 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.*, 1856.]

ions in the faith legal rights and standing in the Edict of Nantes,¹⁶ 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,¹ 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.² 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.³ The

¹⁶ 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 pais qui sont delà les Monts, ni aussi en nôtre ville de Paris, ni à cinq lieuës 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'Août dernier, esuelles y aura garnisons,—demeureront 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 esdites Villes elle continuë après ledit tems d'y tenir garnisons, ou y laisser un Gouverneur pour commander, qu'elle n'en depossedera point celui qui s'en trouvera pourvu, pour y en mettre un autre.

¹ Academies in Sedan (founded 1580, by Henry, Duke of Bouillon), Saumur (1604, by Duplessis-Mornay, governor of this city), Montpellier, Montauban, Nîmes, and Pau, in Béarn; besides several gymnasia. [Comp. Michel Nicolas on the Protestant French Schools and Colleges, in the Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Prot. Franç; Tom. iv. 1856, pp. 497-511, 582-595.]

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.⁴ 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.⁵ Afterward Louis XIII. himself gave occasion to new wars, by vio-

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 Conférence tenue entre le Sieur Evêque d'Evreux et le Sieur du Plessis*, en présence du Roi à Fontainebleau le 4. de May, 1600, à Evreux, 1601, 8.

⁴ Comp. the *Mémoires de Sully* on the *Assemblée générale* of the Reformed at Châtelleraut, 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, Desdiguieres et du Plessis ont fait courir, que le Roi avoit délibéré de retrancher ce qui estoit destiné 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), qui ont esté données pour former en ce Royaume une République séparée en effet de son autorité souveraine, à quoi tendent l'union, que vous savez avoir esté 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 établir en chacune Province du Royaume, avec les intelligences estrangeres, desquelles nous savons qu'ils veulent et esperent s'appuyer et fortifier avec plus de soin, que jamais. Sully wrote on this to the royal cabinet (l. c., p. 383): Quant aux plaintes, que vous me faites des tesmoignages, que ceux de ceste assemblée rendent de se défier 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 répondu, 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 quitteroient 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 s'estoient une fois departis, et qu'ils vinsent à avoir un Roi, qui les eust en aversion, il les dissiperoit et disperseroit aussitôt.—Quant à cette union proposée, que vous tesmoignez d'apprehender, je vous prie croire que c'est une chimere, qui ne consistera 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 pourroit 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'Assemblée aussi, c'est encor une autre chimere facile à debeller: et plus ils en ont, plus cette amplitude les rend elle foibles,—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.

⁵ Weber, s. 195.

lently changing the ecclesiastical and civil constitution in the whole of the Reformed Béarn, in 1620.⁶ 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.⁷ He attained the latter end after the capture of New Rochelle, in 1628,⁸ 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.⁹ 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.¹⁰

⁶ Weber, s. 216.

⁷ There were already frequent desertions of the Reformed party by the nobles; Weber, s. 228. Ranke's *Fürsten u. Völker*, iii. 474. Duplex (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) reconnaissans 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 mesme 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'estre dégradés de tous honneurs et même massacrés par la populace, lorsqu'elle se trouveroit assez puissante pour établir des républiques.

⁸ Weber, s. 250.

⁹ Already, in the Declaration du Roi, 19th October, 1622 (Benoist *Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, ii., Anhang, p. 62), it is said: Defendons très-expressément à nosdits sujets de la Religion pretenduë Reformée toutes sortes d'Assemblées generales et particulieres, Cercles, Conseils, Abregez de Synodes, et toutes autres de quelque qualité qu'elles puissent être, à peine de crime de leze-Majesté, s'ils n'ont expresse permission de Nous: ains seulement leur sont permises les Assemblées des Consistoires, Colloques, Synodes pour pures affaires Ecclesiastiques, avec inhibitions très-expresses d'y traiter d'aucune affaire politique sur les peines que dessus. The Edict of Nîmes (*l'Edit de grace*, by Benoist, l. c., p. 92) says, § 2: Et desirans 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 pretenduë Reformée, en l'exercice libre tranquille d'icelle, et sans aucun trouble, nous ne pouvons que nous ne desirions leur conversion, pour laquelle nous offrons continuellement nos prieres à Dieu. C'est pourquoi nous exhortons tous nosdits sujets de ladite Religion pretenduë Reformée, se deponiller de toute passion, pour être plus capables de recevoir la lumiere 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 entierement rasées et démolies, fors la ceinture des murailles, dans le tems de trois mois, à la diligence desdits habitans; auxquels nous en confiant, nous ne mettons pour cet effet aucunes garnisons ni citadelle esdites Villes.

¹⁰ Mazarin says of them: Je n'ai point à me plaindre du petit troupeau: s'il lrouie de mauvaises herbes, du moins il ne s'écarte pas; see *Eclaircissemens Historiques sur les Causes de la Revocation de l'Edit de Nantes*, et sur l'état des Protestants en France, tirés des différentes Archives du Gouvernement (par de Rhulière, 1788), i. 18. Weber, s. 266.

§ 24.

IN THE NETHERLANDS.

Gerhard Brand (remonstrant preacher in Amsterdam, † 1685), *Historie der Reformatie en andere Kerkelyke Geschiedenissen in en omtrent de Nederlanden*; Deel i., 2te Ausg.; Amsterd., 1677; D. ii., 1674; D. iii. iv., Rotterdam, 1704. 4. (to 1623, most full on the remonstrant controversies). Abridged in the *Histoire abrégée de la Reformation des Pais-bas*, traduite du Hollandois de G. Brandt., à Amsterd., 1730, 3 Tomes in 12. Dan. Gerdesii *Historia Reformationis*, iii. 1 ss. (to 1558). Ypey en Dermout *Geschiedenissen der Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk*. Breda, 1819-27; iv. Deelen., 8.

[Brandt's *History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, 4 fol., 1720, 1770; abridged, 2 vols. 8vo, 1725. W. Bilderdijk, *Geschiedenis des Vaderlands*; uitg. door H. W. Tydeman, 8vo. C. M. Davies, *Hist. of Holland*, 3 vols. 8vo, Lond., 1842. Die erstern Christlichen Märtyrer in den Niederl., in Rudelbach, *Christl. Biogr.*, Bd. 1. Prof. Ypey, of Groningen, and Rev. J. J. Dermont, of the Hague, the fullest *History of the Ref. Church of Holland*, 4 vols. 8vo; a reply, "Honor of the Ref. Church defended against" them, by C. M. Van der Kemp, 3 vols. 8vo. Ter Haar, *Die Ref. Gesch. in Schilderungen*, 8vo. A. Kökler, *die Niederländ. Ref. Kirche*, 8vo, Erlangen, 1856. Comp. J. L. Motley's *Dutch Republic*, 3 vols. 8vo, 1856.]

In the Netherlands 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 *Löscher*, 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 nostra Universitate (liber) publice venderetur. Verum cum experientia comperissemus, istud adhuc satis non esse, sed librum et auctorem ejus multos habere fautores et defensores, asserentes hujus libri doctrinam vere esse christianam, quorum suasu et auctoritate multi e simplicioribus ipsum librum cupidius amplectuntur,—visum est nobis necessarium, nostram adhibere censuram.*

² Erasmus writes from Louvain to Bilib. Pirkhaimer, 26th Jan., 1519 (*Erasmi Epistt.*, T. i. Ep. 234): *Ego hic in quotidianis concionibus lapidorum a Praedicatoribus, et Luthero copulor, quoniam mihi nihil est negotii: sed ita stolidè rem gerunt, ut populus etiam crassissimus intelligat. Non poterant magis officere Romano Pontifici, neque magis Lutherum commendare affectibus hominum. Nunc demum incipiunt illi favere, to Luther, 30th May, 1519 (Ep. 427): *Habes in Anglia, qui de tuis scriptis optime sentiant, et sunt hi maximi. Sunt et hic, quorum est eximius quidam, qui tuis favent.—Est Antverpiæ Prior ejus Monasterii (the Augustinian, Jacobus Spreng, usually called Jacobus Praepositus), vir pure christianus, qui te unice deamat, tuus olim discipulus, ut praedicat. Is omnium paene solus Christum praedicat, caeteri fere aut hominum fabulas, aut suum quaestum praedicant. 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 Brüggge, was again put in prison in Brussels, but escaped (*Seckendorf De Lutheran*, i. 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.³ A penal law against it, which he issued at Worms, May 8, 1521, for the Netherlands,⁴ made more impression here than the one which was sent out at the same time for Germany.⁵ Two Augustinians in Brussels were the very first martyrs any where of the Reformation, July 1, 1523.⁶ 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 *Erasmii Ep. ad Godeschaleum Rosamundum* (Ep. 491): *Imputat mihi Vincen-tium tumultum Hollandicum, quod illic post stultissimam concionem propemodum fuerit lapidatus a plebe, cum ego nulli Hollando neque bene scripserim de Luthero, neque male.* *Comp. Ep. 562.* Erasmus, in a letter to Alexander, secretary of the Count of Nassau, dd. Lovanii 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 Magistratus handquaquam stultus, metuens populi tumultum, admonerit eos, ut apud populum nec probarent Lutherum, nec incesserent, sed praedicarent Evangelium Christi.*

⁴ See it in the *Ordonnantien, Statuten, Edicten ende Placcarten van 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 Carmelite, Nicol van Egmont. In 1522 they brought Corn. Graphæus, 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 recantation, loss of property, deposition, and banishment (see his letter to the chancellor 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): *Quæ Antverpiæ gesta sunt, credo te nosse, quomodo mulieres vi Henricum (Heinrich v. Zütphen, prior of the Augustines, who was imprisoned in Brussels) liberavit. Monasterio expulsi fratres, alii aliis loci captivi, alii negato Christo dimissi, alii adhuc stant fortes: qui autem filii civitatis sunt, in domum Beghardorum sunt detrusi; vendita omnia vasa monasterii, et ecclesia cum monasterio clausa et obstructa, tandem demolienda. Sacramentum cum pompa in ecclesiam b. Virginis translatum, tanquam e loco haeretico, susceptum honorifice a Domina Margaretha: cives aliquot et mulieres vexatae et punitae.*

⁶ *Heinr. Voes and Joh. Esch.* *Comp. Die Artikel, warumb die zween christl. Augustiner Münch zu Brüssel verbrannt sind, sampt einem Sendbrief Dr. Mart. Luther's an die Christen in Holland u. Brabant.* Wittenb., 1523. 4. (in *Walch*, xxi. 45; in *de Wette*, ii. 362, is merely the missive). In this missive, among other things, it is said: "Euch ist für aller Welt geben, das Evangelium nicht alleine zu horen, u. Christum zu erkennen: sondern auch die Ersten zu seyn, die umb Christus willen Schand u. Schaden, Angst u. Noth, Gefängniß u. Fährlichkeit leiden, und nu so voller Frucht u. Stärk worden, dass ihrs auch mit eigenem Blut begossen u. bekräftigt habt; da bey euch die zwey edle Kleinod Christi, Hinricus u. Johannes, zu Brussel ihr Leben gering geacht haben, auf dass Christus mit seinem Wort gepreiset wurde. O wie verächtlich sind die zwo Seelen hingericht, aber wie herrlich u. in ewiger Freuden werden sie mit Christo widerkommen, u. recht richten diejenigen, von denen sie itzt mit Unrecht gericht sind.—Gott gelobt, und in Ewigkeit gebenedeyet, dass wir erlebt haben rechte Heiligen, und wahrhaftige Heiligen sehen und horen, die wir bisher so viel falscher Heiligen erhebt u. angebetet haben. Wir hieroben sind noch bisher nicht würdig gewesen, Christo ein solches theures werthes Opfer zu werden; wiewohl unser Glieder viel nicht ohn Verfolgung gewesen, und noch sind. Darumb, meine Allerliebsten, seyd getrost u. frohlich in Christo, und lasst uns danken seinen grossen Zeichen u. Wundern, so er angefangen hat unter uns zu thun," u. s. 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,⁷ there were also after this some persecutions and executions. However, the Stadtholder, Margaret of Savoy († 1530), was at least not fanatical;⁸ her successor, Maria, the wid-

Rambach's Anthologie christl. Gesänge, ii. 40, with Latin and Dutch versions in Kist en Royaards Archief voor kerkelyke Geschiedenis, v. 463). 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 foeman's shame and fear. Those whom alive the tyrant's wrongs 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. Hic hilft kein Bach, Loch, Grub noch Grab: Sie macht den Feind zu Schanden. Die er im Leben durch den Mord Zu schweigen hat gedrunge, Die muss er todt an allem Ort Mit aller Stimm' und Zungen Gar fröhlich lassen singen.
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⁷ Placcaet dd. Mecheln, 17ten Jul., 1526 (Ordonnantien ende Placcaerten van Vlaenderen, 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 executé par le feu, et les autres, a sçavoir les Hommes par l'espée, et 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 moytié des biens de ceulx, qu'ils auront acueusez, atains et convaincez, provided the same does not exceed the sum of cent livres de gros monnoye de Flandres; of the excess they are to have the tenth. Two councilors of the Conseil en Flandres are to decide in all these matters without tedious process. Dilatory magistrates are threatened with deposition; all are to make reports every three months to the Stadtholder about their doings.—Dd. Bruxelles, Oct. 7, 1531 (p. 113); against the translation of the Bible, and the printing of such translations, without permission.—Dd. Brüssel, 17. Febr., 1535 (p. 119): that monks and nuns who fled should not be entertained, but informed against.—Dd. Brüssel, 22. Sept., 1540 (p. 122), n. 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: *quisnam est iste Lutherus?* indoctus est, inquit, monachus. Respondit ipsa: *Scribite multi docti contra unum indoctum, tunc totus mundus plus credit 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 fables, and by impure customs; the 27th of the month the heads of cloisters were written to (Brand, i. 97): Wy syn volkomelyken onderriecht, dat die dwaelinghe, die onder den gemeenen volke geresen is, meest toekompt ende gekomen is uit de indiscrete sermoenen van de Predikanten, Religieusen ende anderen. Hence they are admonished to allow only such persons to preach, die voorsienig, verstandig, ende van goede manieren syn, ende wel geexerceert ende geoeffent in de manieren van preken: ende dat gy de selve sulks onderwyst, aleeer hy preken sal, dat hy hem wachte, 't gemeen volk te seandeliseren mit onbehoorlyke fabulen, redenen ende narratien als ook wel geschiedt is: dat hy ook niet en vermaene van Martinus Luther, ofte synue leeringen, noch ook van d'opinie van de ketters, die hier vortydts geweest syn.

owed Queen of Hungary, and sister to the Emperor, was even secretly 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 efferat, submissisque hominibus causam Catholicam deprimat, atque optime ab Administris Caesaris constituta impediatur, 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, 1545, on account of the marginal gloss, *dat de Saelijkheid der menschen alleen kompt door Jesum 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 usurparent, sed accusari debere suspectos coram consule aut nonnullis e senatu ad hoc delegatis*; see *Revii Daventria 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, wilcher euch will irre machen, u. vom rechten Verstand fuhren auf seine Dunkel. Da sehet euch fur und seydt gewarnt. Auf dass aber ihr deste bas seine Tücke meidet, will ich hie 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 gläubt. Der vierte: Es ist keine Helle oder Verdammnis, sondern alleine das Fleisch wird verdampft. Der fünft: 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 siebend: 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 Sunde, 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. 425): *Nous confessions aussi, que les femmes ne doivent point estre communes.—Par quoi nous rejetons—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 Responso contra Anonymum 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, 1533; see *Gerdesii Hist. Reform.*, iii. 83 ss.

likewise worked back on the latter,¹³ and thus new parties arose among them, upon which the sect of the Free Spirit seems to have had some influence.¹⁴ 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.¹⁵

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;¹⁶ but this could be only very imperfectly realized, and in the chief seat of the Reformation, Antwerp, not at all.¹⁷ 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 Philipp, 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 (Gerdes., iii. 111 s.). His doctrine is given in Thuanus Hist., lib. xxii., p. 750: *Doctrinam hæcætenus per Mosen, Prophetas, ipsumque Christum ejusque Apostolos ac discipulos promulgatam imperfectam esse et inutilem ad veram ac perfectam felicitatem persequendam; suam vero perfectam esse et efficacem ad hominem, qui eam sedulo conceperit, beandum; se verum Christum ac Messiam esse, Patris dilectissimum filium, non ex carne sed ex spiritu Jesu Christi susceptum; qui spiritus Christi, carne ejus in nihilum redacta, quodam in loco sanctis omnibus ignoto hæcætenus servatus, nunc Davidi Georgio totus esset traditus et in animam ejus infusus: se eum esse, qui domum Israël, verosque Levi filios (eos autem intelligebat, qui dogmata sua sincera fide amplectebantur) una cum vero Dei tabernaculo sit spiritu instauraturus, non cruce, rebus adversis, aut morte, quemadmodum alter ille Christus, qui a Patre missus in carnem venit, ut homines veluti pueros ac parvulos nequedum perfectæ doctrinæ capaces umbratili doctrina ac sacramentorum ceremoniis in officio contineret, verum clementia et Spiritu sancti amore ac gratia, qui sibi a Patre sit datus.—Omne peccatum in Patrem ac Filium admissum condonari: quod autem in Spiritum sanctum perpetratum fuerit h. e. in Davidem Georgium, nunquam, neque in hoc neque in altero sæculo remitti.—Matrimonium liberum esse, eoque neminem uni mulieri obligari: proinde liberorum procreationem communem esse debere iis, qui Davidis spiritu renati sint. Persecuted, he withdrew from his party in 1544, lived in Basle under assumed names and without scandal, and died there, 1556: see *Historia Vitæ, Doctrinæ ac Rerum gestarum Dav. Georgii Hæresiarchæ*, conscripta ab ipsius genero Nicol. Blesdykio, edita a Jac. Revio. Daventr., 1642. 8.*

¹⁵ *Viglii Zuichemi Epistoll. polit. et hist. ad Joach. Hopperum*, Ep. 34, dd. 23. Maj., 1567: *Confessionii autem Augustanæ pauissimi eorum adhaerent, sed Calvinismus omnium pene corda occupavit.—Ostio per Lutheranos semel patefacto ad ulteriora errorum dogmata omnes prope progrediuntur.*

¹⁶ Decree of 29th Apr., 1550, in the *Ordonnantien ende Plæcaerten van Vlaenderen*, i. 157; in Latin extracts in Sleidanus, lib. xxii., ed. am Ende, iii. 203. Instructions for the Inquisitors, 31st May, 1550, in Wolfii *Lectiones Memorabiles*, ii. 648. Gerdesii Hist. Reform., iii. App., p. 122.

¹⁷ Sleidanus, lib. xxii., p. 207: *Eo decreto promulgato vehementer attoniti fuerunt plerique, Germani præsertim et Angli mercatores, qui per Caesaris provincias et urbes, Antverpiæ potissimum, maximo numero negotiantur. Itaque sic illi judicabant, aut illud esse mitigandum, aut alio commigrandum, imo clausis tabernis multi 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 cives, qui maximo et incredibili suo dispendio futurum hoc esse viderent, magis erant in angustiis, et quum eo venissent qui inquisitionem instituerent, omni studio et contentione repugnabant, et ad Mariam reginam profecti, quanti non ipsorum modo, sed totius quoque regionis intersit, ne fiat, 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 angaende den vremen coopliden, ende andere die in onze voorschreven Nederlanden zouden willen commen, onze meenijnghe en es niet, dezelve te bedwijnghen, de voorschreven Certificatie (of his pastor) te overbrijngen ende exhiberen: behoudelick dat sy aldaer leven naer volghende onze voorschreven Ordonomancien, ende hemlieden draghen 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.*

¹⁸ On the following, see the narrative in *Belgarum sub Albani Ducis imperio exulum libellus supplex ad Maximil. II., Imp. et Ordines Imperii in Comitibus Spirensibus*, ann. 1570, in *Gerdesii Scrinium Antiquarium*, viii. 577. *Raumer's Gesch. Europas seit dem Ende des 15ten Jahrh.*, iii. 1.

¹⁹ *Raynaldus*, ad ann. 1559, No. 33. 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, Brügge, 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.

²⁰ *Hadr. Saraviae Ep. ad Jo. Uytenbogardum*, dd. 13. Apr., 1612 (in *Praestantium ac eruditorum virorum Epistolae ecclesiasticae et theologicae*, Ed. 3. Amstel., 1704, fol. Ep. 181): Ego me illius confessionis ex primis unum fuisse auctoribus profiteor, sicut et *Hermannus Modetus*: nescio an plures sint superstites. Illa primo fuit conscripta gallico sermone a Christi servo et martyre *Guidone de Bres* (einem Wallonischen Prediger). Sed antequam ederetur, ministris verbi Dei, quos potuit manciisci, illam communicavit; et emendandum, si quid displiceret, addendum, detrahendum proposuit, ut unius opus censi non debeat. Sed nemo eorum, qui manum apposuerunt, unquam cogitavit fidei canonem edere, verum ex canonicis scriptis fidem suam probare. The Confession of Faith was drawn up in 1559, and sent for examination to many, including foreign, divines, and in 1552 to the King, with a letter (see this, in *Jac. Triglandius kerkelycke Geschiedenissen in de vereenigde Nederlanden. Leyden, 1650, fol. p. 146*) adopted by the Synod in Antwerp, 1560, but probably first subscribed at the Synod of Emden; see *Ypey en Dermout Geschied. d. Nederland. Herv. Kerk*, i. 444. *Aanteek.*, p. 202. *Kist en Royaard's Archief voor kerkel. Geschiedeniss.*, ix. 291, 347.

ties; and thus provoked hostilities in defense of the freedom not only of the country, but also of conscience.²¹ A league of the nobles,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*).²³ Soon afterward the rage of the people broke out in the demolition of churches and images;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.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.

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 Scrim.*, viii. 600): *Interea autem temporis, dum libertas religionis in Gallia constituitur, publicaque fide promulgatur, finitimae Gallis urbes Belgii eam ipsam evangelicam religionem, quam prope totos quadraginta annos intra privatos parietes retinuerant, jam palam atque aperte publicis concionibus profiteri incipiunt, partim quod viderent non posse se aliter a calumniis, quae privatis illis ac clandestinis conventibus vulgo impingebantur, liberari, partim quod cernerent populi multitudinem, quae illam religionem amplexa esset, haud amplius posse privatis teetis occultari.—Mox quidem per summam Inquisitionis ac suppliciorum acerbitatem paululum repressi sunt, nec tamen penitus oppressi.*

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. Hooft's *Nederlandsche Historien seeders de Ooverdracht der Heerschappye van 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'Etat sneecs et occurrences, advenues au Pais bas au faiet de la Religion*. Imprimé en Aougst, 1569, 8. Its unknown author was Jac. van Wesenbeeck, councillor and syndic of the city of Antwerp.

²³ Nicolai Burgundii (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-councillor, Barlaimont, said to her (the Stadtholder): *Securam ego te efficio: non est, quod Geusios illos (ees Gueux) extimescas*. Hooft, i. 73: *welk Fransch woordt (Gueux), gesmeedt schynende naar het Nederlandsche guits, zoo veel als fielen, oft landloopers 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*.

²⁴ Two days before had arrived the denial of Philip to the request of the Stadtholder, that the laws about heretics might be made more mild; see this in Burgundius, p. 281.

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): *Concionatores novae religionis amissis bonis capite plectuntur. Fautores eorum puniuntur arbitrio Gubernatricis.—Conventicula ne suntu. Magistratus haec ipsa dissipant.—Matrimonia aliosque ritus novae religionis exercentibus laquei poenam irrogant. Infantes ab haeretis baptizati rebaptizantur.—Magistratus, praetores, visitatores bibliopolarum et typographorum diligentem rationem habent. Qui libros illicitos saepius distraxerit, capite plectitur, caeteri poena extraordinaria, etc.*

Thousands fell at the order²⁶ 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.²⁷

²⁶ Comp. the declarations of Viglius Zuichemus ab Aytta, President of the High Council in Brussels, who had been a zealous Catholic, and always in favor of strict measures against the Reformers, in his *Epistolis politicis et historicis ad Joach. Hopperum* (Dutch councilor before the person of the King). *Leoardiae*, 1661. 8., z. B. Ep. 81, dd. *Bruxellae*, 25. Jun., 1569: *veremur, ne dum confiscationibus nimium inihiatur, et perfundendi sanguinis nullus sit finis, labes aliqua avaritiae ac crudelitatis Majestati suae aspergatur.* Ep. 89, dd. 23. Oct., 1569: *promittit populus ad omnia obsequia foret, si tandem criminalibus fiscalibus processibus finis aliquis imponeretur, et jamdudum gratia promissa non tantopere differretur.* *Expectamus etiam hic Hispanos Italosque Consiliarios pro criminalium civiliumque judiciorum reformatione: at hic, quotquot fere sumus, non modo inepti inutilesque videmur, sed jura, leges et consuetudines, quibus hactenus viximus, in dubium revocantur.* Ep. 138, dd. 8. Jul., 1571: *Omnium maxima auctoritas est apud Vargam, cujus judicio stant caduntque res nostrae, adversus quem tantum populi odium est, ut ipso regnante ad quietem reduci res nostras boni omnes desperent, videbitque D. V. ex negotio Trajectensi, qua aequitate sub talibus judicibus res pertractentur.*

²⁷ It was hastened by the horrible cruelties of the Spaniards in Antwerp, November 4, 1576; see Thuanus, lxi. 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, Utrecht, and Mechlin, on the one side, and by the Prince of Orange, with the estates of Holland and Zealand, on the other, occasioned par l'ambition et rigoureux Gouvernement des Espagnols, et par leurs injustices et violences,—par où les dits Pays sont tombez dans une grande misère.—Pendant qu'on esperoit quelque soulagement et compassion de la part de Sa Majesté, lesdits 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 Pais 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 Pais,—touchant le fait de l'exercice de la Religion es Pais de Hollande, Zélande, et Liens 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 fait ou de parole, ni aussi le scandaliser par actes semblables, sur peine d'être punis comme perturbateurs du repos public afin de servir d'exemple aux autres. *Art. 5.*—Tous les Placarts, qui ont été faits et publiés pardevant sur le fait d'heresie, comme aussi les Ordonnances criminelles faites par le Duc d'Alve, la poursuite, et l'exécution en sera suspendue, jusques à ce qu'il en sera ordonné autrement par les Etats Generaux.

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, 1579.²⁸ 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,²⁹ 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;³⁰ and he also made a fanatical Catholicism supreme, by means of the Jesuits, whom he introduced in all quarters.³¹ 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.³² 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;³³ Franeker, 1585; Gröningen, 1612; Utrecht, 1636; Harderwyk, in 1648.³⁴

²⁸ In Dumont, v. i. 322.

²⁹ In Dumont, v. i. 350. All political conditions of the Treaty of Ghent were confirmed; on the other hand, this treaty was made—*au service de Dieu, à l'entretien de la Religion Catholique Apostolique et Romaine*.

³⁰ Decisive was particularly the capture of Antwerp after a long siege, Aug. 17, 1585. Comp. the treaty of the Prince with Brussels, March 10, 1585, in Dumont, v. i. 444, and with Antwerp, Aug. 17, 1585, *ibid.*, p. 446.

³¹ They first settled in the Walloon cities of St. Omer and Douay, and thence spread into all the captured cities; *Historia Soc. Jesu*, P. v. lib. iv. No. 58 (auct. Sacchino): *Alexandro et privati ejus consilii viris ea stabat sententia, ut quaeque recipietur ex haereticis civitas, continuo fere in eam immitti societatem debere: valere id tum ad pietatem privatam civium, tum ad pacem tranquillitatemque intelligebant.*

³² The treaty, in Dumont, v. ii. 99.

³³ As a reward for their heroic defense of the city against the Spaniards in 1574, they had the choice between exemption from taxation for some years and the possession of a university, and chose the latter; *Hooft*, i. 398.

³⁴ H. L. Benthem's *Holländ. Kirch- u. Schulen-Staat*, ii. 1.

§ 25.

IN SCOTLAND.

The Historie of the Reformation of Religioun within the Realm of Scotland—together with the Life of Johne Knoxe the Author († 1572). Edinburgh, 1732.—The History of the Establishment of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland, by Gilb. Stuart (Doctor of Laws and Fellow of the Antiq. Society in Edinburgh). Lond., 1780. (German version, G. Stuart's *Gesch. d. Ref. in Schottland*. Altenburg, 1786. 8.) History of the Reformation in Scotland, by Ge. Cook, 3 vols., Edinb., 1811. Stäudlin's *Kirchengeschichte von Grosbritannien* (2 Th., Göttingen, 1819), i. 409.

[Other histories in German are: Karl Gustav von Rudloff, *Gesch. d. Ref. in S.*, 2 Thle., Berl., 1849. A. Gamberg, *Die Schottische Nationalkirche*, Hamb., 1827. K. H. Sack, *Die Evang. Kirche Schottlands*, Heidelb., 1844. J. Köstlin, in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift*, 1851, Nos. 17-25; *ibid.*, *Die Schottische Kirche, ihr inneres Leben, u. ihr Verhältniss zum Staate*, u. s. w., 1853.—Merle D'Aubigné, *Trois Siècles de Lutte*, 8vo, 1850.]

[*Wodrow Society's Publications*, 26 vols. 8vo, comprising Calderwood's *Hist.*, 4 vols.; Knox, 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 Russel, 3 vols.; Keith's *Hist.*, by Lawson, 3 vols.; *Miscellany*, 2; *Sage's Works*, 3 vols.; Patrick Forbes, 1 vol.; John Skinner, *Ecl. Hist.*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1788.]

[W. H. Hetherington, *Hist. of the Church of S.*, 3d ed., 2 vols. 1843. Stephen's, *Th.*, *History*, 4 vols., Lond., 1844. A. Stevenson, *Hist. of the Church and State of S. to 1645*, Edinb., 8vo, 1845. M. Russell, *History* (vols. ix. x. of *Theol. Lib.*, Rivington's). E. C. Harrington, *Brief Notes, 1555-1842*, Exeter, 1843. H. Leighton, *Church of United Kingdom*, vol. i., *Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1845. Spalding's *Hist. of Troubles under Charles I.*, 8vo, 1829. H. Caswell, *Scotland and Scotch Church*, 1853. Th. M'Crie, *Sketches in S. History*, 2 vols. 12mo; *Life of Melville*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1824. J. Marshall, *Scotch Ecl. and Civil Affairs*, 1851. John Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland to the Present Time*, 2 vols. 8vo, 1859.]

[Principal Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals, 1637-62*, Edinb., 1775, 2 vols. 8vo; new ed. by D. Laing, 3 vols. 8vo, Edinb., 1841-42. Sir James Balfour's *Annales*, 4 vols. 8vo, 1640-52; Edinb., 1824. David Camerarius, *De Scotorum Fortitud. . . de Ortu et progr. Haeresis*, 4to, Paris, 1631. Geo. Conaens, *De duplici Statu religionis apud Scotos*, Rom., 4to, 1628. Buchanan, *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*. W. Robertson, *Hist. Scotland*. J. Scott's *Lives of Prot. Reformers in Scotland*, Edinb., 1810. (D. Defoe) *Mem. of Church of S.*, 8vo, 1717. Lesley's *Hist.*, 1436 to 1561, by Bannatyne Club, 4to, 1830. C. J. Lyon, *Hist. of St. Andrews*, 2 vols. 8vo, Edinb., 1843. Molinaeus, *Rerum nuper in Scotiam gestarum Hist.*, Dantisci, 1641. James Stirling, *Naphthali, or Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland until 1667*, 12mo.]

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.¹ 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

¹ Stuart's *Gesch. d. Ref. in Schott.*, s. 7. [Lorimer's *Life of Hamilton*, 1856.]

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.² 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.³ 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.⁴ At last, in 1559,

² 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 Laing, *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.]

³ M'Crie-Planck, s. 229.

⁴ [This covenant, as given in Stevenson's History, p. 47, reads: "We perceaving how Sathan in his memberis, the antichristis of our tyme, crueillie doth rage, seiking to dounthring and distroy the evangill of Christ, and his congregatioun, aucht, according to our boundin dewtie, to stryve in our Maisteris caus, evin unto the deithe, being certane of the victorie in him; the quhilk our dewtie being weill considerit, we do promeis befor the Majestie of God and his congregatioun, that we, be his graice, sall with all diligence continuallie apply our haill power, substance, and our very lyves, to mainteine, set forward, and establish the most blissit word of God, and his congregatioun: and sall labour at our possibilitie to have faythfull ministeris, purlie and trewlie to minister Christis evangill and sacramentis to his pepill. We sall maintein thame, nurse thame, and defend thame, the haill congregatioun of Christ, and every member thairof, at our haill poweris and wairing of our lyves, against Sathan and all wicked power that dois intend tirannie or trubil against the foirsaid congregatioun. Unto the quhilk holie word and congregatioun, we do joyn us: and also dois renunce and forsaike the congregatioun of Sathan, with all the superstitionis, abominatiounis, 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;⁵ and the Reformers, supported by England, forced a recognition of their rights in the Treaty of Edinburgh, 1560.⁶ The strict Calvinism preached by Knox became the religion of the state; the Parliament, July 10, 1560, forbade the Catholic worship,⁷ and sanctioned an entirely Calvinistic Confession of Faith (*Confessio Scotica*).⁸ In the same sense the church government was immediately set in order in the Book of Discipline.⁹

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,⁸ 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

thairrof. And maiver, sall declar our selfis manifestlie enemies thairto. Be this our faythful promeis befor God, testified to his congregatioun, be our subscription at thir presens. At Edinburghe the 3d day of December 1557 yeirs. God caillit to witness.”]

⁵ Stuart, s. 133. M'Crie-Planck, s. 318.

⁶ The assent of Francis and Mary, dated Edinburgh, July 6, 1550; see in Stuart, Appendix, s. 53. It was confirmed by the treaty of peace (in Dumont, v. i. 65) made the same day between those princes and Elizabeth.

⁷ Stuart, Anh., s. 74.

⁸ M'Crie-Planck, s. 381. The Confession of Faith, originally drawn up in the Scottish dialect, see, in a Latin version, in Augusti Corpus Librorum Symbol. qui in Eccl. Reform. Auctoritatem publicam obtinuerunt, p. 143; in Niemeyer Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis publicatarum, p. 340.

⁹ 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 Conclusions 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 1638, and at divers other times.]

terrible to the Queen.¹⁰ Meanwhile, by her marriage with Lord Darnley in 1565, she had already lost the affections of her people;¹¹ and when, after his murder, she married Lord Bothwell, 1567, she became the object of their aversion.¹² In 1568 she was forced to flee to England, where, after a long imprisonment, she was executed in 1587.¹³

During the regency, which administered the government in the name of James VI., the parliamentary decrees of 1560 were confirmed, in Dec., 1567,¹⁴ 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 1572.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ Presbyterianism was so deeply rooted in Scotland, that the episcopate, re-established by James in 1610, could not take any root;¹⁷ 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 1649.¹⁸

THIRD CHAPTER.

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, by Gilb. Burnet (Bishop of Salisbury, † 1715), P. i. ii. London, 1679, 1681. Edit. iv., 1715, fol. (to 1559, Lat. Geneva, 1686 u. 1689 fol.*), the third part, being supplement to the two volumes formerly published. London, 1715, fol.; 7 vols. 8vo, 1829; 8vo, 1846. German transl. Braunschweig, 1765. 70. (Comp. G. Weber über die Leistungen d. Engländer auf d. Gebiete d. Kg. Englands, in Schmidt's Zeitschrift f. Geschichtswissenschaft, i. 385.)

¹⁰ M'Crie-Planck, s. 442.

¹¹ Ibid, s. 542. Raumer's Gesch. Europas seit dem Ende des 15ten Jahrh., ii. 469.

¹² Raumer, ii. 478.

¹³ See on this, at length, Raumer, ii. 554.

¹⁴ M'Crie-Planck, s. 578.

¹⁵ Ibid, s. 619. Staudlin, i. 464.

¹⁶ Staudlin, i. 473.

¹⁷ Staudlin, ii. 18. Raumer, iv. 278.

¹⁸ Staudlin, ii. 32. Raumer, iv. 357.

* This Latin version is here cited; the third volume of Burnet is only in English.

Ecclesiastical Memorials relating chiefly to Religion and the Reformation of it, and the Emergencies of the Church of England under King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., and Queen Mary, by John Strype; 3 vols. London, 1721, fol.; and the two continuations by the same author, Annals of Reformation and Establishment of Religion under the reign of Queen Elizabeth; 3 vols. London, ed. 2. 1725-37 (1558 to 1588); and Brief Annals of the Church and State under the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. London, ed., 2. 1738 (1589 to 1603), fol. [Strype's Complete Works, 27 vols. 8vo. 1821-40.]

The History of the Puritans, or Protestant Non-Conformists, by Dan. Neal; ed. 2. Lond., 1723-38. 4 vols. 8vo. A new edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged by Joshua Toulmin, 5 vols. 8vo, Lond., 1797. (German transl., 1 Th. Halle, 1762. 8.) [Repeated editions: New York, Harpers, 2 vols. 8vo. Comp. J. B. Marsden's History of Earlier and Later Puritans; 2 vols. 8vo. Lond., 1852. S. Hopkins, The Puritans; 1. 2. 8vo. Bost., 1859-60.]

The History of the Reformation of the Church of England, by Henry Soames (M.A., Rector of Shelley, Essex); vol. i. ii. (Henry VIII.); vol. iii. (Edward VI.); vol. iv. (Mary and Elizabeth). London, 1825-28. 8. Also his Elizabethan Religious History. London, 1839. 8.

The Roman Catholic view is in the Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, by Jeremy Collier (2 vols. London, 1708. 14. fol.), 9 vols. 8vo, 1845, and, in a work for the most part based on that of Collier, History of England till the Revolution of 1688, by John Lingard (Cath. priest at Newcastle-on-the-Tyne, in Northumberland); 14 vols. London, 1819-31. 8, 4th ed., 1838; German, by Von Salis and Von Berly. 14 Bde., 1828-33. [Dod's Church Hist. Eng., 1500-1688; 6 vols. 8vo; also in 3 vols. 8vo, 1837-42; Roman Catholic.]

[General Histories.—H. Hallam, Constb. Hist., 2 vols. 8vo. S. Turner, 12 vols. 8vo. Lond., 1836-38. Henry's Hist., 12 vols. 8vo, 1788.]

[Biographical Works.—P. F. Tytler, Life of Henry VIII. Edinb., 1838. F. von Raumer, Contributions, etc., transl. 1836. Fronde's Hist. of Eng. from 1529 (1. 2. Henry VIII.), 1856, 9 vols. Andin's Life Henry VIII., transl. E. G. K. Browne, 1851. Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley, 1763. Gilpin's Lives of Latimer, Hooper, and other Reformers, 1753 and 1800. Strype's Lives of Cranmer, Parker, Grindal, Whitgift, Aylmer, Cheke, and Smith. 10 vols. 8vo, 1812-20; new ed., 1821-40. Strype's Cranmer, publ. by Eccl. Soc., 3 vols. 8vo. C. Wordsworth, Eccles. Biography, 6 vols. 8vo, 1809; 4 vols. 8vo, 1839. Wharton's Anglia Sacra. Le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1716 (new edition by Hardy, 3 vols. 8vo, 1854).]

[Reformation.—J. V. Short, History of Church of England to Rev. of 1688, 2 vols. 8vo, 1832; 8vo, 1847 (also New York). F. C. Massingberd, English Reformation. Blunt's Reform. Peter Heylin's History of Reformation, 1674 (Eccl. Soc.). S. R. Maitland, Essays on Subjects connected with the Reformation, 8vo. Carwithen's Church History to Revol.; new ed., 2 vols. 8vo, 1852. Church of England in the Reigns of the Tudors and Stuarts, 2 vols. 12mo, 1851. J. Baxter, Church History of England. Lond., 1846.]

[On the Councils of England, Wilkins; Spelman; R. Hart, Eccles. Records, 1846; Edm. Gibson, Synodus Anglic. ; ed. G. Cardwell, 1854. J. W. Joyce, England's Sacred Synods, 1855. On Convocation, Hooly; Trevor, Hist. of Convoc., 1853; cf. Christ. Rembr., Oct., 1854; Church of England Quarterly, October, 1854. Sparrow's Coll. of Articles, Injunctions, etc., 1661. Documentary Annals of Ref. Church, Reformatio Legum; new ed. by Cardwell, 1850. Chs. Hardwick, Hist. Articles Religion, new ed., 1859. Formularies of Faith put forth by Henry VIII.; Three Primers, *ibid.*, new edition, 1850.]

[The Books of Common Prayer, reprinted, 7 fol., 1844. F. Bulley, Tabular View of Variations, 1842. Archd. Berens, Hist. Prayer-book, new ed., 1855. E. Cardwell, Two Books Com. Prayer of Edward VI., 2d ed.; Hist. of Conf. and Revised Book of Prayers, 3d ed. Thos. Lathbury, Hist. Book Com. Prayer, 2d ed., 1859. C. Wheatley, Rational Illustr. of Book Com. Prayer, 1720; 1846. Shepherd on Com. Prayer, 2 vols.

8vo, 1801. W. Keeling, *Liturgiae Britannicae*, 8vo. W. Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy of Church of Eng.*; and *Monumenta Ritualia*. Lond., 1845-47. W. Palmer, *Origines Liturgicae*, 4th ed., 2 vols. 8vo, 1845.]

§ 26.

UNDER HENRY VIII. († JAN. 28, 1547).

The Life and Raigne 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.² 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*,³ 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*.⁴ This, together with Luther's rough reply,⁵ 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 Ecclesia 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. Additions to Burnet, i. 15. [G. Weber, *Gesch. d. akatholischer Secten in Grossbrit. 1. i.* (Die Lollarden), 2 vols. 8vo, 1846; new ed. 1857.]

² The wide prevalence of the feeling of a necessity of a *Reformatio Cleri et Sacrorum 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—*oblattrantem diu populum placatura, Clerum illustratura, Regem ipsum Serenissimum et Optimates omnes Clero conciliatura, et Deo imprimis Opt. Max. plus omnibus sacrificiis placatura.*

³ Lond., 1521. 4., against Luther's work, *De Captiv. Babil.*, reprinted Antwerp., 1522. 4. sine leo, 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 hereties.

⁴ For which he had previously made endeavors; *Pallavicini Hist. Conc. Trid.*, lib. ii. c. 1. The Bull of Leo X., 11th Oct., 1521, in *Rymeri Foed.*, xiii. 756. *Conc. Magn. Brit.*, iii. 693. *Confirmatory Bull of Clemens VII.*, 5th March, 1523, in *Rymer*, xiv. 13. *Conc. M. Brit.*, iii. 702. The book in MS. was laid before the Pope for his approval, and hence that Bull of Leo appeared in the very first edition, with the postscript: *Librum hunc Henrici VIII.—legendibus x. annorum et totidem quadragenarum indulgentia apostolica auctoritate concessa est* (*Gerdes*, iv. 178).

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., 1523, in *Cypriani Epistt. Clarorum Virorum*, ex *Bibl. Goth. autographis*, p. 9; in

doctrine. Yet still the Reformation found access even into the universities of Oxford and Cambridge⁶ among the younger members; and John Fryth and William Tyndal,⁷ though driven from Oxford, worked with less restraint in foreign lands in the diffusion of its principles among the English people by numerous writings;⁸ so that the replies even of Thomas More,⁹ and the efforts of the bishops,¹⁰ and the severest penalties, could not stay its progress. Tyndal's translation of the New Testament had the most decisive effect.¹¹

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.¹² His passion for Anne Boleyn now furnished the occasion for an outbreak;¹³ and he demanded of the Pope, 1527, to declare his mar-

Gerdes, iv.; Monum., p. 119). The Elector replied unfavorably (Cyprian's nützliche Urkunden, ii. 276). In opposition appeared, Joannis Ep. Roffensis (Joh. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester) Adsertionis Lutheranae Confutatio, 1523. 4. Guil. Rossei (i. e., Thomas Moro) Responso ad Convitia M. Lutheri congesta in Henricum R. Angl., 1523.

⁶ 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.

⁷ On both, Foxe, p. 127 and 138. Gerdes, iv. 181 ss.

⁸ 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., 1583, fol. 2 vols.), ii. 234; and in Gerdes, iv., Monum., p. 139. A third, given us 1529, in Conc. M. Brit., iii. 719, in Gerdes, l. c., p. 134, must be later, for the Augsburg Confession is named in it.

⁹ Thomas Morus, von Rudhart. Nürnberg, 1829, s. 275 ff., 433 ff. [Life of More, by Sir James Mackintosh.]

¹⁰ Their Visitations; Gerdes, iv. 214.

¹¹ Pentateuch and New Testament. Cochlaeus prevented the printing of it in Cologne, as was first intended; see his Comm. de Actis et Scriptis Lutheri, ad ann. 1526, p. 132. 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, 1536.]

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 variis multisque 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;¹⁴ and so he thought that he would let the King cool off by tedious processes of investigation.¹⁵ By the advice of Thomas Cranmer,¹⁶ the King thereupon laid the matter before all the Christian universities, in order thus to compel the Pope to pronounce judgment.¹⁷ 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

tanquam ex jure divino (Lev. xviii. 16, xx. 21), moraliter, naturaliterque prohibito, ac si potest, omnes affirmant et consentiunt, quod hoc non potest, nisi ex urgentissimis et arduis causis, quales non subfuerunt. Bulla praeterea Dispensationis fundatur et concessa est sub quibusdam falso suggestis et enarratis: in ea enim asseritur, quod haec Regia Majestas matrimonium hoc cum Regina percipiebat pro bono pacis inter Henricum VII., Ferdinandum et Elizabetham, quum revera nulla tunc dissensio aut belli suspicio esset inter dictos Principes vel Regiam Majestatem praedictam, quae in teneris adhuc annis, nec in discretionem aut judicio constitutis agebat, nunquam deinde assensit, aut quicquam cognovit de hujusmodi Bullae impetratione, nec unquam hoc matrimonium optavit, aut aliquid de eo accepit ante Bullae impetrationem. Quocirca ab his omnibus Doctoribus atque Praelatis judicatur hujusmodi dispensationem non adeo validam,—ut praedictum matrimonium manifeste justum legitimumque sit; sed potius quod multa possunt obijci—in non leve periculum Regiae prolis, totiusque Regni ac subditorum gravem perturbationem. Ad haec, postquam Regia Majestas, qui Walliae Princeps tunc erat, decimum quartum annum attigisset, contractus revocatio subsequuta est, Rege patre expresse nolente, quod hujusmodi matrimonium ullo pacto sortiretur effectum.

¹⁴ See the reports of Knighth, 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 deberet committere istic causam Cardinali,—et ubi causa fuerit commissa, si Rex conscientiam suam pensentia coram Deo exoneratam, et quod recte possit facere quod quaerit,—aliam 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., App., 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 John Strype, Memorials of the most Rev. Father in God, Thom. Cranmer. London, 1694, fol.

¹⁷ Burnet, i. 70. The judgment of Oxford and the acts about it, see in Wood's Hist. et Ant. Univ. Oxon., i. 254. Burnet, Angl., iii., App., p. 25. Conc. M. Brit., iii. 726; of Cambridge, Burnet, i., App., p. 54; of foreign universities, Burnet, i., App., p. 53. Rymer Foedera, xiv. 391. The Reformers judged the most unfavorably for the King. Zwingle, asked by Simon Grynaeus, was against the marriage; advised a judicial divorce. Luther, in a private opinion to Rob. Barnes (Luther's Briefe, ed. de Wette, iv. 294), declared that the Mosaic law was not binding, but that the marriage was indissoluble. For the King were Andreas Osiander (whose niece was Cranmer's wife), in a work, De Matrimoniis Incestis, published at Augsburg, and at once forbidden by the Emperor; and also Oecolampadius.

tyrannical monarch, and the Reformation.¹⁸ 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);¹⁹ and the oath of supremacy was administered, recognizing him as the head of the English Church.²⁰

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 illustrissimae ejus Majestatis in nos merita, quod nullis laudibus aequari—queant. Etenim sicut superioribus diebus universalem Ecclesiam—studiosissime calamo et sumtuosissimo bello contra hostes defendit;—sic impraesens quamplurimos hostes, maxime Lutheranos, in perniciem Ecclesiae et Cleri Anglicani, cujus singularem protectorem unicum et supremum dominum, et quantum per Christi legem licet, etiam supremum caput ipsius Majestatem recognoscimus, conspirantes, ac in Praelatorum et Cleri famam et personas sparsis famosis libellis, mendaciis et maledictis jampridem hoc animo debauchantes, ut illorum aestimationem laederent, et vulgo contemnendos propinarent; sapientissima ejus Majestas—taliter condidit et repressit, quod illorum audacia coepit refrigescere.*—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. 87.

¹⁹ After the Pope had decided against Henry about the marriage, March 23, 1531 (Concil. 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 alius quisvis externus Episcopus?* The answers, sent in May and June, replied in the negative to all the questions: they are given in Burnet, iii. p. 52; 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. 3, 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 Sovereign 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 callyd Anglicana Ecclesia."

²⁰ The formulas 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 supremo immediate sub Christo capiti, quod posthac nulli externo Principi aut Praelato, 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 primatum sibi arrogat, nihilo majoris neque auctoritatis aut jurisdictionis habendus sit, quam caeteri quisvis Episcopi in Anglia vel alibi gentium in sua quisque dioecesi. Item quod soli dicto domino Regi et successoribus ejus adhaerebimus, atque ejus decreta ac proclamationes, insuper omnes Angliae leges—perpetuo manutenebimus, Episcopi Romani legibus, decretis et canonibus, si qui contra legem divinam et sacram Scripturam esse inventur, imperpetuum renunciantes. Item quod nullus nostrum omnium in ulla vel pri-*

Thus Henry VIII. broke loose from the Pope²¹ 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 Pope²³ and the friends of the Reformation²⁴ 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 Crammer, 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

vata vel publica concione quicquam ex sacris Scripturis desumptum ad alienum sensum detorquere praesumet, sed quisque Christum ejusque verba et facta simpliciter, aperte, sincere, et ad normam seu regulam sacrarum Scripturarum et vere catholicorum atque orthodoxorum Doctorum praedicabit catholice et orthodoxe.

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 Unitatis ecclesiasticae Defensione*, 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 cognoscimur, ut in Regno simus, sicut anima in corpore, et sol in mundo, utque loco Dei iudicium exerceamus in Regno nostro, et omnia in potestate habentes, quoad jurisdictionem, ipsam etiam Ecclesiam vice Dei sedulo regamus ac tueamur, et disciplinae ejus, sive augeatur, aut solvatur, nos ei rationem reddituri simus, qui nobis eam credidit, et in eo Dei vicem agentes, Deique habentes imaginem, quid aliud vel cogitare—potuimus, quam ut eodem confugeremus, ubi certo descendum esset, caet. Coins, with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew inscriptions: *Henricus VIII. Angliae Franc. et Hib. Rex in terr. Eccles. Angl. 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. 114); 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 visitation²⁶ 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

²⁶ 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 huic monasterio—brevis succurratur et provideatur, funditus in spiritualibus et temporalibus adimiletur, dedimus et concessimus—Illustrissimo Principi—Henrico VIII.—dictum Monasterium, 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 perpendimus, totam vivendi rationem, quam nos et Religio nostra haecenus observavimus,—potissimum in certis quibusdam ceremoniis et constitutionibus Episcopi Romani—consistere, illasque solummodo urgeri, nec veram legis divinae cognitionem ostendi,—submitentes nos ipsos potissimum exteris Potestatibus, quibus nunquam curae erat eos corrigere errores et abusus, qui nunc inter nos regnare deprehensi sunt, caet.* Or: *Quandoquidem—serio ad animum revocavimus, perfectionem vitae christianae non consistere in ceremoniis, tunica alba, larvis, nutationibus, gestatione cuculli, aliisque hujusmodi pontificiis ceremoniis, quibus nos haecenus potissimum exercuimus; sed veram viam Deo placendi,—sincere nobis a domino nostro Jesu Christo, ejus Evangelistis, et Apostolis ostensam esse; nos in posterum eandem secuturi, et ad voluntatem supremi nostri sub Deo in terra capitis et Regis nos ipsos conformaturi, neque superstitiosas potestatis alicujus exterae 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), 376 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 Crammer. 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. 325). 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: *ita tamen ut sedulo moneas, ut omnes vitent altercationes et litigia, atque in pervestigando vero sensu honesta utantur sobrietate, explicacionemque locorum obscurorum viris in Scriptura sacra exercitatis relinquunt.* 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*

doctrine.³² 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, 1538,³³ 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.³⁴ By the bloody statute of July 28, 1539,³⁵ 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:³⁶ all who went beyond

Scriptura mandata; and be taught—non fidendum esse in ullis aliis hominum arbitrio extra Scripturas excogitatis operibus, peregrinationibus religiosis, oblatione nummorum, candelarum, vel cereorum, imaginibus ac reliquiis, vel earundem deosculacione, recitatione certarum precum, caet.

³² As early as 1536 Cromwell had proposed a Convocation in the name of the King (Burnet, i. 122), ut ritus et ceremonie ecclesiasticæ ad normam Scripturæ sacræ corrigantur,—absurdum namque esse, potius ad glossas et Pontificum decreta, quam ipsam Scripturam, quæ sola religionis leges contineat, recurrere. In consequence, Articles of Reformation were agreed upon by the Convocation, and modified and decreed by the King (Burnet, l. 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 vitæ*. 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 do this 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.]

³³ 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.

³⁴ 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 3 (Seckendorf *Comm. de Lutheranismo*, iii. 13).—On the negotiations, 1535, 1538, see above, Div. I., § 7, Note 24.

³⁵ Conc. M. Brit., iii. 848. Burnet, i. 145. Ranke's *Zeitalter d. Reform.*, v. 158. It consisted of VI. Articles: I. Transubstantiation confirmed; II. Communio sub utraque needless; III. Priests, after consecration, can not marry, divina lege; 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 Melanthon's letter, Nov. 1, to the King, by request of the Elector, full of the most earnest representations against—*Edictum contra piam doctrinam et Ecclesiæ necessariam, quam profitemur*, editum, l. c., p. 804. Seckendorf, iii. 226.

³⁶ On the first edition, see Neal's *Hist. Puritans*, i. 33; on the second, wholly revised, Burnet, i. 159. (The theological controversy on the sacraments that here sprung up,

it,³⁷ as well as those who did not come up to it, were executed;³⁸ even Cromwell's head fell, July 20, 1540.³⁹ Only Cranmer, under these difficult circumstances, was able to maintain the confidence of the King.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;⁴¹ but he soon found out his error, and limited the reading of them to those in high life, 1543.⁴²

In Ireland the ecclesiastical decrees of Henry were also proclaimed; but they met with invincible hinderances from the rude culture of the clergy and people, and the opposition of the latter to the English rule.⁴³

§ 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.¹ Cran-

in the App., p. 112.) A third edition, 1543, is said to deviate again from the second (Gerdes, Hist. Ref., iv. 316).

³⁷ In a short time after this statute 500 persons were imprisoned, among them Bishops Shakton, of Salisbury, and Latimer, of Worcester, who were compelled to resign (Burnet, i. 149). The executions began after Cromwell's fall. Three preachers were executed July 30, 1540; one of them was Robert Barnes, who had treated with Melanethon in 1535 as the King's envoy (Burnet, i. 163 ss.). Luther published in German an account of this martyr's death (Waleh's ed., Th. xxi., App., s. 186). Among the later executions, that of Anna Askew, 1546, made a great excitement; Foxe, p. 184; Gerdes, iv. 334. [In Henry's reign the victims were two queens, two archbishops, eight bishops, thirteen abbots, five hundred monks, thirty nobles, and four hundred others.]

³⁸ With Barnes two papists were also executed (Burnet, i. 164).

³⁹ Foxe, p. 154. Burnet, i. 154.

⁴⁰ He was accused 1543 (Burnet, i. 179), and 1546 (l. c., p. 187).

⁴¹ In May, 1542, the order was renewed for setting up the English Bible in the churches for the use of the laity (Burnet, i., App., p. 134), but with the notice that this was not ut aliquis ex laicis, Biblia sacra legens, ullam disputationem, vel mysteriorum divinarum expositionem instituere praesumat; sed ut quivis laicus cum humilitate, mansuetudine et reverentia pro sua instructione, aedificatione et vitae emendatione—ea legat.

⁴² Burnet, i. 177. In the order it is said: Quemvis nobilem posse curare, ut Biblia in aedibus suis placide et sine turbis legantur. Cuivis mercatori, si sit paterfamilias, eadem legere licitum esse: mulieribus vero, opificibus tironibus, artificibus servis, aliisque servis, imo etiam agricolis vel colonis minime.

⁴³ See *Primordia Reformationis Hibernicae*, in *Gerdesii Miscellanea Groning.*, vii. 1 (translated from the English, *The Phenix*, 2 vols., Lond., 1707. 1708. 8.), p. 120 ss. [The Irish Parliament in 1537 recognized the ecclesiastical supremacy of Henry, though Archbishop Cromer, of Armagh († 1543), resisted. Relics and images were banished, but no spiritual reform effected. Dorodull, Cromer's successor, opposed all innovations. Bishop Bale, of Ossory, preached more decisive reforms, 1553.]

¹ Burnet, ii. 26.

mer called Peter Martyr and Bernh. Ochino² 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 Catechisms⁷ 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

² See Div. I., § 19, Notes 14, 15, 27, 28.

³ 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 (l. 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.

⁴ 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. 326. [Cranmer probably wrote the 3d Homily, on the Salvation of Mankind; Gardiner ascribed 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 Corrie, 1850.]

⁵ 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 *Ejusd. Scriptis Anglicanis 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.

⁶ 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 Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reform. publicatarum*, p. 592.

⁷ Cranmer's Catechism, 1548 (Burnet, ii. 47), was the Catechism of Justus Jonas, translated into English (see Foxe, *Rerum in Ecclesia 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*, 1731, s. 97. Köcher's *Catechet. Geschichte der Ref. Kirchen*, Jena, 1756, 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.⁸ However, he had against him not only many opponents,⁹ but also ecclesiastical abuses difficult to be eradicated.¹⁰ 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 Crammer (Epist., p. 101): *Conjecti sunt in te bonae partis oculi, vel ut tuum motum sequantur, vel ut cessationis tuae praetextu forent. Atque utinam te duce aliquanto longius jam ante triennium progressi forent, ne tantum hodie negotii crassis superstitionibus tollendis ac certaminum restaret. Fator equidem, ex quo serio reformatum Evangelium in Anglia, intra breve tempus non parvas accessiones esse factas. Verum si reputas, et quid adhuc desit, et quam nimis fuerit in multis rebus cessatum, non est quod remissius ad metam, quasi magna stadii partem confecta, properes.—Ut libere loquar, magnopere vereor,—ne tot cunctando transigantur autumni, ut perpetuae tandem hiemis frigus succedat. Jam aetas quo magis ingravescit, acrius te stimulare debet, ne, si rebus confusis e mundo sit migrandum, magna te ex conscientia tarditatis anxietas constringat. Res confusas appello: quia sic correctae sunt externae superstitiones, ut residui maneant innumeri surculi, qui assidue pullulent. Imo ex corruptelis Papatus audio relictam esse congeriem, quae non obscurer modo, sed propemodum obruat purum et genuinum Dei cultum, caet. His opinio on the English Liturgy is given, in a letter—ad Anglos Francfordenses, dd. 18. Jan., 1555 (l. c., p. 158): In Anglicana liturgia, qualem describitis, multas video fuisse tolerabiles ineptias. His duobus verbis exprimo, non fuisse eam 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 Calvini Epist., p. 96): *Res Christi hic quoque geritur, ut, nisi Dominus innocentissimum et religiosissimum Regem et alios aliquot pios homines singulari respiciat clementia, valde verendum sit, ne horrenda Dei ira brevi et in hoc Regnum exardescat. Inter Episcopos haecenus de Christi doctrina convenire non potuit, multo minus de disciplina. Paucissimae Parochiae idoneos habent Pastores, pleraeque venundatae sunt Nobilibus: sunt etiam ex ecclesiastico Ordine, atque ex iis quoque qui Evangelicæ videri volunt, qui tres aut quatuor atque plures Parochias tenent, nec uni ministrant, sed sufficiunt sibi eos, qui minimo se conduci patiuntur, plerumque qui nec Anglice legere possunt, quique corde puri pati Papistae sunt. Et Primores quidem regni multis Parochiis praefecerunt eos, qui in coenobiis fuerunt, ut pensione eis persolvenda se liberarent, qui sunt indoctissimi, et ad sacrum ministerium ineptissimi. Hinc inventas Parochias, in quibus aliquot annis nulla sit habita conicio. Quid autem nudis edictis et remotione instrumentorum superstitionum profici queat ad regni Christi restitutionem, non ignoratis. Utraque hic Academia habet permulta egregia collegia.—Sed ea pridem inolevit conviventia, et hoc maxime tempore ita est corroborata, ut multo maxima pars collegarum sint vel acerbissimi Papistae, vel dissoluti Epicurei, qui quantum possunt juventutem ad sua studia pertrahunt, et odio imbuunt sanae Christi doctrinae atque disciplinae. Atqui nostri quoque adeo sunt parei concionum suarum, ut per totam Quadragesimam exeepto uno aut altero dominico die,—in die ipso memoriae mortis Christi ac etiam resurrectionis, neque hodie ullam populo concionem dederint. Interim plerique Parochorum sic sacra recitant et administrant, ut populus tantundem de Christi mysteriis intelligat, atque si adhuc Latina et non vernacula lingua uterentur. Cum vero de hac tam horrenda Ecclesiarum deformitate querelae deferuntur a sanctis hominibus ad regni Proceres, dicunt, his malis mederi esse Episcoporum: cum deferunt ad Episcopos Evangelium pridem 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;

de eo fiat. The same complaints, see in Buceri *De Re Vestiaria in Sacris Responsum* (Ejusd. *Scripta Anglicana Basil.*, 1577, fol., p. 705). This picture can be completed from *Petri Martyris Epist. ad H. Bullingerum*, dd. 1. Jun., 1550, in Burnet, iii., App., p. 199 (e. g., *Permulta certe sunt, quae nobis obstant, cum primis adversariorum copia, concionatorum inopia, et eorum qui profitentur Evangelium crassa vitia, et quorundam praeterca humana prudentia, qui judicant religionem quidem repurgandam, sed ita vellent demutari quam minime fieri possit, quod, cum animo sint et judicio civiles (politicians), existimant maximos motus reipublicae fore perniciosos*); and *Pauli Fagii Epist. ad Marbachium*, dd. 26. Apr. and 29. Jul., 1549, in Jo. Fechtii *Hist. Eccl. saec. XVI. supplementum, plurimorum Theologorum Epistolis ad Marbachios constans, Durlaci*, 1684. 4. *Epist.*, p. 8 and 11. (E. g., *Putant, vix decem Concionatores in toto Regno Angliae extare, qui aliquid praestare possint.—Non tantum rari sunt hic concionatores, sed etiam apud ipsos concionatores rarissimae conciones aut plane nullae. Interim tamen habent magnas, multas et pingues praebendas, et sunt magni domini: satis esse putant, in conviviis et colloquiis posse aliquid de Evangelio nugari, captiosas ac curiosas quaestiuuculas movere, cui vitio video Anglicam gentem admodum obnoxiam. In summa luditur cum Christo, cum sancto Evangelio, et Ecclesia ejus.—Nos libenter faceremus, quicquid possemus: sed quia linguam ignoramus, non videmus, quomodo multum prodesse possimus: neque enim concionari, neque eum hominibus loqui valeamus.*)

¹¹ The insurrections in several provinces were, for the most part, against the oppressions of the nobility; but those that revolted in Devonshire (1549) demanded, in fifteen articles, a restitution of the old doctrines and order of the Church (Burnet, ii. 76). After this, too, many persons refrained from taking part in the new forms of worship, and ecclesiastical censures were imposed upon them by law (l. e., p. 126).

¹² On this account six able preachers were made chaplains to the King in 1550, four of whom were constantly on journeys in the kingdom to preach to the people (Burnet, ii. 114).—The ecclesiastical laws, drawn up by Cranmer, *Tit. vii.*, provided that in every diocese evangelists should be appointed for this object (*ibid.*, p. 131).

¹³ Cranmer had already mooted the necessity of this under Henry VIII., 1544 (Burnet, i. 181; App., p. 137). By a royal decree, Nov. 11, 1551 (*Conc. Mag. Brit.*, iv. 69), a commission was established for this purpose, which ended the work, under Cranmer's superintendence, in February, 1553; but its actual introduction was hindered by the death of the King. *Comp. Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum ex Auctoritate primum Henrici VIII. inchoata, deinde per Regem Eduardum VI. provecta adauctaque. Londin.*, 1640. 4.; Burnet, ii. 130; *Gerdesii Hist. Ref.*, iv. 383.

¹⁴ Burnet, ii. 159. (Edicts of August 18, 1553, in *Conc. M. Brit.*, iv. 86.) *Raumer's Gesch. Europas*, ii. 76. The Emperor Charles V. had also earnestly advised prudence and mildness; *Raumer's Briefe*, ii. 78.

¹⁵ The acts of a conference of the clergy, called by the Queen for this object, see in

Reginald Pole appeared as the papal nuncio in Sept., 1554;¹⁶ 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,¹⁷ that even Pole thought it unwise.¹⁸ Cranmer fell a victim, in Oxford, March, 1566;¹⁹ thousands fled to avoid death. The death of Mary, Nov. 17, 1558, introduced a new order of things.

§ 28.

UNDER ELIZABETH († APRIL 3, 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, 1559.¹ 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.² And so she had the Liturgy of Edward VI. made more acceptable to the Catholics by some alterations;³ and by the Act of Uniformity, June, 1559,⁴ made it

Foxe *Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum Comm.*, p. 215 ss. The decree of the Parliament followed at once; Burnet, ii. 166.

¹⁶ The decrees which Pole drew up for the direction of this reformation, see in Cone. M. Brit., iv. 792. *Libri duo D. Reginaldi Poli. Primus liber de concilio agit, alter de Reformatione Angliæ sancta et huic ætati valde commoda decreta describit.* Dillingæ, 1562. 8., p. 172.

¹⁷ 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.

¹⁸ Burnet, ii. 196, 215.

¹⁹ 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]; Rammer's *Gesch. Europas*, ii. 93.

¹ Burnet, ii. 252. Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, i. 155 ff.

² See the letter of her minister, Francis Walsingham, to a French noble, in Burnet, ii. 275.

³ In the Litany the passages were struck out which spoke of "the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome," and all his abominations; and also the note that declared that kneeling at the Lord's Supper did not imply the worship of the bodily presence of Christ. Pictures, crucifixes, vocal and instrumental music, and the priests' vestments (see § 27, Note 5), were to be retained.

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.⁵ Matthew Parker, the former teacher of the Queen, became Archbishop of Canterbury, and the ecclesiastical father of the subsequent English episcopate.⁶ In respect to doctrine, full freedom

⁵ 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. Europas*, ii. 428.—Cf. Nic. Sanderi (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 Optimatibus praecipuis—pars major inferioris nobilitatis erat plane catholica; plebeji quoque, qui agriculturam per totum regnum exercent—novitatem istam inprimis detestabantur: nec regni illius provinciae aliae, quam quae sunt prope Londinum et aulam, nec civitates fere, nisi maritimae,—ultra haeresim amplexabantur.—Praeter istos ergo licet caeteri fere essent corde Catholici, tamen putabant aliquosque in exteriori vita et obediendum legibus, et regiae voluntati cedendum; et si quid in ea re peccetur, idtribuendum Principi vel Magistratui, et non sibi, qui iudicabant se utcumque hac necessitate excusari. Venerunt quoque in hanc ipsam sententiam nonnulli ex inferiori Clero Presbyteri et Parochi, Ecclesiarumque cathedralium vel collegiarum Canonici non pauci, qui ex animo sectam damnabant, et aliquamdiu etiam a faciendis istis novis officiis propter conscientiam abstinabant.—Sed cum Elizabetha paulo post—visitationem Cleri fecisset, ac in Parochos, qui ritus parlamentarios in Parochiis suis—non obibat, diligenter inquisivisset; 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 initiis—hostibus paulatim cederet, ut Schismaticorum Ecclesias, conciones, communionem ac conventicula aliquando publice adire non recusarent. Ita tamen, ut interim Missas secreto domi per eosdem saepe Presbyteros, qui adulterina haereticorum sacra in templis publice peragebant, aliquando per alios non ita schismate contaminatos, celebrari curarent, saepeque et mensae Domini, ac calicis Daemoniorum, hoc est sacrosanctae Eucharistiae et coenae Calvinicae, uno eodemque die, illo luctuoso tempore participes fierent. Imo quod magis mirum ac miserum erat, Sacerdos nonnumquam prius rem sacram domi faciens, deferebat pro Catholicis, quos ipse id desiderare cognoverat, hostias secundum formam ab Ecclesia usitatum consecratis, quas eodem tempore iisdem dispensabat, quo panes haereticorum ritu confectos caeteris catholicae fidei minus studiosis distribuerebat.*

⁶ 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 investiganda Vera et Invisibili 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;⁷ this was not confirmed by Parliament until April, 1571.⁸ 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.⁹

Since no change could be effected in the course of ecclesiastical affairs, either by papal threats or papal promises,¹⁰ Pius V. at Ordinations des Anglois et sur la Succession des Evêques de 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 apogetique des sentimens et de la conduite du P. le Courayer, 2 T., à Amsterdam, 1729. 8. Olai Kiörningii Comm. qua nobilissima Controversia de Consecrationibus Episcoporum Anglorum recensetur et adjudicatur. Helmstadii, 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 Engeland. 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 convenit inter Archiepiscopos et Episcopos utriusque Provinciae et Clerum universum in Synodo, Londini, 1562, secundum computationem Eccl. Anglicanae, ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem, et consensum in vera Religione 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, Bampton 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; Daubeny'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 assertor acerrimus, respondit, Regnum Angliae beneficiarium esse sedis apostolicae, nec ipsam ob impedimenta natalium, jurisque controversiam Regni administrationem sede apostolica inconsulta jure corripere potuisse, eamque est hortatus, quo rite omnia fierent, ut se pontificio arbitrio permitteret, paternique in eam animi nulla officia praetermissum iri. 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, 1570.¹¹ Seditious writings¹² came forth in great numbers from the English colleges¹³ that had been founded in several Catholic countries, and from zealous priests,¹⁴ to produce an effect in England in favor of Catholicism and of Mary Stuart. These rebellious measures were opposed by severe laws;¹⁵ Mary Stuart atoned for her participation in them with the forfeit of her life, February 16, 1587.¹⁶

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-

ferent tone. He sent a nuncio, and wrote in his credentials, May 5, 1560 (in Raynald ad h. a., No. 42), to the Queen: *Omnia de nobis pollicere, quae non modo ad animae tuae salutem conservandam, sed etiam ad dignitatem tuam regiam stabilendam et confirmandam—a nobis desideraris.* Through the nuncio he offered to sanction the English Liturgy, to allow the Lord's Supper *sub utraque*, and to revoke the condemnation of the marriage of Elizabeth's mother; but the Queen would not give up her supremacy. A second nuncio, 1561, was not even allowed to come into England; Neal, p. 210.

¹¹ This is the date (5 Cal. Maj., 1570) of the Bull in the Roman Bullarium; in Burnet, ii., App., p. 221, it has a wrong date—5 Cal. Mart., 1569 (i. e., according to our calendar, 1570).

¹² Particularly from William Allen (Alan), see Note 12; Thomas Harding, in Louvain, † 1572; Thomas Stapleton, canon in Louvain, † 1598; the Jesuit, Robert Parsons (Parsons), † in Rome, 1610, etc.

¹³ William Allen (Wilhelm Alanus), driven from a canonry in York (made cardinal, and died 1594), procured the establishment of the first, that of Douay, in 1569, by Philip II.; that at Rome, 1579, by Gregory XIII.; at Valladolid, 1589, and at Seville, 1593, by Philip II. Afterward others were founded at St. Omer, 1596; Madrid, 1606; Louvain, 1606; Liège, 1616; and Ghent, 1624 (see Neal, p. 41). Besides these, there was also founded a *Congregatio Angliae Monachorum nigrorum*, 1607, or *Monachi Anglicanae Missionis*, which also had several cloisters in Belgium; see Clem. Reyneri *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia, Duaci*, 1626, fol.

¹⁴ Thus the two colleges in Douay and Rome had secretly sent, up to 1585, over three hundred priests to England; see Nie. Sander, *De Schismate Anglicano*, lib. iii., p. 548.

¹⁵ Several insurrections from 1579 to 1582 (Raumer, ii. 549). Edicts of 1580, in which education in foreign seminaries or colleges was forbidden; priests or Jesuits who tried to seduce the subjects of the Queen into the Roman Church to be punished as traitors, and those who received them as harborers of treason (Sander, *ubi supra*, p. 571; Neal, p. 455). Edict of 1585: all who traveled in foreign lands, excepting tradesmen, must have permission from the authorities. Englishmen in foreign colleges to return, under penalty of the confiscation of their property and banishment for life. All Jesuits to leave the kingdom within forty days, and those who secretly harbored them to be punished with death (Sander, p. 625; Raumer, ii. 551). Until 1570, no Catholic was executed; 1570 to 1580, twelve priests, and 1580 to 1590, fifty priests, were executed, and fifty-five banished; cf. Sander, p. 615: *Et hanc in omnes Ordines crudelitatem dicunt se non exercere propter religionem,—sed ad Reginae ac Reipublicae securitatem, quam per Catholicos indies numero ac studio in Regnam Scotiae crescentes, magis magisque periclitari asserunt.*

¹⁶ She knew of Babington's conspiracy: instigated by the Jesuits in Rheims, he had conspired with several others to murder Elizabeth; Raumer, ii. 554.

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 Genevese forms of worship, which they set forth in the book, *The Service, Discipline, 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. 334): Aliquot maculae, quae in Ecclesia Anglicana adhuc haerent. 1. In precibus publicis, etsi nihil impurum, est tamen species aliqua superstitionis Papisticae. Quod non modo in matutinis et vespertinis, sed in sacra etiam Coena videre est. 2. Praeter musicae sonos fractos et exquisitissimos Organorum usus in templis invalescit. 3. In administratione Baptismi Minister infantem alloquitur: ejus nomine sponsores parente absente de fide, de mundo, carne, Diabolo deserendo respondent; baptizatus cruce signatur. 4. Mulierulis etiam domi baptizandi potestas facta est (baptism *in extremis*). 5. In Coena dominica sacrae vestes, nempe Cappa et Superpellicum, adhibentur; communicantibus genuflexio injungitur; pro pane communi plaentula azyma substituitur. 6. Extra templum et Ministris in universum singulis vestes Papisticae praescribuntur, et Episcopi suum lincum, rochetum vocant, gestant, et utriusque pileos quadros, lirippia, togas longas a Papistis mutuo sumptas circumferunt. 7. De nervo autem Religionis, disciplina, quid dicemus? Nulla est, nec habet suam virgam Ecclesia nostra: nulla censura exercetur. 8. Conjugium Ministris Ecclesiae, publicis Regni legibus, concessum et sancitum non est; sed eorum liberi a nonnullis pro spuris habentur. 9. Solemnis desponsatio fit more rituae Papisticae per anulum. 10. Mulieres adhuc cum velo purificantur (after lying in). 11. In regimine Ecclesiastico multa antichristianae Ecclesiae vestigia servantur. Ut enim olim Romae in foro Papae omnia fuerunt venalia; sic in Metropolitanis Curia eadem fere omnia prostant: pluralitates Sacerdotiorum, licentia pro non residendo, pro non initiando Sacris, pro esu carniū diebus interdictis et in quadagesima, quo etiam tempore, nisi dispensetur et numeretur, nuptias celebrare piaculum est. 12. Ministris Christi libera praedicandi potestas adempta est. Qui jam concionari volunt, hi rituum innovationem suadere non debent, sed manus subscriptione ceremonias omnes approbare coguntur. 13. Postremo, articulus de spiritali manducatione, qui disertis verbis oppugnabat et tollebat realem praesentiam in Eucharistia, et manifestissimam continebat veritatis explanationem, Eduardi 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, l. c., p. 341. 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: Summa controversiae nostrae haec est: nos tenemus, Ministros Ecclesiae Anglicanae sine impietate uti posse vestium discrimine publica auctoritate jam praescripto, tum in administratione sacra, tum in usu externo, praesertim cum ut res indifferentes proponantur, tantum propter ordinem ac debitam legibus obedientiam usurpari jubeantur, et omnis superstitionis cultus ac necessitatis, quod ad conscientias attinet, opinio—omnino condemnatur. Illi contra clamitant, vestes has in numerum τῶν ἀδίαφόρων jam handquaquam esse adscribendas, impias esse, papisticas, ac idololatricas: et propterea 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 istis panniculariis papisticis, sic enim loquuntur, Ecclesiae inservire: licet doctrinam sincerissimam praedicandi nec non omnimodos errores seu abusus sive in ritibus, sive in doctrina, sive in sacramentis, sive in moribus, per sanam doctrinam subaccusandi, exagitandi, condemnandi 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 superstitio, nulla impietas, urgentur tamen et imponuntur bonis Pastoribus, qui mallent illos sibi non imponi: dabo sane, et quidem ex abundantia, onus et servitutum ipsis imponi; sed non dabo ideo justissimis ex causis, Stationem vel Ministerium propterea esse deserendum, et locum cedendum lupis,—vel ineptioribus Ministris. Worthy of note is the following question proposed to him, and his answer: An in reformatis Ecclesiis a Principe praescribendum in ceremoniis sine voluntate et libero consensu Ecclesiasticorum? *Resp.* Si voluntas Ecclesiasticorum semper sit expectanda Principi, nunquam forte sapientissimi et piissimi Reges, Asa, Ezechias, Josaphat, et Josias, alique Principes boni Levitas et Ministros Ecclesiarum rede-gissent in ordinem. Quamvis nolim prorsus excludi Episcopos a consultationibus Ecclesiasticorum, nolim rursus eam sibi potentiam vindicare, quam sibi usurparunt contra Principes et Magistratus in Papatu, nolim item tacere Episcopos, et consentire ad iniqua Principum instituta. 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. 337): Audimus enim jam non de solo vestitu apud vos contendere, sed insuper multa alia obtendi piis Ministris, quae merum Papatum redolent, imo in Antichristi schola primum fabricata sunt, et proinde salva pietate recipi aut dissimulari non possunt. Beza, too, on the appeal of the Puritans, gave an opinion in this matter, dd. Genevae, 24. Oct., 1567 (Epistolarum theologicarum Th. Bezae Vezelii liber unus. Genevae, 1573. 8., p. 103). He disapproved of all these usages, but advised that they should be borne with, since they were not per se impia et idololatrica: suademus Pastoribus, ut postquam et eorum Regia Majestate et apud Episcopos suas conscientias modesta quidem—et tamen gravi—obtestatione liberarint, aperte quidem apud suos greges ea inculcent, quae ad tollendum hoc offendiculum pertinent; et in istorum etiam abusuum emendationem, prudenter simul ac placide,—incumbant: sed ista tamen, quae mutare non possunt, ferant potius, quam Ecclesias ob eam causam deserendo, majoribus et periculosioribus malis occasionem Satanae nihil aliud quaerenti praebeant.—Sin vero Ministris non tantum ut ista tolerant, praecipitur, sed etiam ut ea tanquam recta vel chirographo comprobent, vel suo silentio foveant: quid aliud suadere possimus, quam ut de sua innocentia testati, et omnia remedia in timore Dei experti, manifestae violentiae cedant? At last the earnest exhortation to all, Anglicarum Ecclesiarum fratres, ut omni animorum exacerbatione deposita (quae sane veremur ut utrinque hoc malum vehementer auxerit), salva manente doctrinae ipsius veritate, et sana conscientia, alii alios patienter ferant, Regiae Majestati clementissimae et omnibus Praesulibus suis ex animo obsequantur, Satanae denique occasiones omnes tumultuum et infinitarum calamitatum quaerenti, animis in Domino concordibus, etiamsi non statim idem de quibusvis sentiant, constanter obstant. He made the most earnest representations to the Bishop of London, Edward Grindal, dd. 5 Cal. Julias, 1566 (l. c., p. 73). There, too, he says, p. 87: Denique quo tandem jure, sive Dei verbum, sive veteres omnes canones spectes, vel civili Magistratui per se liceat constitutis jam Ecclesiis novos aliquos ritus superinducere, aut veteres abrogare: vel Episcopis absque sui presbyterii 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.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,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 imprisoned²¹ in 1592, and after the doctrines respecting the Sabbath and election had been brought into discussion, 1595,²² 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.²³ Although

¹⁹ Neal, i. 419, 446, 579.

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. 368. 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, 593. [This Presbytery at Wandsworth was of ministers: no separate Church was formed. See Hopkins, Puritans, ii. 265, Note.]

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. Prophesyings of the clergy (1576) were put down by force, and Grindal was sequestered. Whitgift (1583-1604) enforced uniformity, and revived the High Court of Commission. *Martinmas Prelate Tracts* (1588), ascribed to Penry, Throgmorton, Udal, and Fenner; bishops and Book of Prayer fiercely assailed.]

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. 476. 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.

²³ Neal, i. 457. Stäudlin's u. Tzschirner's *Archiv für Kirchengesch.*, ii. iii. 564. II. 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,²⁴ yet his doctrine met with great success, and soon numbered thousands of adherents (Brownists, Independents, Congregationalists), who renounced all fellowship with the Episcopal Church.²⁵ A fanatical Anabaptist party, the Familists, resembling the Jorists, never attained to any importance.²⁶

§ 29.

UNDER JAMES I. († APRIL 6, 1625), AND CHARLES I. (EXECUTED JANUARY 30, 1649).

Neal's Hist. of Puritans, vols. ii. iii. Raumer's Gesch. Europas, iv. 248 ff.; v. 1 ff. [Macaulay, i. ch. ii. Marsden's Early Puritans, 1852. Vaughan's England under the Stuarts, 2 vols. 8vo, 1840. Lucy Aikin, Mem. Courts James I. and Charles I., Lond., 1823-33. Brooks, Lives of Puritans, 1813. C. Walker, Hist. of Independency, Lond., 1660-61. Sir R. Bulstrode, Mem. of Charles I. and II., 1721. W. Harris, Lives of James I., Charles I., etc., 1814.]

James I., long since restive under the restrictions imposed upon him in Scotland by the sombre and mistrusting Presbyterianism,¹

the title New England Theocracy, Boston, 1858], Leipzig, 1842, s. 19. Chlebus über die Independenten in Niedner's Zeitschr. f. d. bist. Theol., 1848, i. 129. [Comp Hanbury's Memorials, 3 vols.; Fletcher's Hist. of Independents, 3 vols.; Bogue and Bennett's Dissenters, 2d ed., 1835; Brooks, Lives of Puritans, 1813; Edm. Calamy, Non-conformists' Memorial, ed. S. Palmer, 2d ed., 3 vols., 8vo, Lond., 1802; W. H. Stowell, The Puritans in England, 1850; Walter Wilson, Hist. of Dissenting Churches, etc., 4 vols. 8vo, Lond., 1808. Particularly Hopkins, Puritans, ii., chap. xi.]

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. 683 [also Udal and Penry. There were 20,000 in England in 1593].

²⁵ Many fled to Holland, and there founded churches; there Robinson, who had established a church at Leyden (see Kist in the *Nederlandsch Archiefsvoor Kerk. Gesch.*, viii. 369), became their leader. [Some of them] took the name of Independents; Uhden, p. 23. Many of these emigrated to New England, in America; Neal, i. 707; Staudlin u. Tzschirner's Archiv, ii. iii. s. 571; Uhden, p. 33. [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 Edward VI.; Elizabeth issued a strict law against them. James I., in the Prooemium to the *Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον* (Opp., p. 13), called them infamous Anabaptistarum sectam, quae familia amoris vocatur. Comp. Baumgarten's Gesch. der Religionsparteien, s. 1065; Walch's Religionsstreitigkeiten ausser der Luther. Kirche, iv. 840. On the Jorists, see Div. I., § 24, Note 14.

¹ His view of the Scottish Reformation, in the *Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον* ad Henricum filium, lib. ii. (Jacobi M. Brit. Regis Opera edita ab Jac. Montacuto, Lond., 1619, fol., p. 147): Religionis in Scotia reformatio non sine arcano numinis auxilio peracta fuit: tam multa in populari tumultu, et rebellionem civium perturbata facta fuere ab iis, qui suis indulgentes affectibus Dei opus nescientes promovebant:—et haec 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-

jussu.—Hic e ministerio homines nonnulli praecipites, ignei, audaces in hac humanarum divinarumque rerum confusione tam gratiosi ad plebem facti sunt, ut degustata dominationis dulcedine coeperint democraticam Reipublicae formam sibi somnare: et primo aviae, deinde matris meae subversione elati (et nimium sane blandiebatur iis successus) postremo pupillari mea aetate ad democraticae suae stabilimentum diu abusi, jam potestatem tribunitiis spe certa devoraverant: ut in populari republica, cum plebem quo vellent facile circumducerent, omnium negotiorum momenta soli temperarent.—Crebrae adversus me in tribunitiis concionibus calumniae spargebantur: non quod crimen aliquod designassem, sed quia Rex eram, quod omni crimine pejus habebatur. Ac quoniam hanc odii causam palam profiteri pudor erat, sollicitè in vitam meam moresque inquirebant, minima quaeque errata augentes in immensum, rumoribus etiam falsis ad calumniam arreptis.—Consilia, quae tanto studio tegebant, suo prodebant iudicio, nempe omnes Reges et Principes Ecclesiae libertati esse inimicos, et jugum Christi non ferre aequanimiter: hac doctrinae salubritate suos illi greges pascebant.—Homines factiosi unum furoris sui praesidium in paritate collocarunt, qua freti homines improbi, audaces, imperiti pios, sapientes et modestos redarguerent. Est haec paritas mater confusionis, inimica unitatis, quae est ordinis parens: quod genus si, ut in Ecclesia ita quoque in Republica obtineret, omnia certo certius misceri necesse foret. Si utramque ames, ex utraque pestem hanc egere, *Puritanos* inquam, quos nec beneficiis devineas, nec iurejurando fidos facias, nec promissis constringas: sine modo ambitiosos, sine causa maledicos, nec quicquam spirantes nisi seditiões et calumnias: quibus una conscientiae regula est, non divini verbi auctoritas, sed commentorum suorum vanitas. Testor illum magnum Deum, nunquam inter Montanos aut limitaneos nostros latrones majorem ingratiitudinem aut perfidiam reperiri posse, quam inter hos fanaticos nebulones: nec patere, si peccate vivere decreveris, ut hi eadem tecum patria fruantur.—Una est contra hanc pestem cautio, si e Ministerio viros doctos et pios—ad Episcopatus, aliosque in Ecclesia honores selegeris, pudenda illa Annexationis lege (*Covenant*), nisi mea opera antiquatam inveneris, abrogata. Ita subrutis fundamentis non modo imaginariam illam paritatem evertes, quae cum legitima administratione Ecclesiae, aut Reipublicae pace, aut Monarchiae bene institutae legibus nunquam conveniat; sed etiam in regni comitiis antiquum illum trium ordinum honorem restitues, id quod aliter fieri omnino non potest. Ego tibi hac in re (si Deus dederit) viam praemoniam: tu, quod reliquum erit, iisdem vestigiis persequere. Ad summam, id tibi de ordine ecclesiastico consultum velim, ut bonum pastorem impense diligas, superbum Puritanum impense oderis, nec ullum titulum splendidiorem putes, quam ut Ecclesiae nutritus saluteris.

² James's address to Parliament in 1609 (*Opp.*, p. 524): Nihil est in terris, quod non sit infra Monarchiae fastigium. Nec enim solum Dei vicarii sunt Reges, Deique throno insident, sed ab ipso Deo Deorum nomine honorantur. P. 526: Regum, qui ab initio aut belli aut electionis jure praerant, arbitria pro legibus erant: ut primum autem humanitate et prudentia civili firmari coeperunt regna, Reges etiam legibus mentem suam exponere coeperunt, quae rogantur a populo, sed a Regibus solis proprie feruntur, iisque auctoribus vim habent. Atque ita Rex evasit lex loquens.—Quisquis igitur in regno composito susque deque habet leges suas, Regis nomen amittit, et in tyrannum degenerat. P. 527: Quemadmodum—apud Theologos blasphemia est, quid Deus possit, inquirere, licet autem vestigare, quid velit:—ita quid Rex supremæ potestatis suae vi possit facere, nemo subditus nisi seditiosus inquirat: at justus Regis est, si divinam iram vitare cupiat, notam facere populo voluntatem suam. Non patior disputandi materiam fieri potestatem meam, at factorum meorum causas indicare, eaque omnia ad leges exigere semper utique paratus sum. *Ejusdem, Jus liberae Monarchiae* (*Opp.*, p. 181): Quum omnibus Christianorum regnis tanquam exemplar quoddam proponi debeat Monarchia Judaica, quae ab ipso Deo instituta nullas leges habuit, nisi divino editis oraculo, cur, obsecro, turbulenti et factiosi homines in Christianorum Principum regnis libertatem

eiples of the Episcopal Church. Accordingly, he turned his face to Episcopacy.³ The Catholics expected, indeed, too much favor from the son of a martyred queen; after the Gunpowder Plot¹ (1605) they were forced to forswear the doctrine that the Pope was supreme above crowned heads.⁵ However, after this perilous

sibi vendicent, quae Dei populo non debebatur? praesertim cum nullius unquam Regis major fuerit enormitas aut superbia, quam populo Israelitico hic praedicta est (1 Sam., viii. 9 ss.).—Nunquam legimus suadentibus Prophetis, quantumvis in impium, fuisse olim 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 ipse profiteor, offendi: at altera in ejus visceribus latere mihi visa est, praeter sectam quandam occultam. Prima vera est et orthodoxa religio, quae mihi semper cordi fuit, et jure regni meruit sola obtinere. Secunda est, quae injuste nomen usurpat catholicae, cum sit papistica. Tertia, quae magis secta est, quam religio, Puritanorum est et Novatorum, qui non tam tute distinguuntur a nobis, quam politicae specie, nempe oculoeraticae paritatis studio, et potestatis superioris impatientia, praesentisque Ecclesiae regiminis odio, unde fit, ut in bene constituta Republica intolerabiles sint.—Romanam Ecclesiam Ecclesiarum agnosco matrem, erroribus tamen et corruptelis inquinatam, quales erant Judaei cum Christum crucifigerent. The laws against Catholics are to be examined, quo demum pacto—dubitatio omnis tolli possit, si forte severius, quam legislatoris mens erat, hae leges a judicibus fuerint exercitae, aut ita conscriptae, ut insontibus pariter ac sontibus noceant. Die moderati et pacis publicae amantes unter den Kathol. Laien sollen geschont werden. Ego auctor non essem ut mentis errores, quos divinae emendationi par est commendare, luant corporibus.—De Clericis vero hoc sine circuitione cloquar, ni duas res, quarum alteram docent, alteram faciunt, prorsus ejurarint, merito ex hoc regno exulare. Docendo, fastuosum illum Romani Pontificis primatum citra modum extollunt: illum non modo esse christiani 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, sibi quae laudi ducunt, quod in suos quoque Principes, pontificio damnatos anathemate, nihil hostile omittunt, subditos ab omni fidelitatis sacramento liberant, et regna *πριλόφφ* Monarchae vel monstro potius, ipsorum capiti, in justam praedam exponunt. Pluribus hic opus non est: utinam niveus ille dies mihi luceat, quo omnes Christiani posita pertinacia ab extremis recedant, et in medio, perfectionis centro, dextras jungant: nihil mihi prius foret vel antiquius, quam beatissimae illius unionis membrum censi. Certe si recentia illa et crassa commenta, quae nec ipsi possunt tueri, et corrigi oportere non negant, tandem aliquando pudore abjicerent, et novitatis studium hinc indeque ponerent, non dubitarem ego in media via illis occurrere. Nam ut fides mea vera antiqua est, catholica et apostolica, saeris literis et expresso Dei verbo fundata; sic in rebus ad politiam Ecclesiasticam spectantibus antiquitatem imprimis revereor: qua ratione satis mihi cum Deo cavebo, ne vel in fide 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 Pulververschwörung, in the Miscellen aus der neuesten ausländ. Literatur, Heft 12, 1827. [Hallam's Constl. Hist., p. 232 (New York ed.); Birch's Negotiations, p. 233; Townsend's Accusations of History, 1825, p. 247; Lingard, ix. 160; Butler's Mem. of Catholics.]

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 governe-

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

ment." Then they had to promise such "faith and true allegiance to the King," that no papal dispensation or absolution could release them from it, and also to divulge all conspiracies which should become known to them. Farther, they must testify their abhorrence of the accursed opinion, "that princes, which be excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever." In fine, they must take oath that they believed they could not be released by the Pope or any one else from this oath, and that they said this without mental reservation. The Pope, Paul V., issued a brief against it to the English Catholics, dd. X. Cal. Oct., 1606 (Jacobi, i. Opp., p. 241), in which he declared, quod hujusmodi juramentum, salva fide catholica, et salute animarum vestrarum, praestari non potest, cum multa contineat, quae fidei ac salutis aperte adversantur, without stating more definitely what it is: this was repeated in a brief, dd. X. Cal. Sept., 1607 (l. c., p. 250). The Cardinal Bellarmin, in a letter to the English archpriest, G. Blackwell, maintained, juramentum eo tendere, ut auctoritas capitis Ecclesiae a successore S. Petri ad successorem Henrici octavi in Anglia transferatur. Against these three letters James I. wrote his *Apologia pro Juramento Fidelitatis*, Lond., 1608. 8. (Opp., p. 237). Bellarmin replied, and there sprung up a lively controversy, in which there mingled, on the Catholic side, Jac. Gretser, Mart. Becanus, and Francis Suarez; on the Reformed side, Dav. Pareus, Petr. du Moulin, and others. See the literature in *Walch, Bibl. Theol.*, ii. 213. Most of the English Catholics took the oath. This power was denied in *Guil. Barclajus de Potestate Papae, an et quatenus in Reges et Principes saeculares jus et imperium habeat.* Lond., 1609. 8. In opposition, again calling forth many controversial writings, appeared *Rob. Bellarminus de summi Pontificis in rebus temporalibus potestate.* Rom., 1610. 8. (*Walch*, ii. 211).

⁶ In 1609 a baccalaureate in Oxford, Edmund Campion, defended the thesis, licere subdito Religionis causa a Principe deficere, et arma contra eum sumere, which, however, he was obliged to recant before the Academical Senate (*Wood, 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, l. c., p. 326. Cf. *Doublet's Ep. ad G. J. Vossium*, dd. Lond., 16 Aug., 1622, in *Vossii Opp.*, T. iv., Ep. 48: Cum prius generalia quaedam proposuisset, ex quibus vereri videbatur, ne quid Religio reformata, ubique fere terrarum nunc concussa, etiam in Anglia detrimenti caperet, tandem eousque deveniebat, ut assereret, in tali casu fas fore subditis, aut saltem inferioribus Magistratibus, etiam invito et aliud moliente Principe, omnibus modis, atque adeo vel armis, Religionem veram ejusque publicum exercitium tueri: addens illustrandae thesese suae causa, existimare se, Regem Galliarum, si, dum exercitui Reformatos in urbe aliqua obsidenti interest quotidie, ferro per manum subditi caderet, juste et sine ullo mactationis crimine occisum iri. Called to account for this, he replied: Credidisse se, esse hanc communem omnium Reformatorum sententiam, atque ita se a Reformatis Doctoribus esse edoctum, citans *Paraeum* (David Pareus, professor in Heidelberg, † 1622) in commentariis in *Epist. ad Rom.* (chap. 13), *Bucanum* (professor in Lausanne at that time) in locis communibus, et *Stephanum Junium Brutum*, sive auctorem libri, 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;⁷ but his wrath against their obduracy made him increasingly averse to all their peculiarities. And so, in 1617, he enjoined the Sunday Sports,⁸ which they so thoroughly detested. At first he had defended strict Calvinism against the Arminians, and sent commissioners to the Synod of Dort;⁹ but he refused to accept the decrees of this Synod for the English Church,¹⁰ and thus prepared the way for

tus).—Itaque ipso in carcere detento, censurae Academiarum postea traditi fuere praedicti auctores. Ac Oxoniensis quidem capita aliquot selecta pro erroneis, falsis, impiis damnans (see the Decree in Wood, i. 327), Paraei solum commentarios ad Romanos publice contagrandos censuit, quod etiam factum, conquisitis quotquot in Officinis Bibliopolarum et Museis studiosorum reperiri poterant, exemplaribus. Cantabrigiensis vero etiam Bucani locos communes, et Bruti vindicias publice flammis tradidit.—Videbar ego in Cantabrigiensi Senatusconsulto videre plusculum bilis in rigidos istos Genevensis reformationis professores: sive ea causa sit, quod Puritanorum omne nomen exosum habent, sive quod plerique ibi Remonstrantium sententiae sunt addictissimi. Knight had to spend two years in prison.

⁷ See Prooemium ad Βασιλικὸν δᾶρον (Opp., p. 133): Quod ad caeteros concionatores attinet, aliosve etiam, quibus simplex illa nostrae Ecclesiae (Stoticae) politia Anglicanae ceremoniis praefertur, quibus episcopalis dignitas papalem fastum redolet, et pileus quadratus et superpellicium, et id genus alia, Papatus insignia videntur, hos (testor honorem meum) nunquam intellexi. Imo vero tantum abest, ut de talibus rebus, quas semper adiaphoras aestimavi, rixandum putem, ut utriusque partis eruditos et graves assertores pari honore et amore prosequar. Non nostrum est inter eos litem tam veterem componere: de fundamento fidei per Dei gratiam inter nos convenit. Et ex polemica hac partium acerbitate pax Ecclesiae turbatur, et schismatis occasione Papistis aperitur janua, qua redeant. Una tamen his cautio est atque provisio, ut suarum quisque opinionum conscientia domi et apud se contentus sit; neque in publicam, ubi legibus contrarium definitum est, eas producant, nedum ut pervicacia sua schismatis aut seditionis in populo auctores esse velint; sed legibus et patria consuetudine acquiescentes modestiae et paci studeant, et rationum momentis aut suam sententiam caeteris persuadeant, aut, si alteram partem fortiorem senserint, positis opinionum praepiudiciis ne erubescant accedere.—Religious conference at Hampton Court, in presence of the King, January, 1604; Neal, ii. 6. Royal order that all should conform, 16th July, 1604; Conc. M. Brit., iv. 406. [In the Millenary Petition (signed by 750 persons) the Puritans asked for the abolition of certain ceremonies, of non-residence, etc. In the conference at Hampton Court they asked for a revision of the Prayer-book, stricter discipline, and the declaration that the Bishop of Rome "ought not" to have jurisdiction, instead of "has not," in England.]

⁸ In the Book of Sports, 1618. Stäudlin, ii. 15.

⁹ His instructions to the English clergy who were sent thither (Conc. M. Brit., iv. 460) enjoined that they should hold to Scripture and the doctrines of the English Church, but endeavor to bring about a decision that the disputed points be left to the schools, and not examined in the pulpit. That he and the doctrine of the English Church were then Calvinistic, see Moshemii not. ad Jo. Halesii Historiam Concilii Dordraceni (Hamburgi, 1724. 8.), p. 233, 450. [The English commissioners were: Carleton, Bishop of Llandaff, Hale, Davenant, Ward, Bishop Balcanquhall, from Scotland, etc.]

¹⁰ The King, in consequence of Knight's preaching, enjoined, see Note 6 (Doubletii

the introduction of Arminianism, in the shape of Latitudinarianism, into the Episcopal Church.¹¹ He also tried to bring about a complete union of the Scottish with the English Episcopal Church, by restoring the episcopacy in Scotland, 1610,¹² and by the Articles of Perth, 1618.¹³ Such arbitrary measures made James detested; his want of force made him despised; and thus he left the kingdom to his son, Charles I., 1625, in a critical state of fermentation.¹⁴ Charles conceived that he must be true to the principles 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 threatening. The Episcopal Church, by preaching passive obedience,¹⁵

Ep. l. c.), Pontificios omnes e carcere liberari, qui, quod juramentum fidelitatis Regi preestare recusarant, magno numero per totam Angliam detinebantur captivi; Ministris præterea omnibus interdixit, ne ulla inter Pontificios et Reformatos controversa capita in publicis concionibus disputarent: solis enim Episcopis, Decanis et Doctoribus ea in umbone attingere, si opus sit, fas esse voluit. Particularly, 1622, he forbade preaching upon the rights of the King, and upon Predestination (Conc. M. Br., iv. 465).

¹¹ Although the name Latitudinarianism first came into vogue about 1660, yet the tendency already existed. At the head stood William Laud, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, who had great influence with the King; see Wood's *Hist. et Antiq. Univ. Oxon.*, i. 329. Besides him was John Hales, teacher in Eton (died 1656), who had been a commissioner at the Synod of Dort, and was there gained over to Arminianism by Episcopus (see Moshemius in *Vita Jo. Halesii* vor *dess. Hist. Conc. Dordr.*, p. 149); wholly latitudinarian in his book, *De Schismate*, 1636 (l. c., p. 159). So, too, his friend, John Chillingworth, Chancellor of the Church of Salisbury, † 1644, in his work, *The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation*, 1637.

¹² Rudloff's *Gesch. d. Reform. in Schottland* (2 Th., Berlin, 1847-49), i. 266. The first three Scottish bishops had to be consecrated in England; James commanded some English bishops, *Conc. M. Brit.*, iv. 443, eos in Episcopos juxta ritum et formam consecrationis in Ecclesia nostra Anglicana receptam et usitatam ordinare, auctorizare, et consecrare. Yet still the General Assembly remained the highest ecclesiastical authority. [James began to press episcopacy upon Scotland, in 1606, by an ecclesiastical commission; in 1601 the bishops were made perpetual moderators. The three consecrated in England were Spottiswoode, Lamb, and Hamilton. The Articles of Perth, 1618, forced the episcopal rites upon a reluctant people. *Comp. John Spottiswoode's Hist. (Spott. Society); John Skinner's Hist.*, 1788, and *Annals*, 1778-1816; H. Caswall, *Scotch Church*, 1853; Lawson's *Epis. in Scotland*, 1842.]

¹³ 1. The Lord's Supper was received kneeling. 2. It might be given to the sick at their houses. 3. Private baptisms allowed. 4. Children might be confirmed at eight years of age. 5. Certain festivals to be restored. Rudloff, i. 273.

¹⁴ *Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre*, par M. Guizot. *Partie i.*, in 2 Tomes. Paris, 1826 and 1827. 8. (1625 to 1649). *German*, 2 Bde., Jena, 1844. *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à la Révolution d'Angleterre*, par M. Guizot, 2 vols. Paris, 1823 ss. 8.

¹⁵ Thus Dr. Sibthorp preached, that when a King commands what the subjects can not do, because it is against God's commands, or in its nature impossible, they must yet undergo the punishment of their disobedience, and submit in passive obedience. Dr. Manwaring preached, in presence of the King, that the King is not under obligation to regard the laws of the kingdom about the rights and privileges of the subject. Every royal command, e. g., about taxes or loans, lays the consciences of the subjects under

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.¹⁶ The ecclesiastical regulations of the King in Scotland¹⁷ 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.¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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.²⁰ The contest with civil and ecclesiastical tyrann-

obligation with the penalty of eternal damnation. Consent of Parliament is not necessary for laying or raising taxes, etc. Ranmer, 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. 327). 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), ii. 1. [Stevenson, chap. ii.]

¹⁹ See the decrees of the Synod, 1640, in Conc. M. Brit., iv. 543. 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 cetera* 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 Bentham's Engelländ. Kirch- u. Schulenstaat, s. 536. Die Westminster-synode, 1643-49, by V. Rudloff, in Niedner's Zeitschrift, 1850, ii. 238. In October, 1643, pictures, altars, organs, etc., were ordered to be removed from the churches. January 4, 1645, a Direct-

ny²¹ had, however, with the love of freedom, also evoked fanaticism; and soon, in opposition to the intolerant Presbyterianism,²² there sprung up all sorts of sects²³ and private opinions. Many persons, made distrustful of all positive Christianity by this strife of sects, would have only a religion of reason.²⁴ The Independents grew most rapidly, supported by the parliamentary army²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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, l. c., p. 47)—were sanctioned, Sept. 15, 1648; see Neal, iii., chap. 8. [Hetherington's *History of the Westminster Assembly*, 1843. 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.]

²¹ 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., 1631.]

²² Guizot's Hist., i. ii. 1.

²³ 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 epistola* (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, † 1583, as laid down in his work: *Explicatio 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 *Engel. Kirch- und Schulenstaat*, s. 549.

²⁴ Rationalists, Naturalists. G. V. Lechler's *Geschichte des Englischen Deismus*. Stuttgart u. Tübingen, 1841, s. 61. [Leland's *Deist Writers*, 2 vols., 1798.]

²⁵ V. Rudloff, ii. 95.

²⁶ Raumer, v. 175. Guizot's Hist., i. ii. 196. V. Rudloff, ii. 108.

prevailed was soon forced to succumb to the Independent army.²⁷ The Parliament was at length brought to terms by force, in December, 1648;²⁸ and Charles I., in accordance with sentence pronounced [by a tribunal created for the occasion], was executed, January 30, 1649.²⁹ 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, unvail- ing 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,¹ 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.² And this furnished occasion for

²⁷ Raumer, v. 223. Guizot, i. ii. 252.

²⁸ Raumer, v. 264. Guizot, i. ii. 373.

²⁹ Raumer, v. 268. Guizot, i. ii. 384. V. Rudloff, ii. 127. [T. May, Hist. Long Parliament, Lond., 1647. M. Noble's Lives of English Regicides, Lond., 1798. Carlyle's Cromwell. Clarendon's Hist. of Rebellion. Carwithen's History, ii.]

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 39.

² Erasmus, in his *Spongia adv. Huttenicas Adspergines* (Opp., ed. Lugd., x.), 1523: *Sunt quidam indoeti, nullius iudicii, vitæ impuræ, obtrectatores, pervicaces, intractabiles, sic addicti Luthero, ut nec sciant, nec servent quod Lutherus docet. Tantum Evangelium habent in ore, negligent præces et sacra, vescuntur quibus libet, et maledicunt Romano Pontifici: sic Lutherani sunt.* He often repeats this opinion in still severer terms after his controversy with Luther, especially in his *Epistola contra quosdam, qui se falso jactant Evangelicos*, 1529 (Opp., T. x.). But Luther also and his friends chime in with these complaints; e. g., *Hauspostille* (Walchsche Ausg., xiii. 19): "Der Teufel fährt 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,³ while to others it seemed to have stopped half-way. 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 peculiarities 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

Lichte des Evangelii sind geiziger, listiger, vortheilischer, unbarmherziger, unzüchtiger, frecher und ärger, denn unter dem Papstthum." Comp. Hans Sachsen's Gespräch eines evangelischen Christen mit einem Lutherischen, worin der ärgerliche Wandel etlicher, die sich Lutherisch nennen, angezeigt und brüderlich gestraft wird. 1524 (see the extracts of Veessenmeyer in Vater's Kirchenhist., Archive für 1826, s. 263). Eberlin von Günzburg's (see Div. I., § 1, Note 103) Works: Vom Misbrauch christlicher Freiheit, 1552. Wie sich ein Diener Gottes Worts in all seinem Thun halten soll, 1525. Eine getreue Warnung an die Christen in der Burganischen Mark, sich auch füröhin zu hüten vor Aufruhr und vor falschen Predigern, 1526 (see the extracts in the Altdorfisches Literar. Museum, i. 374, 403, 417). Many passages of this kind are collected in Arnold's Kirchen- u. Ketzehistorie, Th. ii., B. xvi., cap. 13.

² 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 93; § 3, Note 18. Others, on the other hand, believed that the doctrine of salvation by faith alone promoted immorality. So George Wizel, 1525 to 1531 Lutheran pastor in Niemeck, 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 s. de Controversis Religionis Capitibus Conciliandis Sententia*, 1564. Comp. on him Strobel's *Beiträge*, Bd. ii., st. 1 u. 2. Rienacker in Vater's *kirchenhist. Archiv*, 1825, s. 312; 1826, s. 17. A. Neander, *Comm. de G. Vicelio*, Berol., 1839. 4. Neander's *das Eine u. Mannichfaltige des christl. Lebens*, Berlin, 1840, s. 167. Holzhausen in *Niedner's Zeitschr.*, 1849, s. 382. A similar position was taken by Theobald Thamer, 1543-49, 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 at last Professor of Theology in Freiburg, in Breisgau; see *Salig's Gesch. d. Angsb. 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 *Miscellaneen*, 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 Angsburg 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 Articulis Religionis inter Catholicos et Protestantos controversis ad Impp. Ferdin. I. et Maxim. II.* 1564. Comp. Conring's collection of his irenic writings: *G. Vicelii Via Regia, etc. Helmstadii*, 1650, and *Cassandri et Vicelii, de sacris 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.⁴ In the catastrophe of Münster these excesses reached at once their highest point and their overthrow.⁵ 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, 1528,⁶ who was joined by Louis Hetzer, beheaded in Constance, February 4, 1529;⁷ and of Michael Servetus, burned in Geneva, October 27, 1553;⁸ David Joris, who died

⁴ See Div. I., § 1, Note 87; § 3, Notes 43-50, 60-67. [Cf. Die Strassburger Wiedertauffer, 1517-43, by T. W. Röhrich, in Zeitschrift f. d. Hist. Theol.; Heft, i. 1860. Hase, Neue Propheten, for the Anabaptist Literature. Vicomte Th. de Bussière, Les Anabaptistes, Paris, 1853. K. W. H. Hochmuth, in Zeitsch. f. d. Hist. Theol., 1858-59.]

⁵ See Div. I., § 7, Note 13.

⁶ Deposed from the rectorate of St. Sebaldus, in Nuremberg, 1524; afterward in St. Gall, Basle, Elsass, and again in Basle; see Bock, Hist. Antitrinitariorum, ii. 238. F. Trechsel protestantische Antitrinitarier vor Faustus Socin, Buch i. (Heidelberg, 1839), s. 16. J. Denk u. s. Buehle in 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: Geistliches Blumengärtlein, Amsterdam, 1680. Extracts, not always important in their bearing on his doctrines, see in Arnold's Kirchen- u. Ketzehist. Schafhausen, 1740, i. 1303. 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; he 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 Elsass. Comp. Bock, ii. 231; Trechsel, i. 18. He and Denck published together: Alle Propheten nach hebr. Sprache verteutscht, Worms, 1527, fol., praised by Luther against W. Link (de Wette, iii. 172).—Denck and Hetzer are very probably the *Samosateni 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, Helmst., 1727, 4.); but the old view is defended by J. G. Walch (Diss. de Samosatenianis neotericis, quorum mentio fit in A. C. Jenae, 1730, 4.); see Mosheim's anderweit. Versuch einer Ketzergesch. s. 116. Servetus can not 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 Lehrsätze in Füssli's Beiträge, v. 148. Cf. Hagen's Reformationszeitalter, iii. 289. [Comp. on Denck and Hetzer, Th. Keim in the Zeitschrift für deutsche Theologie, 1856, s. 215-289; and in Herzog's Real encyclopädie. Heberle, Stud. u. Krit., 1855; Hase, Neue Propheten.]

⁸ From Villanueva, in Aragon; he came, in 1530, to Basle; from 1532, under the name of Mich. de Villeneuve, he was in Paris, Orleans, and Lyons; in 1540 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 *anderweitiger Versuch einer vollständigen und unparteiischen Ketzergeschichte*, Helmstadt, 1784. *Ibid.* neue Nachrichten von Mich. Serveto, Helmstadt, 1750. 4. F. Trechsel, i. 61, u. 222. Henry's *Leben Calvins*, iii. i. 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. Dreieinigkeith*, iii. 54. Schenkel's *Wesen des Protestantismus*, i. 371. Relation du procès criminel contre M. Servet, redigé d'après les documents originaux par A. Rilliet, Genève, 1844. (Cf. Ebrard's *Abendmal*, ii. 573.)—His works: *De trinitatis erroribus* lib. vii., per Michaellem Serveto, alias Reves ab Aragonia Hispanum (Hagenau), 1531, kl. 8. *Dialogorum de Trinitate*, lib. ii. de *justitia Regni Christi capitula* iv. per Mich. Serveto, etc. (Hagenau), 1532, kl. 8., *Christianismi Restitutio*. *Totius ecclesiae apostolicae ad sua limina vocatio*, in *integrum restituta cognitione Dei*, etc. (Vienne), 1553. 8. (reprinted at Nuremberg 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 fons, fons luminis, fons vitae, pater spirituum, pater luminum. Coelestes spiritus ille essentiat, ab eo fluunt essentialia divinitatis radii, et essentialia angeli, qui iterum ejus essentiam in res alias effundunt.—Ipse pater hanc essentianti vim ita Christo totam tribuit, ut ille alias res omnes essentiet. Omnia per ipsum Christum, et in ipso sunt, et consistunt, ut docet Paulus.—Per angelos Deus lucem suam mittit, et hoc ipsum est ipsemet Deus: et Christus ipse est ejus lucis dispensator, eam de substantia sua mittens, spiritum de substantia sua mittens, cui angeli ministrant. Per angelos spiritum ipse mittit, et hoc ipsum est ipsemet Deus. Semper ibi relucet essentia Dei, spiritus ipse Dei, divinitas ipsa, lux ipsa Deus.—Ea ipsa Dei universalis et omniformis essentia homines et res alias omnes essentiat: ejus spiritus est nobis ab initio insitus, et postea iterum in nos copiosus effusus.—Unde concludimus oppositum eorum, quae trinitarii sophistae docent. Nam ipsi metaphysicas tres res invisibiles in una essentia et natura ponunt, quasi in uno puncto tria puncta. Nos contra unam solam rem esse dicimus, et habere infinitorum millium essentias, et infinitorum millium naturas. Non solum innumerabilis est Deus ratione rerum, quibus communicatur, sed et ratione modorum ipsius deitatis.—Unicus est modus divinus insignis, et principium aliorum. Hic est modus plenitudinis substantiae, modus divinus sine 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 (*noëti*); the sum of these ideas is the ideal world, *mundus archetypus* (p. 137), *λόγος*, idealis ratio (p. 141), *Christus, prima Dei cogitatio* (p. 284): the visible world is something unreal, p. 148: *veritas in corporibus non est: mutaretur enim corporibus mutatis.—Vanitas ergo vanitatum hic mundus est, et res, quae non est: ac alterius rei existentis, scilicet 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. 676, personam dico esse faciem, vultum seu rem ipsam 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. 263). Besides the Trinity Servetus especially contended against infant baptism, which should be altogether rejected (p. 564, ss.). 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: *Paedobaptismum esse dico detestandam abominationem, Spiritus sancti extinctionem, Ecclesiae Dei desolationem, totius professionis christianae confusionem, innovationis per Christum factae abolitionem, ac totius ejus regni conculcationem. 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. 430. [Comp. Calvin and Servetus, by T. K. Tweedie, Edinb.—Ed. Schade, *Etude sur le Procès de Serv.*, Strass., 1853. Saisset in *Révue 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

1854. So. Presb. Rev., 1855. Deutsche Kirchenfreund, 1857. Bulletin de la Soc. pour l'hist. du Prot. Franç., 1858. Notes and Queries, *passim*, 1855.]

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 Universität einer lobl. Stadt Basel*; Basle, 1559. 4. *Historia Vitae, Doctrinae ac Rerum gestarum Dav. Georgii haeresiarchae, conscripta ab ipsius genero Nicol. Blesdykio, edita a Jac. Revio*; Daventr., 1642. 8. His life by A. M. Cramer in *Kist en Royaards Nederlandsch Archief vor kerkel. Geschiedenis*, v. 1. (1845), Nachtrag, vi. 289 (1846). Some yet unpublished accounts of him in Mosheim's *anderw. Versuche einer Ketzergesch.*, s. 425. *Comp. Trechsel*, i. 36. His writings, *T' Wonderboek*, 1542. 4.; enlarged and improved, 1550, fol. *Verklaeringe der Scheppenissen*, 1553, fol. *Christlijke Sendthrieven*, 3 Bde. 4. (sine anno); and many short tracts (Cf. *Hallische Bibliothek*, v. 261, 305. *Bock*, ii. 286.), v. *Harderwyk in d. Nederl. Archief voor kerkel. Geschiedenis*, vii. 393. 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." Hypocritical 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 Esau 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 36.

¹² He was a furrier from Suabia; in Sweden, 1524, with Rink and Knipperdolling; 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. Wiedertauffer vornehmlich in Niederdeutschland*. M. Hofmann, und die Secte der Hofmannianer. Leipzig, 1758. 8. *Joh. Molleri Cimbria literata*, ii. 347. *Bock*, ii. 292. At the conference in Strasburg, 11th June, 1533 (see M. Bucer's *Handlung in dem öffentlichen Gespräch zu Strasburg jüngst im Synodo gehalten, gegen M. Hoffmann durch die Prediger daselbst*. Strasburg, 1533. 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.¹³

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.

Christoph. Sandii (from Königsberg, separated, with his father, as Arians, from the Lutheran Church, and died in Amsterdam, 1680) *Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum*. Freistadii (i. e., Amsterdam), 1684. 8. F. S. Bock, *Historia Antitrinitariorum, maxime Socinianismi et Socinianorum*. Regiom. et Lips., 1774-84. 8. (T. i. contains a *Biblioth. Antitr.*; T. ii., *De Antitrinitariis ante Socinos and De Socinis*. There was still to be published T. iii., *Hist. Antitr.* in Polonia et Lithuania; T. iv., *In reliquis Europae regionibus*; T. v., *Systema theol. Socinianae*, etc.). F. Trechsel, *die Protest. Antitrinitarier vor Faustus Socin*, 2tes Buch, *Helio Sozini u. die Antitrinitarier seiner Zeit*, Heidelberg, 1844. *Der Socinianismus nach s. Stellung in d. Gesamtentwicklung d. christl. Geistes, nach s. hist. Verlauf u. nach s. Lehrbegriff dargestellt von O. Fock*. 2 Abthl., Kiel, 1847. [*Histoire du Socinianisme*, 4to, Paris, 1723. Fock, *D. Socinianismus in Zeitschrift f. d. Hist. Theol.*, 1845. *Literatur d. Socinianism.*, *ibid.*, 1853, s. 43-46. J. P. Bauermeister, *De System. Socin. dogmat. Comm. tres*, Rostock, 1830-32. L. Lange, *Gesch. u. Lehrbegriff ds. Socin.*, Leips., 1831. Baur, *Lehre d. Dreieinigkeit*, iii. s. 46 ss. Dorner, *Lehre d. Person Christi*, ii. 751 ss. Theoph. Lindsey, *Hist. View of Unitarianism from the Reformation*. Wallace, *Antitrinitarian Biography*. T. R. Beard, *Hist. Illustrations*, etc. Thos. Rees, *Racovian Catechism*, with *Historical Introduction*, Lond., 1818.]

payment of original sin is equal for all; it is given to all to be the children of God, if they use well the offered grace; 3. He who has once known and received Christ, if he willfully sin, can never expect to be pardoned (according to Heb., vi. 4; and x. 26); 4. The baptism of children is from the devil.

¹³ He came in 1528, as tutor of some young persons of noble families, to Wittenberg. They made an excitement among the peasants in Jülich by proclaiming that the end of the world was at hand, and was imprisoned in Cleves after 1553. Comp. J. G. Schelhorn, *De Jo. Campano Antitrinitario* in his *Amoenitates literariae*, xi. l. Bock, ii. 244. Trechsel, i. 26. His work, "Wider die Lutterischen und alle Welt nach den Aposteln," which Luther read in MS., 1531 (Table Talk, fol. 277. Melanchthon ad C. Heresbach, dd. 15. Jul. 1531, *Corp. Reformat.*, ii. 513), seems not to have been printed. Extracts from his "Göttlicher u. heil. Schrift Restitution und Besserung, 1532. 8." in Schelhorn, l. e., p. 78. He taught that, according to Gen., i. 26, 27; and v. 1, 2, the marriageable man, i. e., two persons in one man, was created in the image of God, and hence that in God there were two persons, Father and Son, one as man and wife (John, x. 30). The Son, eternally begotten of the substance of the Father, is his representative, underlord, servant, messenger, and hence Logos. The Spirit is not person, but, on the one hand, the common nature of the Father and Son; on the other hand, their common working in man.

The critical tendency which, from the middle of the fifteenth century, had led many Italian humanists¹ 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*, 1531,² 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,³ who rejected the

¹ See above, ii. iv., § 154, Note g, ff.

² See above, § 30, Note 8.

³ Stanislaus Lubieniecii, Jun. (Socinian preacher, died in Hamburg, 1675), *Historia Reformationis Polonicae*. Freistadii (Amsterdam), 1685. 8., p. 38: Ex commentariis mss. Budzini (Budzinus was secretary of Lismaninus, 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) colligo, circa annum 1546, in agro Veneto, Vicentiae et in aliis urbibus non paucos veritati indagandæ operam dedisse, et huic fini collegia et colloquia pia instituisse. Pertractabant hi praecepta fidei christianæ capita. Unum scilicet esse Deum altissimum, qui cuncta, ut creavit, potenti verbo et efficaci jussu suo, ita et sapienti ac benigna providentia sua conservet. Filium ejus unigenitum esse Jesum Nazarenum, hominem verum, at non simplicem, utpote virtute Spiritus Sancti in casta virgine genitum. Hunc a Deo Patribus promissum tempore definito posteris eorum missum, mysterium Evangelii salutaris hominibus annunciasse, viam vitæ æternæ non indulgendo carni, sed pie vivendo consequendæ monstrasse: ex voluntate paternâ vitam parandæ et sancientiæ peccatorum remissioni impendisse, ab eo resuscitatum et exaltatum esse, credentes in Christum eique morigeros a Deo justificari: ita pios homines immortalitatem in primo Adamo perditam in novissimo Adamo eandem recuperare: hunc solum populi sibi subjecti esse caput et dominum: hunc omnium vivorum et mortuorum constitutum judicem, in ultimo die ad nos venturum: interea regnum mille annorum recuperaturum et obtenturum; ad ultimum Deo Patri regnum traditurum, eique subjectum iri, ut Deus sit omnia in omnibus. Cæterum dogmata vulgo recepta de Trinitate, de Christo Dei, qui sit ipse Deus Creator, idem Deus, qui Pater, de Spiritu Sancto Dei, qui Deus pariter sit, de justificatione, vel per opera meritoria, vel per fidem solam meritum Christi sibi applicantem, aliaque his similia esse opiniones per Philosophos Græcos introductas. Quæ sane præcipuam religionis christianæ partem constituunt, et in lucem prolata totum christianum orbem, ut excusso vitiorum veterno evigilaret, concusserant. Erat hæc pia societas Abbas quidam, Bucali dictus (in Sandii Bibl. Antitryn., p. 18, he is called Leonardus, Abbas Busalis), qui, arcanis suis collegiis et studiis evulgatis, in præsentissimo cum versarentur discrimine salutis, una cum aliis XL. viris fuga se eripuit, et quam Christianus inter Christianos habere non poterat, apud Turcas quaesivit et invenit salutem. Thessalonicam isti concesserant, exceptis tribus, Julio Trevisano, Franco de Ruego, et Jacobo de Chiar, quorum illi duo Venetiis suffocati, tertius iste morte naturali obiit. Et Abbas quidem Damasci vitam finivit. Qui vero ad Turcas se non contulerunt, silentio tempestivo tecti, nec tamen satis in patria tuti, in Helvetia, Moravia, tandem et in nostra Polonia refugium invenerunt. Inter hos *Laelius Socinus* Senensis fuit, vir non tantum natalium splendore, utpote vel sanguine, vel affinitate Pontificibus et multis Italicis Principibus, ut vidimus, innoxius, sed et eruditione ac singulari morum probitate clarissimus. Is itaque tum illius periculi metu, tum compertis et fastiditis erroribus studio inquirendæ et confutendæ veritatis, patria relicta anno Christi 1547, in Helvetiam primum se contulerat. Dehinc ut Galliam, Britanniam, et utramque Germaniam peragraret, ita et Poloniam anno 1551, salutaverat, et semine pietatis in cordibus Lismanini

church doctrine of the Trinity and infant baptism. When the adherents of the Reformation were expelled from Italy by the Inquisition (after 1542),⁴ 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,⁵ and the Italian refugees were very generally sus-

et aliorum sparso, paulo post in Moraviam, inde in Helvetiam reverterat. In Moravia vero *Paruta*, *Gentilis*, *Darius*, et *Alciatus* agentes in indagando vero solerter se exercebant, ita et *Franco Niger*, et *Bernardinus Ochinus*: quorum quidam in Polonia, alii alibi e vita exiverunt. Qui in Moravia degebant, subinde theses de Trinitate, et ambignis Scripturae sacrae phrasibus in Poloniam 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 Reformation in the province of Venice (see supra, Div. I., § 19, Note 12); *Melanchthonis Ep. ad Venetos quosdam Evangelii studiosos*, 1539 (*Corp. Reformat.*, iii. 748): Intellexi istic circumferri Serveti libellum.—Vos admonendos atque obtestandos esse duxi, ut hortatores atque auctores sitis, ut fugiant, abjiciant, execrentur impium Serveti errorem; 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 expressed and allowed. *Lubiensky* substitutes later Socinian doctrines. Cf. *Mosheim, Institutiones Hist. Eccl.*, p. 812; *Chr. F. Illgen, Symbolarum ad Vitam et Doctrinam Laelii Socini Illustrandam*, Part I., Lips., 1826. 4.; *Trechsel*, ii. 391. *Comp. Heberle*, in the *Theol. Studien u. Kritik*, 1846, ii. 414.

⁴ Supra, iii. i., § 19, Note 26.

⁵ *Comp. P. D. R. de Porta Hist. Reformationis Ecclesiarum Rhaeticarum (Curiae Rhaetorum et Lindaviae, 2 Tomi., 1772-76. 4.)*, i. ii. 62 ss. *Franciscus Calaber*, who had been a preacher in Lower Engadin, first made disturbances, by rejecting infant baptism, denying 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 Renuatus*, 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 declarations (see l. c., p. 127); only *Theses 11, 12, and 17*, he says, are from the reports of others. The most remarkable are (p. 83): *I. Quod anima rationalis sit mortalis, ac moriatur una cum corpore: sed in novissimo die resuscitetur una cum corpore, et quod tunc demum totus homo fiat immortalis.* (But this held only of the righteous: cf. *Thes. XII. : quod homines impii non sint resurrecturi corporaliter in extremo die. Thes. II.* Of a dormitio animarum, is the only one of these *Theses* which does not relate to *Camillus*; see *Maynardus*, l. c., p. 127.) *III. Quod homines non resuscitentur in eadem ipsa natura et substantia, in qua prius fuerunt, sed in alia, quia corpus animale et corpus spirituale differunt et substantia et natura. II. Quod non sit aliqua lex naturalis in homine, qua cognoscuntur res, quas vel facere vel vitare debemus. I. Quod Decalogus non sit utilis credentibus, causa quod non sint sub lege, et quod homines pii non habeant opus alia lege quam Spiritus. VI. Quod per peccatum Adae mors corporis non intravit in mundum, et quod, si non peccasset Adam, mortuus nihilominus fuisset corporali morte, tam ipse quam posterii ipsius. VII. Quod Sacramenta, veluti baptismus et coena Domini, non sint utilia his qui recipiunt; sed sint instituta tantum pro signis, quibus discernuntur Christiani a non Christianis, et ut homo testificetur, se in Christum*

pected of being secretly Antitrinitarians and Anabaptists.⁶ In Geneva, where, since 1542, they had a congregation of their own,⁷ 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, 1558.⁸ In Zürich

credere. (Cf. IX. Quod Deus per Sacramenta nullam rem operetur in his qui utuntur, sed quod solummodo moustrant illa quae est operatus.) VIII. Quod Christus habuerit carnem peccati et concupiscentiam, et ob id sit dictus maledictus peccator, non quod fuerit sacrificium pro peccato, aut crucis ignominiam passus pro peccatore, sed quia fuit conceptus in peccato originali, et quantumcumque non habuerit peccatum actuale, potuit tamen peccare. X. Quod Christus non habuerit aliquod meritum, quia hoc non inuenitur expressum in Scriptura sancta. XI. Quod Christus in cruce desperarit, vel Deo sit diffusus, quando dicebat: Deus meus, Deus meus, quid me dereliquisti? XVII. Quod homines, qui a Deo non sunt renati, sint irrationales, sicut bruta, quousque per Spiritum Dei non fuerint translati in regnum Christi. He also wrote *Adversus baptismum*, quem sub regno Papae atque Antichristi acceperamus, and in this work not only rejected infant baptism, but said that all baptism was superfluous after the founding of the Church (p. 88). The similarity between these doctrines and the Socinian is unmistakable; and hence the fact is important, that Laelius Socinus, just at this period, passed some time in Chiavenna, and was in friendly intercourse with Camillus, although he took no part in the controversy (p. 86; cf. Illgen Vita L. Socini, p. 17). Camillus was excommunicated 1550; De Porta, i. ii. 104; F. Meyer's *Die evangel. Gemeinde in Locarno* (Zürich, 1836), i. 50; Trechsel, ii. 85. Later, too, the adherents of Camillus made some disturbance in Chiavenna, and were connected with other Italian refugees, as Alciatus, Blandrata, and Ochino; De Porta, i. ii. 390 ss., 493 ss. The strife ceased here only after the Synod of the canton, 1571, had excommunicated the remnant of the Antitrinitarian-Anabaptist party; Trechsel, ii. 135.

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 litigia et contentiones nobis omnibus damnun, et iacturam Evangelio quoque adferre* (De Porta, i. ii. 94). Lentulus, too, a preacher in Veltin, also an Italian, had to contend with such—*hominibus Italis, quibus nulla religio placet, quando papistica eis inceptit 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 corpore sorte*. He used to say: *Hispania* (fatherland of Servetus) *gallinas peperit, Italia fovit ova, nos jam pipientes pullos audimus* (De Porta, i. ii. 493).

⁷ Calvin's *Leben* by Henry, ii. 420. Trechsel, ii. 280.

⁸ *Valentini Gentilis justo capitis supplicio Bernae affecti brevis Historia*. Auctore Bened. Aretio, Bernensis Ecclesiae doctore theologo. Genevae, 1567. 4., initio: *Valentinus Gentilis Campanus, post relictam patriam Cosentiam, peragrata Neapoli, Sicilia, et Italia, tandem Genevam peruenit. Aderant tum in Italica Ecclesia homines permulti ex tota Italia, qui alii alias ob causas eo sese contulerant: inprimis vero, qui pietatis nomine extorres, e patria illuc profugerant. Inter hos erant quidam καίων δογμάτων εἰρηταί. Georgius enim Blandrata, professione medicus, negotium Trinitatis recenter coeperat convellere: agebatur tamen id adhuc privatim, et familiari scriptione ultro citroque. Lis erat de vocibus receptis, ut est οὐσία, ἰπόστασις, Trinitas, ὁμοούσιον, etc. Volvebant interea idem saxum Matthaeus Griballus, Jurisconsultus celebris (from Chieri, in Piedmont), et Jo. Paulus Alciatus quidam, Mediolanensis (i. e., Pedemontanus). Hanc concertationem cum intelligeret novus hospes Gentilis, coepit acumen ingenii in eodem argumento exercere. Ae in eo brevi eum aliis ita profecit, ut non dubitarent*

the Italian Church of Locarno had been welcomed, 1555;⁹ but it was allowed to run down, 1563, in order to hinder the diffusion of error, after the banishment of its preacher, Bernard Ochino.¹⁰ Laelius Socinus (Sozzini),¹¹ however, who was only noted for his inquisitiveness in the pursuit of knowledge, found no difficulty in hiding his convictions,¹² and died in peace in Zürich, May 14,

affirmare, Ecclesias evangelicas adhuc graviter errare una cum Papistis, quibus in articulo Trinitatis adhuc parerent. Nam illas cum Papatu tueri non Trinitatem, sed Quaternitatem potius. Veram Trinitatem habere tres aeternos et distinctos Spiritus, non tam personali, quam essentiali numero differentes. Haec tum omnium communis et uniformis erat sententia, a quo mox alii aliis diverticulis abeunt, in opiniones pugnantēs et monstrosas 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. Com. Wirtebergensem, d. VI. Non. Maji, 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 Valentini Gentilis, *Terrorum Haereticorum, 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 Theologici*, 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. Valentini 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 Die Evangel. Gemeinde in Locarno, ihre Auswanderung nach Zürich, und ihre weiteren Schicksale, von F. Meyer (2 Bde., Zürich, 1836), ii. 1.

¹⁰ (Comp. Div. I, § 19, Notes 14, 27.) The occasion was given by his Dialogi XXX. in duos libros divisi. Basil., 1563, which he wrote in Italian; the Latin translation is by Castello (extracts in the *Observatt. selectis Halensibus*, 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 Schellhorn's *Ergötzlichkeiten*, iii. 2009). The Zürichers replied in: *Spongia adv. Aspergines Bern. Ochini, qua verae causae exponuntur, ob quas ille ab urbe Tigurina fuit relegatus. m. Martio, 1564* (reprinted in H. Hottinger, *Hist. Eccl. N. T.*, ix. 475; in Schellhorn, iii. 2157). Comp. Trechsel, ii. 221.

¹¹ Bock, *Hist. Antitr.*, ii. 568. Vita L. Socini. Scripsit Chr. F. Ilgen. Lips., 1814. 8. Ejusdem *Symbolarum ad vitam et doctrinam L. Socini illustrandam*, Part. 1 et 2. Lips., 1826. 4. Laelius Socinus, by J. K. v. Orelli, in the *Wissenschaftl. Zeitschrift*, Jahrg. 2 (Basel, 1826), Heft 3, s. 28. Ungedruckte Urkunden zum Leben von L. Socinus, *ibid.*, s. 138. Comp. Trechsel, ii. 137.

¹² 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 Melancthon's account, in 1550 (cf. Ilgen *Symbolarum P. ii.*); 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 1558, he went for a short time back to Poland; and in 1559 to Italy. He

troubled the divines every where 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 *Calv. Epist. ad Genev.*, 1575, p. 81, the false heading, *Farellus Calvinus*; 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 fatear, quo me vocant literae tuae, protrahor. 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. Przypceovius*, 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 objicis, quaestionum portenta respondeam. Si tibi per aereas illas speculationes volitare libet, sine me, quaero, humilem Christi discipulum ea meditari, quae ad fidei meae aedificationem faciunt. Ae ego quidem silentio meo id, quod cupio, consequar, ne tu mihi posthac sis molestas. Liberale vero ingenium, quod tibi Dominus contulit, non modo in rebus nihili frustra occupari, sed exitiabilibus figmentis corrumpi, vehementer dolet. Quod pridem testatus sum, serio iterum moneo, nisi hunc quaerendi pruritus mature corrigas, metuendum esse, ne tibi gravia tormenta acceras. Ego, si indulgentiae specie vitium, quod maxime noxium esse judico, alerem, in te essem perfidus et erudelis. Itaque paululum nunc mea asperitate te offendi malo, quam dulcibus curiositatis illecebris male captum non retrahi. Erit tempus, ut spero, cum te ita violenter expergefatum fuisse gaudebis. He was more gently admonished by Bullinger (*Lebensgeschichte Bullingers*, by *S. Hess*, ii. 50): e. g., *Video te studiosissimum esse sacrarum literarum, et negotii salutis nostrae verae, sed simul et valde curiosum, qui multos subinde quaestionum modos flectis et reflectis, implicas item et dissolvi postulas.—Alii quidem voluptatibus se dedunt Principum aulas sectantes;—tu—mavis peregrinando et disputando, et opportune et importune interrogando, quid certo credas discere.—Ceterum requiro modum et in haec quoque re optima.—Nostra religio non est infinita, sed in compendium redacta.—Omnia refert ad pietatem. Nil curat quaestiones varias et implicatas. Non probat Apostolus eos qui semper discunt, nunquam ad cognitionem veritatis, ut in ea acquiescant, perveniunt.—Noli hoc meum consilium spernere: non *primus hoc objicis*. Meanwhile *Julius Mediolanus*, a pastor in *Poschiavo* (in the *Grisons*), had awakened the suspicions of Bullinger against *Socinus*, quasi *Ario*, vel *Serveto*, aut *Anabaptistis* favens adorandam *Dei trinitatem* non agnoscat, aequae sincere fateatur. 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 pueris unum Symbolum didici, et nunc scio et agnosco, quod Apostolorum dicitur, esse antiquissimum, omnibus temporibus in Ecclesia receptum, tametsi varie scriptum. Sed nuper legi etiam alia, et honorem tribuo, quem possum et debeo, Symbolis vetustissimis, Nicaeno et Constanti-nopolitano. Praeterea, quod ignari homines pertinaciter inficiantur, ego Trinitatis, Personarum, ὑποστάσεως, consubstantialitatis, unionis, distinctionis, et alias similes voces agnosco non recens excogitatas, sed a 1300 annis, inde usque a temporibus *Justini Martyris*, in toto fere christiano orbe fuisse usitatas, et quidem maximis gravissimisque de causis. Verumtamen libere dicam, quod sentio ego: modis omnibus probarem, si adhuc verbis Christi, Apostolorum et Evangelistarum christiana, apostolica et evangelica fides nobis explicaretur: nec ideo illa vocabula nego Patribus necessaria fuisse, ad ea splendidius efferenda, quae jam catholice nobis traduntur, ac sane tanta eum veneratione ab Ecclesiis recipiuntur: multo minus in dubium verto christianae religionis 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 coessentialis: non discindo in *Christos* duos unam *Christi* personam, vel naturarum confusionem ullam admitto, sed ingeniorum lasciviam et petulantiam valde metuo. Proinde caveo semper ab hujusmodi letiferis paradoxis, necnon *Catabaptistarum* errores omnes fugio, *Serveti* dogmata, *Arianismum* totum execeror hor-***

1562.¹³ On the other hand, the less prudent Valentinus Gentilis

reoque.—Fateor ingenue, me curiosiorem 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 phantasticorum speculationibus omissis, ineptis argutiis, fallacibus ratiunculis Sophistarum jam valedictis, quod maximum, quod excellentissimum Dei beneficium, e terrae pulveribus me omnino excitandum spero, caet. Julius repeated his suspicions to Bullinger (dd. 4. Nov., 1555, in Fueslini 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, † 1590), Lib. de tribus Elohim (Francof., 1572), in praef: Fuit is Laelius nobili honestaque familia natus, bene graece et hebraice doctus, vitaeque etiam externae inculatae, quarum 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 Samosatensianam inprimis annos multos fovit, et quoescunq; porro potuit, in eundem pertraxit errorem. Pertraxit autem non paucos. Me quoque, ut dixi, diversis tentavit rationibus, si eodem possit errore simul et aeterno exitio secum involvere: quemadmodum fecerat etiam antea Matthaeus Gribaldus et alii. Faustus Socinus says of his uncle, Laelius (Frag. de Christi Natura, Opp., i. 782): Tantum abfuit, ut is in religione nihil certi habuerit, quemadmodum aliqui constanter affirmant, ut nemo unquam exactius de omnibus christianae religionis dogmatibus vel senserit, vel cum opportunum ei videbatur, locutus fuerit. Verum cum praeter pauca quaedam, ea videlicet, quae ad salutem sunt prorsus necessaria, nihil fere in Ecclesiis, quae Romanum Antichristum execrantur, post tantas tamque diuturnas tenebras suae pristinae claritati restitutum videret, nolebat ille sententiam suam, nisi in levioribus quibusdam controversiis, omnibus aperire, ne turbarentur Ecclesiae, et infirmi, quorum maximam semper habuit rationem, offenderentur, et a vero Dei cultu ad idola fortasse iterum adducerentur, neve tandem divina veritas ab eo praedicata, qui neque pastoris neque doctoris officio in Ecclesia fungeretur, ob auctoritatis non magnam auctoritatem, magno christiani orbis detrimento, passim rejiceretur, ac propemodum conculcetur. Praesertim cum apud aliquas Ecclesias eam opinionem, eumque morem jam invaluisse cerneret, ut execrables haberentur, quicumque adversus receptas sententias vel mutire quidem ausi essent. Praestare igitur arbitrabatur, dubia et quaestiones illustribus in Ecclesia viris identidem proponere, ut ea ratione paulatim via ad veritatem sterneretur, addubitantibus illis interdum ob argumenta ab eo allata de inveteratarum opinionum firmitate, easque non amplius populo tamquam christianae religionis axiomata obtrudentibus, quod tamen, ut omnem offensionem vitaret, addiscendi tantum studio a se fieri dicebat (qua tamen ratione ab initio idem vere ab eo factum fuisse verisimile est): quare etiam discipulum semper se, nunquam autem doctorem profitebatur. Hoc tamen suum institutum amicis non usque adeo probari sentiebat, quibus dum obsequi recusat, non sine Dei consilio vir summus immatura morte sublatus est, quod mox patefieri coepit, cum statim fere post mortem ejus eorum, quae ipse palam docere non audebat, pars aliqua et literis consignari, et passim divulgari est coepta, id quod eo vivente nunquam fortasse contigisset.—Haec scilicet ratione Deus, quae illi mi patefecerat, omnibus manifesta esse voluit, ut ignorantiae tenebris penitus discussis incipiat tandem christianus populus ei ex animo fidere, debitamque obedientiam praestare, exteri vero ad ejus veram et salutarem per Jesum Christum cognitionem facilius pertrahi possint.

¹³ Faustus Socinus ep. ad Andr. Dudithium (Opp., i. 508): In medio vitae cursu, anno aetatis 37, eo ipso tempore, cum amicorum precibus tandem permotus constituisset atque etiam coepisset, saltem inter ipsos, nonnulla in apertum proferre, breviter, cum fructum aliquem tantorum tamque laboriosorum in theologia studiorum videre debuisset, quem fructum alii postea ac fere statim ab illius morte viderunt.

was decapitated in Berne, 1566;¹⁴ and Matthew Gribaldus (Gri-
baud) 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 Go-
nesius (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, Gre-
gorius Pauli, a preacher in Cracow, Peter Statorius, rector in Pinc-
zow 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. i. 369, and ii. 427. Trechsel, ii. 316. 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. Valentini *Gentilis Impietatum 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.

¹⁶ See the appendices to Sandii *Bibl. Antitrin.*, viz., p. 181: Jo. Stoinii (since 1612 pastor in Rakau, † 1654) *Epitome Historiæ Originis Unitariorum in Polonia*; p. 189: Ge. Schomanni (from 1560 preacher in Pinczow, † 1591) *Testamentum*; p. 207: Andr. Wisowatii, Jun. (Socin. preacher, † in Amsterdam, 1678), *Narratio Compendiosa, quomodo in Polonia a Trinitariis Reformatis separati sint christiani Unitarii.*—Adriani Regenwolscii (pseudonym) *Systema historico-chronologicum Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum*, Traj. ad Rhenum, 1652. 4. (again published in 1679 under the real name of the author, Andreas Wengerseus (Wengierski), a Reformed preacher in the district of Lublin). Stanisłai Lubienieccii, Jun. (Socin. preacher, † in Hamburg, 1675), *Historia Reformationis Polonicae.* Freistadii (Amsterdam), 1685. 8. G. W. C. Loehneri *comm. qua enarrantur Fata et Rationes earum familiarum christianarum in Polonia, quae ab Ecclesia Romano-catholica alienae fuerunt, usque ad Consensus Sandomiriensis tempus*, in the *Acta Societatis Jablonovianae Nova*, T. iv. Fasc., ii. (Lips., 1832, 4.) p. 86. *Geschichte der Reformation in Polen*, by Grafen Valerian Krasinski, from the English of W. A. Lindau. Leipzig, 1841, 8., s. 143 ff. 308 ff.

¹⁷ Lubienieccius, p. 111. Heberle in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1840, iv. 138.

¹⁸ Ge. Schomanni *Testamentum*, at the end of Sandii *Bibl. Antitr.*, p. 193, ad ann. 1559: *Pinczoviae ego cum Petro Statoria Thionvillano Gallo, et Johanne Thenaudo Bituricensi Gallo, D. Francisco Lismanino, D. Georgio Blandrata medico, Bernardino Ochino familiariter vixi, et evidenter didici, errorem esse, non fidem christianam, Trinitatis personarum omnimodam aequalitatem: sed unum esse Deum Patrem, unum Dei Filium, unum Spiritum Sanctum: licet adhuc multa non intelligeremus ad hoc pertinentia.*

made to the doctrine of Francis Stancaro, that Christ is mediator only in his human nature.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.²⁰ Some soon went further, and denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost.²¹ Others rejected infant baptism.²² In vain did Calvin utter warnings against the new doctrine;²³ the synods convened to repress it

¹⁹ Stancaro, from Mantua, professor in Königsberg 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.*, xix. 491. See Planek's *Gesch. des Prot. Lehrbegriffs*, iv. 449. Comp. Heberle, s. 156. See below, § 39, Note 31.

²⁰ Lubieniecicus, p. 117: Stancarus statuebat, Filium, cum unus idemque Deus cum Patre credatur, Mediatorem non secundum divinam naturam, ne sui ipsius Mediator esset,—sed tantum secundum humanam esse. In reply, Lismaninus in *Epist. ad Stan. Iwan. Karniuseium*, 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 discedent a Stancarismo nostri fratres seducti.—P. 119: Arianus est, qui non confitetur, Filium esse consubstantialem et coaeternum Patri, non qui a Sabellianismo liberat homines, ne Patrem et Spiritum S. incarnatum et passum cogantur asserere. Verbis Stancarus distinguit Patrem a Filio, re autem ita confundit, ut generationem Filii, et processionem Spir. S. tollat omnino. Thus they held fast to the doctrine of the Antitrinitarians of Geneva; see Note 15.

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; Lubieniecicus, p. 148. At that time he still denied this doctrine, *Regenvolscius*, p. 184; but afterward he openly avowed it: Spiritum S. non esse tertiam Deitatis personam, nec Deum, sed Dei virtutem et donum, quod Deus in cordibus fidelium excitet, Lubieniecicus, p. 149.

²² Peter Genesisius 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 rationi convenire docuit, and was generally opposed, Lubieniecicus, p. 144. Then there was a dispute about it in Wilna, 1559, where Martin Czechovicus was the leading opponent of infant baptism. At the Synod of Brasin and Wengrov, 1565, their number was already very considerable; see Lubieniecicus, p. 176 (cf. M. Czechovieii de Paedobaptistarum errorum origine. Lublini, 1575. 4.; earlier published in Polish. Das Lehrgebäude der Wiedertäufer nach den Grundsätzen des M. Czechowitz, by J. R. Kiessling. Reval and Leipzig, 1776. 8.).

²³ He warned the Bohemian brethren in Poland against Blandrata, prid. Cal. Jul., 1560 (*Epp. ed. Genev.*, p. 233), particularly the Prince Radzivil, 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 *Schlüsselburg 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. Beza. Genev., 1567, 4., p. 56 ss.); two letters from

only kindled the flames.²⁴ The Unitarians united in a church, which was excluded from the fellowship of the Reformed Church in 1565 in Petrikow.²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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 respect-

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).

²⁴ The Synod in Pinczow, April, 1562, decreed (Lubieniecius, p. 131), ut Ministri abstineant a modis loquendi philosophicis de Trinitate, de essentia, de generatione, de modo procedendi, quae omnia sint extra verbum Dei; sed ut quilibet se contineat intra terminos Prophetarum, Apostolorum et symboli apostolici. A *Confessio*, probably handed 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 Cracau, and the violent Trinitarian, Stanisl. Sarnicius, preacher in a village near Cracau.

²⁵ Lubieniecius, p. 201. By a royal edict, August 6, 1564, all heretical Italians were banished from the kingdom (Regenvolscius, 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 1573 the Unitarians were also protected by the *Pax Dissidentium* (see Div. I., § 15, Note 23).

²⁶ Before this Bishop of Tina, and in this capacity a member of the Council of Trent; then Bishop of Fünfkirchen; he married in Poland, 1565, and purchased the estate of Smigla, in the voyvode of Posen, the previous possessor of which had also been a protector of the Unitarians; see M. Adelt, *Nachricht v. d. ehemaligen Schmieglischen Arinismus*, Danzig, 1741.

²⁷ *Comp. Div. I.*, § 16, Notes 19, 20. The King was gained chiefly by two religious colloquies in Stuhlweissenburg, 1566 and 1568, in which Blandrata and Davidis, by their dexterity, maintained an ascendancy over the Reformed. The proceedings were published: those of the first in Clausenburg, 1566 (*Sandii Bibl.*, p. 30); those of the second—*Disputatio in causa s. Trinitatis inter novatores D. G. Blandratam caet. et Pastores ministrosque Ecclesiae Dei catholicae Albae Juliae*—habita, Claudiopoli, 1568. 4.—published by the Reformed preachers (extracts in Salig's *Gesch. d. Augsb. Conf.*, ii. 855). In the Gottingen Library is *Summa Professionis Doctrinae de uno vero Deo Patre Filioque ejus unigenito J. Chr. crucifixo, horum denique Spiritu sancto*—scripta et edita per Ministros Eccl. Claudiopolitanae, Claudiopoli, 1570, a copy is extant (*Miss. theol. thet.*, i. 107 b.). On the objection that the Catholic Trinity is really a quaternity, see Royyaards de Leer der Quaterniteit, *Nederl. Archief door Kist en Royyaards*, ii. 263.

²⁸ All the Racovians maintained that no Christian could hold any civil office (*Sandii*

ing Christ, the subordinationism with which they began was soon abandoned, and many went over to Ebionitism.²⁹ The majority, however, united in the faith³⁰ which was expressed in the Catechism published in Cracow in 1574.³¹ In 1579 Faustus Soci-

Bibl., p. 45). When Jacob Palaeologus, also a Unitarian, wrote against this, Gregorius Pauli (1573) defended the doctrine against him (Bock, ii. 801 s.), and (1574) against Stanislaus Budzinius (Bock, i. i. 86, and i. ii. 613). Martin. Czechovicus 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. 613); cf. Fausti Socini contra Chiliastas ad Synodum Chmielnicensem epist., dd. 17. Sept., 1589 (Opp., i. 440); Martinius Czechovicus is also here called—*acerrimus contrariae sententiae propugnator*.

²⁹ Schomanni Testamentum (Sandii Bibl., p. 194 s.) ad ann. 1566: Sub id fere tempus ex rhapsodiis D. Laelii Socini quidam fratres didicerunt, Dei Filium non esse secundam Trinitatis personam Patri coessentialem et coequalem: sed hominem Jesum Christum ex Spiritu Sancto conceptum, ex Virgine Maria natum, crucifixum et resuscitatum: a quibus nos communiter sacras literas persecutari, persuasi sumus. Petrus Gonesius and Stanisl. Farnovius held, in opposition to this, the older opinion (Note 15), and 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 Skrzywna, 1567 (Lubieniecius, p. 215 ss.). The latter declared (p. 219 s.): Pie et sancte Trinitas retinenda est ea lege, ut fraterna caritas ex praescripto Filii Dei servetur, et alter alterius infirmitates toleret, nullo vero prorsus modo alter alterum convitiis incessat.—Interea integrum est per scripta de eo agere, sed ita, ne alter alterum calumnietur.—Orationes et conciones sacras alii aliorum audire possunt ea cautione sicuti orationes peractae fuerint ea forma, quae in verbo Dei est tradita.—Si forte illas orationes vel conciones audire nolens foras exierit, non est id ei vitio ferendum, quasi vinculum fraternae dilectionis solveret,—alter alterius fidei imperare nolens, cum istius dominus et largitor sit ipse Deus, usquequo is miserit sapientiores Ministros Angelos suos, tempore suo zizania avulsor, et a tritico separatus. Interim nos alii alios non evellamus, nec laceremus: hoc enim Christus noluit permittere Apostolis, tanto minus id nobis permisit. But even this mere 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; Regenvolscius, 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 Budnaeus (hence called Budnejs), was deposed in 1582, and afterward recanted (Sandii Bibl., p. 54; Bock, i. i. 80).

³⁰ Called Racovienses (by F. Socinus, in the Responsio pro Racoviensibus ad Jac. Palaeologum, 1581): hence this Catechism, though printed in Cracow, goes by the name of the First Racovian; Sandii Bibl., p. 44.

³¹ Catechesis et Confessio Fidei Coetus per Poloniam 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.

nus³² came to Poland. He had been directed in his theological education by the influence of his uncle Laelius, and from the man-

ii. 826. On this very rare book, see J. A. Müller, in Bartholomäi fortges. nützl. Anmerkungen, xxi. 758; Mosheim, Institutt., p. 815; Baumgarten's Nachrichten, xi. 35. The Unitarian superintendent, George Eniedinus († 1597), wrote an explanation of it (Sandii Bibl., p. 93). It is divided: I. *De Deo et Jesu Christo*. II. *De justificatione nostri*. III. *De disciplina*. 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, patribus olim per Prophetas promissus, et ultimis tandem temporibus ex Davidis semine natus, quem Deus pater fecit Dominum et Christum, hoc est, perfectissimum Prophetam, sanctissimum sacerdotem, invictissimum regem, per quem novum mundum creavit, omnia restauravit, secum reconciliavit, pacificavit, et vitam aeternam electis suis donavit: ut in illum post Deum altissimum credamus, illum adoremus, invocemus, audiamus, pro modulo nostro imitemur, et in illo requiem animabus nostris inveniamus.* Folio c. 6. *Ubi vero scribitur de ea, quam dicis, nova creatione? Es. lxxv. 17. Ecce ego creo coelos novos et terram novam; Es. lxxvi. 22; Ezech. xxxvi. 26. Dabo vobis cor novum, et auferam cor lapideum; Ps. li. 12. Cor mundum crea in me, Deus, et spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis. Ubi vero scriptum extat, per Jesum omnia deum esse creata, restaurata, reconciliata et pacificata? Jo. i. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt; 2 Cor. v. Si quis est in Christo Jesu, nova creatura est, vetera praeterierunt, ecce nova facta sunt omnia. Then follow, 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, cujus plenitudinem dedit Deus pater Filio suo unigenito, domino nostro, ut nos adoptivi ex plenitudine ejus acciperemus.* Folio e. 5. *Quid est justificatio? Est ex mera gratia Dei per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, sine operibus et meritis nostris, omnium praeteritorum peccatorum nostrorum in viva fide remissio, vitaeque aeternae indubitata explicatio, et auxilium Spiritus Dei vitae nostrae non simulata, sed vera correctio, ad gloriam Dei patris nostri, et aedificationem proximorum nostrorum.* Folio i. 6. *Baptismus est hominis Evangelio credentis et poenitentiam agentis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, vel in nomine Jesu Christi, in aquam immersio et emersio, qua publice profitetur se gratia Dei Patris, in sanguine Christi, opera Spiritus Sancti, ab omnibus peccatis ablutum esse, ut in corpus Christi insertus, mortificet veterem Adamum, et transformetur in Adamum illum coelestem, certus, se post resurrectionem consequenturum esse vitam aeternam.* Folio k. 3. *Omnes igitur baptizandi verbum Dei audire, credere, confiteri et poenitentiam agere debent? Planissime, referring to Acts viii. 35 ss.; Hebr. vi. 1 s.; Gal. iii. 26, 27; Acts viii. 12. Sed baptizabant totas familias in filium patrum familias? Non. Nam justus sua fide (non aliena) vivit; Hab. ii., et Act. 16. Ubi dicuntur baptizasse familias, nonnisi audientes et credentes baptizarunt.* Folio k. 6. *Quid est coena Domini? Est actio sacra, ab ipso Christo domino instituta, in qua probati discipuli Christi, in coetu sacro ad mensam Domini devote discumbentes, Deo patri pro ejus in Christo beneficiis ex animo gratias agunt, panem frangentes edunt, et ex calice Domini bibunt, ad devotam recordationem corporis Christi domini pro nobis in mortem traditi, et sanguinis ejus effusi in remissionem peccatorum nostrorum, excitantes se invicem ad constantem sub cruce patientiam, et sinceram fraternam dilectionem.* Folio l. 4. *Quomodo autem Christus huic actioni adest, quam cum oportet coelo capi usque ad tempus restorationis omnium, Act. iii.? Adest certissime suis fidelibus, ut promisit, Matth. xxviii. Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi: adest inquam non carnaliter, sed Spiritu suo sancto, ut est Jo. xiv. Rogabo Patrem et alium Paracletum dabit vobis, caet.**

³² Vita Fausti Socini Senensis, descripta ab Equite Polono (Sam. Przypciovio), 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;³³ but by degrees he gained over their leaders, and through them the churches.³⁴ And thus he

³³ F. Socinus ad Sophiam Siemichoviam (Opp., i. 432): Quod mihi objicis, me communionem cum fratribus et Christifidelibus spernere, nec curare, ut una cum ipsis coenam Domini celebrent; quam tamen celebrare ab ipso Domino omnes jubemur: respondeo, me, postquam in Poloniam veni, nihil antiquius habuisse, quam ut me quam maxime cum fratribus conjungerem, licet invenissem illos in non paucis religionis nostrae capitibus a me diversum sentire.—Quod si nihilominus aquae baptismum una cum illis non accipio, hoc propterea fit, quia id bona conscientia facere nequeo, nisi publice antea protestor, me, non quod censeam baptismum aquae mihi meique similibus ullo modo necessarium esse, sed ut cum fratribus arctius conjungar, id facturum esse: id quod fratres nullo pacto mihi concedere volunt.—Cum mihi aquae baptismus non videatur necessarius iis, qui ex Christianis, i. e., Christum profitentibus nascuntur, et in ea professione parentes imitantur, atque ita nihil revera referre arbitrer, nisi propter scandalum, utrum isti necne, et an potius adulti, quam infantes baptizentur: propterea non dissileo, me circa infantium baptismum haud difficilem futurum, si contingeret, Ecclesiae aedificationem sic postulare, illumque citra omne seacalum dari posse. Cf. Ejusdem epist. ad Sim. Ronemburgium (l. 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.

³⁴ Przypeovius, l. c.—migravit in Poloniam, ubi Ecclesiis Polonicis, quae solum patrem Domini Jesu summum Deum agnoscent, publice adjungi ambivit. Sed cum disensionem in quibusdam dogmatis non premeret, satis acerbe atque diu repulsam passus est. Qua tamen igrominia minime accensus, vir, non tam indole, quam animi instituto ad patientiam compositus, nulla unquam alienati animi vestigia dedit. Quin potius impressionem variorum hostium, a quibus tunc illae Ecclesiae vexabantur, suo sibi ingenio sumpsit propulsandam. These controversial writings are named, and the fatalities which befell him. In tot malis solatium a negotio petit, quod sibi repurgandis qui tum in Ecclesia vigeant erroribus divinitus datum sentiebat. Quaquam igitur antea quoque Ecclesiasticos conventus frequentare solitus, anno tamen 1588, in Brescensi Synodo—majore quam antea conatu atque fructu de morte et sacrificio Christi, de justificatione nostra, de corrupta hominis natura, denique cum Davidianis et Budneistis de Jesu Christi invocatione disputavit. Ille fuit annus, quo primum Luclaviciani coetus eura atque proviucia mandata est Petro Stoinio.—Is non minus judicio acer, quam promptus eloquio, postquam Socini amicitiae copia facta est, in sententiam ejus libenter concessit. Paulo ante quoque non paucos e praecipuis privatim in suam sententiam pertraxerat, et suffragantibus sibi non exigua indies fiebat accessio. Refragabantur tamen adhuc viri maximae auctoritatis, Nemojevius ac Czechovicus, et plerique e Ministris natu majoribus.—Jamque et alii certatim e pastorum ordine partibus addebantur, praesertim e junioribus, quos minus morabatur inveteratae opinionis atque auctoritatis praedictum.—In magno sententiarum dissensu laudabilis haec fuit illius Ecclesiae concordia, quod tantum opinionibus, non etiam odiis homines illi pugnaverint, et cum alii aliorum sententias detestarentur, sese tamen mutuo minime damnarent. Itaque integra utrinque tolerantia saepius acriter disceptabant, atque hoc fuit praecipuum illarum Synodorum negotium.—Repurgata sic plene ab erroribus Ecclesia, veluti ad unam eam rem hucusque vita producta, (Socinus) non tam immaturo sibi, quam luctuoso suis fato eripitur Luclavicis, exeunte bruma, anno aetatis quinto ultra sexagesimum. Ultima morientis vox excepta, se non magis aevi, quam invidiae et molestiarum saturum, lacta atque intrepida spe propendere in supremum illum fati sui articulum, qui missionem ab aerumnis simul et laborum stipendium ostenderet.—Nemo memoria nostra de toto christiano orbe, sed imprimis de Ecclesiis Polonicis melius meruit. Primum enim genuinam sacrarum literarum mentem tot editis lucubrationibus, innumeris in locis, aperuit. Dein-

transformed the Polish Unitarians into Socinians. Their doctrinal views were expressed in the Racovian Catechism, 1605,³⁵ published just after his decease in 1604.³⁶

de sententias de Dei atque Christi persona, quas jam in Polonia vigentes deprehenderat, solidis argumentis confirmari, et a subtilibus cavillis atque sophismatis perite defendi unus egregie docuit. Mox quasdam impias, alias profanas sententias, quarum exitiabile virus furtim in Ecclesiae gremium irrepebat, felicissime extinxit. Nemo acrius Judaizantes repressit: idem Chiliastrarum opinionem, idem multa praeterea alia fanatica somnia exposuit. Errores autem, qui a reformatis Ecclesiis hausti magno adhuc numero in ea Ecclesia regnabant, mira felicitate extirpavit. Talia erant de justificatione, de placanda iustitia Dei, de praedestinatione, de servitute arbitrii, de peccato originis, de coena quoque Domini, de baptismo, et alia sinistre intellecta dogmata. Denique sublati perniciosi erroribus, ne quid ineptiarum quoque in Ecclesia relinqueret, superstitiones plurimas circa res indifferentes exterminavit. Ex hoc genere fuit nimia vilis vestitus ambitio, deinde capessendi magistratus, aut etiam citra vindictae studium sui juris persequendi religio, et si quos similes naevos primi fervoris inconsideratio zelus asperserat.

³⁵ Its authors were the Racow preachers, Peter Statorius or Stoinius, who died in 1605, while it was being drawn up, and Valent. Smalcus, the magnate Hieron. Moscorovius, 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 Moscorovius: *Catechesis Ecclesiarum, quae in Regno Poloniae et magno Ducatu Lithuaniae*—affirmant, neminem alium praeter Patrem Domini nostri J. Chr. esse illum unum Deum Israëlis, hominem autem illum Jesum Nazarenum, qui ex virgine natus est, nec alium, praeter aut ante ipsum, Dei filium unigenitum et agnoscent et confitentur. Racoviae, 1609. 12. (reprinted in G. L. Oederi *Catechesis Racoviensis s. liber Socinianorum 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. Smalcus published in 1608 a German translation from the Polish, which deviates in slight particulars from the Latin of Moscorovius. J. A. Schmid *progr. de Catechesi Racoviensi*. Helmst., 1704. 4.; Foek, i. 183. [The Racovian Catechism, with Notes and Illustrations, transl. from the Latin, etc. By Thomas Rees. Lond., 1818.]

³⁶ *Catechesis Racov.* I. *De Scriptura sacra*, p. 1: Religio christiana est via patefacta divinitus, vitam aeternam consequendi. (Cf. F. Socini *Lectiones Sacrae*, Opp. i. 290: Christiana religio non humanae rationi ullo pacto innititur, sed tota ex voluntate Dei pendet, et ex ipsius patefactione. Ejusdem, *Brevissima Institutio Christianae Religionis*, Opp., i. 675: Nihil verisimilius et verbis ipsius Christi magis consentaneum est, quam ipsum Christum, postquam natus est homo, et antequam munus sibi a Deo patre suo demandatum obire inciperet, in coelo, divino consilio atque opera fuisse, et aliquandiu ibi commoratum esse, ut illa ab ipso Deo audiret et praesens apud ipsum, ut ipsa Scriptura loquitur, videret, quae mundo mox annunciaturus et patefacturus ipsius Dei nomine erat.) II. *De via salutis*, p. 18: Ut homo natura nihil habet commune cum immortalitate, ita eam ipse viam, quae nos ad immortalitatem duceret, nulla ratione per se cognoscere potuit. III. *De cognitione Dei*, p. 34: Vox Deus duobus potissimum modis in Scripturis usurpatur. Prior est, cum designat illum, qui—ita omnium auctor est et principium, ut a nemine dependeat. Posterior modus est, cum eum denotat, qui potestatem aliquam sublimem ab uno illo Deo habet, aut deitatis unius illius Dei aliqua ratione particeps est. Etenim in Scripturis propterea Deus ille unus *Deus Deorum* vocatur (Ps. l. 1). Atque ea quidem posteriore ratione Filius Dei vocatur Deus in quibusdam Scripturae locis (comp. Joh. x. 35, 36). IV. *De cognitione Christi*, p. 47: Christ is—natura homo verus, but not—puru homo. Etenim est conceptus e Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine, eoque ab ipsa conceptione et ortu filius Dei est. (F. Socini *Breviss. Instit.*, Opp., i. 654: Quanquam istud ipsum, quod Christus ea ratione, qua dixi conceptus ac formatus fuerit, et proprii atque unigeniti Filii Dei appellatione continetur, proprie loquendo ad ipsius Christi essentiam referri non debet: alioquin sequeretur,—aliam esse

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 humanum commentum.) P. 103: Aequalitas Christi cum Deo in eo est, quod ea virtute, quam in eum contulit Deus, ea omnia effecerit et efficiat quae ipsius Dei sunt, tanquam Deus ipse. V. *De prophetico J. Chr. munere.* Cap. i.: *De praeceptis Christi, quae legi addidit.* P. 145: *Quid Dominus Jesus praecepto primo addidit?* Id quod etiam Dominum Jesum pro Deo agnoscere tenemur, i. e., pro eo, qui in nos potestatem habet divinam, et cui nos divinum exhibere honorem obstricti sumus. In quo is honor divinus Christo debitus consistit? In eo, quod quemadmodum adoratione divina eum prosequi tenemur, ita in omnibus necessitatibus nostris ejus opem implorare possumus. Adoramus vero eum propter ipsius sublimem majestatem: imploramus opem ipsius propter sublimem et divinam ejus potestatem. Cap. ii.: *De praeceptis Christi sigillatim ab eo traditis.* Cap. iii.: *De coena Domini*, p. 187: Est Christi Domini institutum, ut fideles ipsius panem frangant et comedant, et ex calice bibant, mortis ipsius annunciandi causa, quod permanere in adventum ipsius oportet. Quid vero est annunciare mortem Domini? Est publice ac sacrosancte Christo gratias agere, quod is pro ineffabili sua erga nos caritate corpus suum torqueri, et quodammodo frangi, et sanguinem fundi passus sit, et hoc ipsius beneficium laudibus tollere et celebrare.—Nome alia causa, ob quam Coenam instituit Dominus, superest? Nulla prorsus: etsi homines multas excogitarint, cum alii dicant, esse sacrificium pro vivis et mortuis, alii usu 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 Gentilismo ad religionem christianam accedentes, manifeste profitebantur, se Christum pro suo Domino agnoscerent. Num ergo ad eum ritum infantes pertinent? Nullo pacto. Nam nec in Scripturis ullum mandatum aut exemplum ea de re habemus, neque ipsi (ut res ipsa indicat) Christum pro suo servatore agnoscere per aetatem possunt. Quid vero de iis sentiendum est, qui infantes baptizant? Quantumvis hae in re errent, non licet tamen ideo eos condemnare, modo alioquin idololatrae non sint, sed pie secundum Christi praecepta vivant, et alios sententiam ipsorum repudiantes non persequantur. Non consistit enim regnum Dei in hujusmodi externis, sed in justitia, pace et gaudio in Spiritu sancto. Cap. v.: *De promisso vitae aeternae.* Cap. vi.: *De promisso Spiritus sancti.* Cap. vii.: *De confirmatione divinae voluntatis.* Cap. viii.: *De morte Christi.* Christ must suffer and die, p. 220: Eo quod ab ipso servandi iisdem afflictionibus et morti ejusmodi plerumque sunt obnoxii. Then—Qua ratione Christus suo ipsius exemplo credentes ad persistendum in illa singulari pietate et innocentia, sine qua servari nequeunt, movere potuisset, nisi atrocem mortem, quae pietatem facile comitari solet, gustasset? aut qui curam suorum in tentationibus et periculis, iisque ab omnibus malis liberandis, tantam gerere potuisset, nisi, quantopere graves et naturae humanae per se intolerabiles essent, ipse expertus esset? Besides, p. 223: Mors 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. Etsi nunc vulgo Christiani sentiunt, Christum morte sua nobis salutem meruisse, et pro peccatis nostris plenarie satisfecisse, quae sententia fallax est, et erronea, et admodum perniciosa. (F. Socini Breviss. Instit., Opp. i., 676: Christi obedientia usque ad mortem crucis, ejusque sanguinis fusio,—quamvis nec suo pretio, neque ipsae 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 obedientiam et sanguinis sui fusionem, plenissimam potestatem ab ipso Deo est consecutus salutem reipsa nobis dandi, et ab omni miseria atque ab interitu, quae propriae peccatorum sunt poenae, nos penitus liberandi.) Cap. ix.: *De fide*, p. 246. Quae fides est, quam necessario consequitur salus? Est fiducia per Christum in Deum. Unde appa-

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 confidamus; deinde, ut Deo obtemperemus non in iis solum, quae in lege per Mosen lata praecepit, et per Christum abrogata non sunt, verum etiam in iis omnibus, quae Christus legi addidit. Cap. x.: *De libero arbitrio*, p. 249: Estne id situm in nostra potestate, ut ad eum modum Deo obtemperemus? Prorsus. Etenim certum est, primum hominem ita a Deo conditum fuisse, ut libero arbitrio praeditus esset, nec vero ulla causa subest, cur Deus post ejus lapsum illum eo privaret: ac neque justitia Dei admittit, nec etiam inter poenas, quibus Adae peccatum punivit Deus, ejusmodi poenae ulla mentio extat.—Peccatum originis nullum prorsus est:—et lapsus Adae, cum unus actus fuerit, vim eam, quae depravare ipsam naturam Adami, multo minus vero posterorum ipsius posset, habere non potuit. P. 252: Communiter in hominibus natura exiguae admodum sunt vires ad ea, quae Deus ab illis requirit, perficiendum: at voluntas ad ea periciendum omnibus adest natura. Nihilominus tamen eae vires non ita prorsus exiguae sunt, ut homo, si vim sibi facere velit, divino auxilio accedente, non possit voluntati divinae obsecundare. Auxilium vero suum nemini Deus prorsus denegat ex iis, quibus voluntatem suam patefecit: alioquin Deus nec castigare, neque punire juste contumaces posset, quod tamen utramque facit.—Auxilium divinum istud duplex est, interius et exterius.—Aux. interius est, cum Deus in cordibus eorum, qui ipsi obediunt, quod promisit, obsignat. Cap. xi.: *De justificatione*, p. 270: Per fidem in Christum consequimur justificationem.—Justificatio est, cum nos Deus pro justis habet, quod ea ratione facit, cum nobis et peccata remittit, et nos vita aeterna donat.—VI. *De officio Christi regio*, p. 274: Quae ipsius regni est ratio? Ea, quod Deus cum suscitatum a mortuis, et in coelos assumptum a dextris suis collocavit, ei potestate in coelis et in terra omnia data, et omnibus ipsius pedibus, se excepto, subjectis, ut fideles suos gubernare, tueri, et aeternum servare possit. (F. Socini Brevissima Institutio, Opp., i. 668: Necessae est, omne istud judicium, quod sibi a Patre datum fuisse Christus ait, esse—omnium ad ipsius Christi regnum quovis modo pertinentium hominum—gubernationem cum summa potestate 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 exerceat. P. 669: Est enim Christus Patri subordinatus, cum—omnem suam potestatem ab illo acceperit, eamque pro eo exerceat, atque una cum ipsa totus perpetuo ab illo pendeat; ita ut necesse sit, quidquid hac subordinatione inspecta—a Christo petitur, id eadem opera a Patre peti.)—VII. *De munere Christi sacerdotali*, p. 285: Munus sacerdotale in eo situm est, quod, quemadmodum pro regio munere potest nobis in omnibus nostris necessitatibus subvenire: ita pro munere sacerdotali subvenire vult, ac porro subvenit. Atque haec illius subveniendi seu opis afferendae ratio sacrificium ejus appellatur. Quare haec ejus opis afferendae ratio sacrificium vocatur? Vocatur ita figurato loquendi modo, quod, quemadmodum in prisco foedere summus Pontifex, ingressus in sancta sanctorum, ea, quae ad expianda peccata populi spectarent, perficiebat, ita Christus nunc penetravit coelos, ut illic Deo appareat pro nobis, et omnia ad expiationem peccatorum nostrorum spectantia peragat. Quid porro est peccatorum expiatio? Est a poenis, quae peccata tum temporariae tum aeternae comitantur, et ab ipsis etiam peccatis, ne eis serviamus, liberatio. Qui expiationem peccatorum nostrorum Jesus in coelis peragit? Primum a peccatorum poenis nos liberat, dum virtute et potestate, quam a Patre plenam et absolutam consequens est, perpetuo nos tuetur, et iram Dei, quae in impios effundi consuevit, interventu suo quodammodo a nobis arceat: quod Scriptura exprimit, dum ait, eum pro nobis interpellare. Deinde ab ipsorum peccatorum servitute nos liberat, dum eadem potestate ab omni flagitiorum genere nos retrahit et avocat: id vero in sua ipsius persona nobis ostendendo, quid consequatur is qui a peccando desistit; vel etiam alia ratione nos hortando et monendo, nobis opem ferendo, ac interdum puniendo, a peccati jugo exsolvit.—VIII. *De Ecclesia Christi*. Cap. i.: *De Eccl. visibili*. Cap. ii.: *De regimine et gubernatione Ecclesiae Christi*. Cap. iii.: *De disciplina Eccl. Chris-*

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 Racovian 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

ti. Cap. iv.: *De Ecclesia Christi invisibili.* Comp. Ziegler's Darstellung des eigenthümlichen Lehrbegriffs des Faustus Socinus, in Henke's Neues Magazin, iv. ii. 201. Zerrenner's Neuer Versuch zur Bestimmung der dogmat. Grundlehren von Offenbarung und heil. Schrift nach dem Systeme der Socinianischen Unitarier; Jena, 1820. Baur's Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit in ihrer geschichtl. Entwicklung, iii. 104. Fock's Socinianismus, ii. 289. The most important doctrinal text-book of the Socinians, published at the expense of the church, is Jo. Volkelii De Vera Religione libri v., quibus praeifixus est Jo. Crellii lib. de Deo et ejus attributis, ita ut unum cum illis opus constituat; Racoviae, 1630. 4. (recus. Amstelod., 1642. 4.).

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. 173; vii. 345. Stäudlin im Archiv f. alte und neue Kirchengeschichte, iv. i. 149. Davidis, in 1579, was succeeded as superintendent by Demetr. Hunyadi, who declared in favor of the worship of Christ in a Confession (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 Enyedlin, favored the Non Adorantes (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. 351.

⁴⁰ Their doctrinal system is unfolded in Summa Universae Theologiae Christianae secundum Unitarios, Claudiopoli, 1787. 8. (from the papers left by superintendent Michael Lombard Sz. Abrahami, † 1758, edited by George Markos, professor of theology in Clausenburg; see Archiv f. Kircheng., i. 1, 86; iv. 1, 155). Extracts by Rosenmüller, in Stäudlin's und Tzschirner's Archiv f. Kircheng., i. i. 83. Here baptism and the Lord's Supper appear as *Sacramenta* (which expression Socinus rejected), i. e., as mutuae inter Deum ac homines sacrae confoederationis tesseræ: non enim sunt tantum testimonia obedientiae christianae, 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 Lubieniecicus, p. 239; Vita A. Wissowatii at the end of Sandii Bibl., p. 229; Krainski Gesch. der Reform. in Polen, s. 318; Fock, i. 214.

expelling the Socinians from Racow, 1638.⁴² Then began the persecutions, which ended in their total expulsion from Poland, 1658.⁴³ 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.⁴⁴ 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.⁴⁵

§ 32.

THE MENNONITES.

J. H. Ottii Annales Anabaptistici; Basil, 1672. 4.—Gründliche Historie von den Begehrenheiten, Streitigkeiten, und Trennungen, so unter den Taufgesinnten bis 1615 vorgegangen (from the Dutch of C. van Gent), by J. Chr. Jehring, Jena, 1720.—H. Schlyn Hist. Christianorum, qui in Belgio foederato Mennonitae appellantur, Amstelod., 1723. Ejusd. Historiæ Mennonitarum plenior deductio, Amstel., 1729.—J. A. Stark's Gesch. d. Taufe u. Taufgesinnten, Leipzig, 1789.—G. L. v. Reischwitz u. Fr. Wadzeck Glaubensbekenntniß der Mennoniten u. Nachricht von ihren Colonien nebst Lebensbeschreib. Menno Simonis, 2ter Theil; Berlin, 1824. Reischwitz Beiträge zur Kenntniß der Mennoniten; Breslau, 1829.

[Göbel d. Rhein. Westph. Kirche. Brandt's Ref. in Holland. A. M. Cramer, Het Leven, von Menno Sim., Amstd., 1837. C. Harder, Leben Menno Simons, Königsb., 1846. B. K. Roosen, Menno Sim., Leipz., 1848. D. S. Gorter, Onderzoek naar het Kenmerkend beginsel der Nederl. Doopsgezinden; Sneek, 1850. Comp. J. J. van Osterzece in Herzog's Real-encyclopædie, Bd. ix. Th. de Bussière Les Anabaptistes, Paris, 1853.]

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.¹ It was only, however, after

⁴² Vita Wissowatii, l. c., p. 233; Krasinski, s. 321; Fock, i. 220.

⁴³ They were accused of treason in the war with Sweden; also in the work, Proditiones Arianorum patriæ suæ Poloniae sub tempus belli Suecici, 1657. 4. In reply Stanis. Lubieniecius wrote Memoriale in causa Fratrum Unitariorum. Stetini, 1659. (MS., see Bock, i. i. 455 s.) So, too, Sam. Przytkovius Vindicia 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; Schroeckh's Kirchengesch. s. d. Ref., ix. 427; Krasinski, s. 323; Fock, ii. 226.

⁴⁴ Rambach's Religionsstreitigkeiten mit den Socinianern, s. 190; Schröckh, ix. 443; Fock, ii. 231, 251.

⁴⁵ Rambach, s. 177; Fock, i. 242.

¹ Sebastian Franck's Chronik, 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.] Eliche unter ihnen wollen, es sei so ein heiliges, einfältiges, unsträfliches, abgestorbenes, vollkommenes Ding um einen Christen, also dass er nach dem Fleisch nimmer lebe, noch das auf Erden sey suchen

the disturbances at Münster² that Menno Simons came forward, 1536, to give a form of government and order to the dispersed.³ 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,⁴ 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 Fresenburg, near Oldesloe, in Holstein, June 13, 1561.

The distinguishing characteristic of the Mennonites (*Doopsgezinden*)⁵ consisted in this, that they tried simply and strictly to

möge. Desshalb soll und möge ein Christ der Welt nicht mehr leben, nichts Weltliches mehr achten, dem gleich gelte sterben als leben, ja dem diess Leben eine Langweile sey. der aller Ding gelassen steh', geschlagen nicht wieder schlage, der sogar verläugnet sein selbst nicht mehr sey, dass er allen Creaturen widersagt hab, dass er nichts mehr nach dem Fleische kenne, der Sterben für einen Gewinn achtet, Reichthum für Koth, ja der Welt Frend, Wollust, Ehre, Leben für Leid, Unlust, Schande und Tod achtet,—der liebe seinen Feind, benedeit die, die ihm vermaledeien, 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 hofft, der aller Ding nicht schwöre, 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, Tänze, u. s. w.

² The Münster projects were disapproved by Ubbo Philipps, who was a Catholic priest in Leeuwarden (1534), and had become one of the leaders of the Anabaptists, and had consecrated David Joris (§ 30, Note 9), Menno Simons, and his brother Dirk Philipps (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.

³ On his life, see Jo. Molleri *Cimbria Literata*, ii. 835. *M. M. Cramer het Leven en de Verrigtingen van Menno Simons*, Amst., 1837. Menno Symons geschildert 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 *Ständlin's u. Tzschirner's Archiv f. Kirchengesch.*, ii. i. 102, and in *Von Reiswitz u. Wadzeck*, 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).

⁴ 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 (Ubbo Emmius in *Historia Fris.*, p. 921), later in Lübeck and Wismar; see Molleri *Cimbria literata*, p. 837. The Reformed preacher in Emden, Martin Mieronius, writes, 1556, to Bullinger: *Mennonis regnum latissime in hisce omnibus maritimis regionibus patet, ab extremis Flandriae oris Dantiscum usque* (Ottius, p. 125).

⁵ 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.⁶ They did not accept any Confession of Faith,⁷ and ascribed no worth to scientific expositions of the doctrinal system.⁸ Accordingly, they rejected

doopsgezinde Gemeenten in de Nederlanden, Amst., 1837, p. 39. In Menno's works the only designations are such as Gemeente Gods, ellendige, weerloze Christenen, broeders, etc.

⁶ Menno describes in his work, *Van het rechte Christen geloove*, 1556 (Opp., p. 154), the faith of the Papists, that of the Lutherans (they teach, dat ons het geloobe alleen salich maeckt, oock sonder eenighe toedoen der wercken. Hence there is among them so wild a life, dat men onder de Turcken ende Tartaren (vermoede ick) naenwe soo een godtloos leelijk leven vinden sal), and the faith of the Engelschen oft Zwingelschen (they believe, datter twee Sonen in Christo sijn, Son of God without mother, Mary's Son without Father). On the other hand, p. 158: Wy leeren ende gelooven, ende dat met kracht ende geweld der gantscher schrift, als dat de geheele Christus Jesus van boven tot beneden, van binnen ende van buyten, sienlijck ende onsenlijck Godts eerste-geborene ende eengheborne eygen Sone is, het onbevindelijk eeuwighe woort daer alle dingen door geschapen sijn, de eestgeborne aller Creatueren, een waerachtich mensch, door des Almachtigen eeuwighen Vaders eeuwighe geest ende stercker kracht boven alder menschen begrijp ende wetenschap in Maria de reyne Jonckvrouwe geworden, our Mes-siah, Prophet, Teacher, and High-priest, die ons sijns Vaders goede wille ende welbehagen geleert heeft, ons als een onstraffelijk voorbeeld voorgewandelt heeft, ende heeft also hem selven voor onse sonden in het cruys den vader tot eenen soeten reuck vrywillichlijck henen gegeven, door den weleken wy al te samen hebben (die dat metter herten gelooven) quyt-scheldinghe onser sonden, genade, gonste, barmherticheyt, vryheyt, vrede, dat eeuwighe leven, een versoende vader, ende eenen vryen toeganck tot Godt in den Geest. Ende dit alle door sijn verdiensten, gerechticheyt, voorbidden ende bloet, ende niet door onse wercken eeuwelijck. Alle die dit aldus voor gewis ende waerachtig metter herten kunnen gelooven, ende sijn door het woort in haeren geest besegelt, also-danige worden in den inwendigen mensche verandert, ontfanghen des Heeren vreesse ende liefde, baren nyt haer geloobe de gerechticheyt, vrucht, kracht, een onbestraffelijk leven, ende nieuwe wesen (that is, essentially the despised Lutheran doctrine). P. 160: Siet, so moet men metter herten gelooven, als Paulus seyt, dat is, wy moeten soo aen't woordt hangen ende kleben, so aennemen ende indrucken, dat wy ons daer nimmermeer van af en keeren, noch afkeeren en laten, dan dattet in't herte noch al dieper ende dieper altijt inwortelt, op dat wy door sijn kracht Godt uyt allen onsen vermoegen vreesen, ende onse sonden recht boeten mogen. Want de hertgrondelijcke ongevredede vreesse drijft de sonden uyt, ende is onmogelijk sonder Godts vreesse rechtveerdich te worden. P. 167: Dat rechte Evangelische geloove siet ende acht alleene op Christus leere, Ceremonien, gebod, verbod, ende onbestraffelijk voorbeeld, ende schickt hem daer na uyt alle sijn vermoegen. P. 128: De almachtige groote Heere en wil hem met geen bloote namen laten te vreden stellen, maer hy wil een waerachtich vruchtbaer geloove, een ongevredede vierige liefde, een nieu omgekeert verandert herte, een waerachtige ootmoedicheyt, bermherticheyt, knysheyt, lijtsaemheyt, gerechticheyt ende vrede: hy wil den geheelen mensch, hert, mont ende daet, die sijne lust in des Heeren woort heeft, die de waarheyt van herten spreekt, die zijn vlees cruyst, en die sijn goet en bloet (alst de noot eyscht) gewillichlic voor des Heeren woort stelt.

⁷ On their old Confession of Faith, see Schyn, ii. 78. The oldest, 1580, is by John Ris, preacher of the Waterlanders in Almar (Schyn, ii. 279), and Lubbert Gerard, in Latin in Schyn, i. 172.

⁸ Menno, p. 666: Maer soo verre als mijn onwetenheyt betreft, die hy my hier met groote bitterheyt voorwerpt, en schame ick my niet voor alle man te bekennen, so ick niet alleen onwetende, maer oock geheel ongeleert ben, der Tongen weynich oft niet ervaren.—Maer so wijt der hemelscher wijsheyt aenguet, ben ick door des Heeren genade

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).⁹ In the doctrine of grace they held that Christ died for all;¹⁰ in the Lord's Supper they agreed with Zwingle.¹¹ The Church was to them the com-

so verre van Godt geleert, dat ick van herten bekenne, dat mijn Verlosser ende Heylant Christus Jesus Gods eengeboren ende eerstgeboren eygen Sone is, etc. Ende dese selbige wijsheijt—achte ick de alderweerdichste te zijn die men noemen kan, ofste oock alsehoon van eenen ongeleerden Kardrijber oft Colendrager geleert, ende weder aen den dach gebracht werde.—Siet, mijn Leser, om deser Philosophien soeticheyt, eerbarheyt, deucht, vrucht, liefde ende schoonheydt, die ick van geen hoochberoemde Doctoren, noch in geen hooge scholen geleert hebbe,—heb ick lieber uytverkoren aller werelt Geleerden ouweteude ende ongeleerdeu Sot te zien, op dat ick voor mijnen Godt wijs bevonden werde, dan der Wereltwijsen de alder beroemsteeen te zijn, ende ten laetsten voor den wijsen Godt een Sot te zijn. Menno often complains that learned people have falsified Christianity, and are the persecutors of the true Christians. Thus, p. 119, he addresses the Roman, Lutheran, and Zwinglian clergy (e. g., p. 120: Godts naem lastert ghy, sijn heylige Woort vervalscht ghy, sijne kinderen ende dienaren vervoolght ghy, ende op sijn genade doet ghy alle quaet); comp. p. 590, 609.—*Protocolium Frankenthalense*, 1571 (see below, Note 20), in Schyn, ii. 226: *Quaeritur, an Pater, Filius et Spiritus sanctus sint unica divina essentia, sed in tribus personis distincta. Tota haec disputatio nil nisi mera est logomachia, nam in re ipsa—plane conveniunt; et Mennonitae solummodo admodum anxii sunt, in tam sublimi mysterio, humanum excedente sensum, aliis uti verbis, quam Spiritus sanctus ipse in sacra Scriptura usus fuit, quare ipsis voces ὑποστάσεις et personae minime arridebant, putantes illas a Patribus excogitatas mysterium Trinitatis magis obscurare quam explicare, quare sese stricte retinebant, et suam mentem solummodo exprimere volebant phraseologiis a Spiritu sancto usitatis, et non humanis vocibus. Compare their Confession given in to the estates of Holland, 1626 (in Schyn, ii. 82): Verbum ὁμοούσιος, ut etiam verba triplicitas et tres personae a veteribus olim excogitata nos devitamus, quia sacra Scriptura ea haud novit, et periculosum est de Deo aliis ac Scripturae verbis loqui.*

⁹ He calls them, Opp., p. 882, schadelicken superstitie, and says, datse niet uyt Godt ende Godts Woort, maer nyt Antiechrist, ende nyt den putte des afgronts voortgekomen ende gesproten is. On the other hand, the Mennonites, because they did not baptize their children, were called by their opponents Kinderenzielmoorders (Opp., p. 964).

¹⁰ Menno Simons van de Rechtveerdichmakinghe, Opp., p. 869. Jo. Risii et Lubb. Gerardi Confessio, 1580, Art. vii., in Schyn, i. 179: Christus pro omnibus ad propitiationem datus, oblatus et mortuus est. In cujus rei confirmationem voluit Deus ut gratia haec universalis, caritas et benignitas per praedicationem Evangelii omnibus creaturis seu populis annuntiaretur et offerretur. Omnes, qui poenitentes et credentes gratiosum istud Dei in Christo beneficium admittunt aut accipiunt, atque in ea perseverant, sunt et manent per ejus misericordiam electi, de quibus Deus ante jaeta mundi fundamenta decrevit, ut regni et gloriae coelestis participes evaderent. Sed qui oblatam istam gratiam dedignantur aut respuunt, tenebras loco lucis amant, in impenitentia et incredulitate perseverant, seipsos per istam malitiam salutis reddunt indignos, etc.

¹¹ Menno, p. 43: Ons en is niet een letter in de gantsche Schrift bevolen, als dat wy over dat sienelijeke ende tastelijeke signo disputeren sullen, wat dat in hem sy. De geestelijeke rechten alle dingen geestelijek: want wat dat in der substantie sy, mach met handen getast, met oogen gesien, ende metten monde gesmaect worden. Maer dat staet ons meest te bedeneken, dat wy dat significato, dat is dat gene, dat met desen signo (dat is teken) allen waerachtigen Christgeloovigen voorgedragen, afgebeelt ende vermaent wort, in onser swackheyt mogen na komen, ende so veel als in ons is, gelijekformich zijn. Comp. p. 531 and 883.

munion of saints, to be kept in its purity by strict discipline.¹² The civil magistracy they declared to be still necessary, but foreign to Christ's kingdom, so that no one of their number could hold a magistrate's office.¹³

As early as 1554 a controversy about the strictness of excommunication 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.¹⁴ These divi-

¹² Menno, p. 555: The Church is a—Vergaderinge der Godtvruchtigen ende een gemeynschap der Heyligen. P. 541: Soo lange de Herders ende de Leerers dat godtsalige vrome leben in der kracht dreven, Doop ende Nachtmael den boetveerdighen alleene toedienden, ende de Afsonderinghe na der Schrift recht hielden, ziiu sy Christi Gemeynthe ende kereke gebleven. Maer soo haest sy dat gemakelijck ruyme leven sochten, dat eruyce Christi hateden, hebben sy die Roede neder gheleyt, den Volcke vrede toegeseyt, den Ban metter tijt milder gemaect, ende also een Gemeynthe Antichristi, Babel, ende Werelt geworden, gelijck van vele hondert Jaren herwaerts wel gesien is.—Gelijck een Wijnberch sonder thuyt ende graven, ende een Stadt sonder mueren ende Poorten is: soo is oock een Gemeynthe, die sonder Afsonderinghe ende Ban is. Want de Vyandt tot alsulek een vryen inganck hebben, ende ziiu verdoemelijck Oneruydt onverhindert zaeyen ende planten mach. Risiij et Gerardi Confessio, *Art.* 24 (Schyn, i. 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 simulatorum et hypoeritarum lateat et versetur multitudo, illi tamen soli, qui in Christo regenerati et sanctificati sunt, vera corporis Christi sunt membra, atque ea propter beatorum promissorum haeredes. *Art.* 25: In hac sua saneta Ecclesia Christus ordinavit Ministerium evangelicum, nempe doctrinam verbi divini, usum sacerorum Sacramentorum, curamque pauperum, ut et Ministros ad perfungendum istis ministeriis: atque insuper exercitium fraternae allocutionis, punitionis et tandem amotionis eorum, qui in impenitentia perseverant: quae ordinationes in verbo Dei conceptae solummodo juxta sensum ejusdem verbi exequendae sunt.

¹³ Risiij et Gerardi Confessio; *Art.* 37 (Schyn, i. 214): Potestas sive magistratus politicae necessaria Dei ordinatio est, instituta ad gubernationem communis societatis humanae, et conservationem vitae naturalis et civiliter bonae, ad defensionem honorum et castigationem malorum. Agnoscimus, verbo Dei nos obligante, officii nostri esse, potestatem revereri, eique honorem et obedientiam exhibere omnibus in rebus, quae verbo Domini non sunt contrariae. Nostri officii est, Deum omnipotentem pro eis deprecari, illique pro bonis et aequis magistratibus gratias agere, atque absque murmuratione justa tributa et vectigalia reddere. Potestatem hanc politicam Dominus Jesus in regno suo spiritali, Ecclesia Novi Testamenti, non instituit, neque hanc officii Ecclesiae suae adjunxit: neque discipulos aut sequaces suos ad regalem, ducalem, vel aliam potestatem vocavit, neque praecepit, ut illam arriperent et mundano more gubernarent: multo minus Ecclesiae suae membris dedit legem tali muneris aut dominio convenientem. sed passim ab eo (cui voce e caelo audita auseultandum erat) vocantur ad imitationem inermis ejus vitae et vestigia erueem ferentia; et in quo nihil minus apparuit, quam mundanum regnum, potestas et gladius. Hisee omnibus igitur exacte perpensis (atque insuper, non pauca cum munere potestatis politicae conjuncta esse, ut bellum gerere, hostibus bona et vitam eripere, etc., quae vitae Christianorum, qui mundo mortui esse debent, aut male aut plane non conveniunt), hinc a talibus officiis et administrationibus nos subducimus.

¹⁴ Waterland on the Pampus, in North Holland.—The division (1565) originated in Friesland, 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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶

For a long time the Mennonites were thought to be like the fanatical Anabaptists, and were severely persecuted;¹⁷ but the ex-

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. 349). 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 Sanctorum lotio pedum cum a fidei consortibus e longinquo advenientibus invisimur, ut eorum pedes secundum consuetudinem veteris Testamenti et Christi exemplum data occasione lavemus, eo contentantes nostram coram Deo proximoque humilitatem, supplicii voto, ut Dominus nos quotidie in humilitate corroboraret, et uti nos invicem aliorum pedes lavimus, ita et ipsi complacere nostras animas suo sanguine ac aquis Spiritus sancti ab omni macula et impuritate peccati emendare et depurare.* The full narration of these divisions, from an eye-witness, translated in Jehring, s. 104, gives the repulsive picture of a rude piety, pervaded by ambition and dogmatism of the smallest kind.

¹⁵ 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.

¹⁶ The leader of the Remonstrants, or Socinians, was Dr. Galenus Abrahams (see Benthem's *Holländ. Kirch- u. Schulenstaat*, i. 832; Jehring, s. 30), 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.

¹⁷ Menno (Opera, 934) 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 Lantloopers, heymelicke sluypers, oft sluypers in die huysen, vervoerders' nieuwe Monnicken, Glyseners, dat wy ons beroemen sonder sonde te zijn, Hemelstormers ende werckheylingen, di door onse verdiensten ende wercken willen salich worden, een godtloose Secte ende Rotterije, Kinderenzichnoordeners, Wederdopers, Sacramentschenders, ende dat wy met den Duyvel beseten zijn*; 8. It was said: *Welaen, hebben sy die waarheyt, so laet haer int openbaer komen.*

ample of their martyrs only confirmed their steadfastness.¹⁸ 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;¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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.²¹ From thence, too, they came into Moravia.²² 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 weerloze Christenen*, Haarlem, 1615 and 1631. 4. The Frisons 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 Tieleman Jans van Braght, 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. 193. *Hoornsches Märtyrerbuch*, p. 210.—The Elector Frederick III., in 1571, had a conference held with the Anabaptists (*Protocol d. i. alle Handlung des Gesprächs zu Frankenthal mit denen so man Wiedertäufer nennet*, Heidelberg, 1573. *Struven's pfälzische Kirchenhistorie*, s. 238), 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 II. Bullinger's *der Wiedertäufferen 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 *Jehring*, s. 282.

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 Baptists, 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 Wiedertäufer nicht sein im Lande zu leiden*, durch Chr. A. Fischer, Kathol. Pfarrer zu Veldsperg, Ingolstadt, 1607. Ottius, p. 201, 240; *Erbkam*, s. 572). The Herrenhuters (United Brethren) have manifestly derived many of their regulations from this source.

nand II.²³ From Switzerland, after the persecution of 1659, they retreated into Alsace and the Rhenish Palatinate.²⁴

§ 33.

SCHWENCKFELD.

Salig's *Historie d. Augspurg. Confession*, iii. 950.—Planck's *Gesch. d. Entstehung, etc., unseres Protest. Lehrbegriffs*, v. i. 75.—H. W. Erkam's *Gesch. der Protest. Secten im Zeitalter d. Reformation*, Hamburg u. Gotha, 1848, s. 357.—G. L. Hahn *Schwenckfeldii Sententia de Christi persona et opere exposita*, Vratislav., 1847.

[Baur's *Dreienigkeit*, iii. 219 f. 244 f. Dörner's *Person Christi*, ii. 573, 624 f. Niedner's *Geschichte d. Kirche*, s. 673-7.]

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 Zwingli, 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.¹ But as he became more confirmed in the

²³ Ottius, p. 245. They fled to Hungary and Transylvania.

²⁴ Ottius, p. 337.

¹ The family name was Schwenckfeld; his baronial estate, Ossing, was in the circle of Lüben, principality of Liegnitz; Rosenberg's *Schles. Reformationsgesch.*, s. 54.

² Comp. *Ein christl. Ermahnung zu fürdern das Wort Gottes an den Herrn Bischof zu Breslau durch die Edlen H. M. v. Langenwalde und C. Schwenckfeld v. Ossick v. 1. Jan., 1524. 4.*; see Salig, iii. 955.

³ Comp. *Ermahnung des Missbrauchs etlicher fürnehmsten Artikel des Evangeliums, aus welcher Unverstand der gemeine Mann in fleischliche Freiheit und Irrung geführt wird*, v. 11. Jun., 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 trostliche Botschaft, und Christus hat uns vom Gesetz befreiet."—"Es sind alle Bierhauser voll unnützer Prediger, lassen sich bedünken, 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 sagen, sie stehen bei Gottes Wort."—But if they would take the words of Christ to heart: "meine Worte sind Geist und Leben, so würden sie nicht so ungeschicklich damit würfeln, sondern in anderer Weise dem Worte nachtrachten."

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 fractus 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 (l. 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 God⁵—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.⁶ 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.⁷ So Christ upon the cross

961. Erbkam, s. 370. The preachers in Liegnitz all participated in Schwenckfeld's views; see their declaration to the Duke, 1527, in Rosenberg's *Schles. Reformationsgeschichte*, s. 412.

⁵ So first in the work, *De Cursu Verbi Dei, origine fidei et ratione justificationis* Epist. C. Schwenckfeldii, cum præf. Jo. Oecolampadii, Basil, 1527. 8. German in the *Epistolare*, ii. ii. 361. Comp. s. 371: "Gott braucht keine äusserlichen Dinge und Mittel zu seiner innerlichen Gnade und geistlichem Handel.—Wer von aussen ein und durch das Aeußere in das Innere will kommen, der versteht nicht den Gnadenlauf.—Der Mensch muss Alles vergessen und fallen lassen, und zu dem Einsprechen der Gnade aller Dinge ledig, gelassen, und allen Kreaturen genommen seyn, gänzlich Gott ergeben.—Derwegen ist der Gnade und des heil. Geistes einiger Schlicht und Mittel, darin er in die stille, lebendige Seele rutscht, sein allmächtiges ewiges Wort, so ohne Mittel von dem Munde Gottes ausgehet, und gar nicht durch die Schrift, ausseres Wort, Sakrament, oder irgend eine Kreatürlichkeit im Himmel und auf Erden. Gott will ihm diese Ehre selbst und allein vorbehalten haben, den Menschen durch sich selbst begnadigen, lehren, den heiligen Geist mittheilen und selig machen, und die Gnade, Erluchtung und Seligkeit durch keine Kreatur wirken, weil auch das Fleisch Christi nicht ein genugsam Instrument dazu war, es musste vor verklärt, in das himmlische Wesen verzuckt, und von unsern Augen weggenommen werden."

⁶ *Epistolare*, ii. ii. 461, 851.

⁷ Confession von J. Chr., Th. 3. (in Schwenckfeld's christl. orthodoxische Bücher, i. 226): "Solchs nemlich, dass Gott dieses Menschens, ja des ganzen Christi, des einzigen Sohnes Gott und Menschens, ganzer Vater, auch im Erzeugen und Empfangnuss seines Fleisches ist, so wol als der ganze Christus Gottes und Mariä einziger 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 Vatern, und die ander Hälfte 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 väterlich Amt braucht, wie ihm gebühret, das ist gottlich und himmlisch, dass Maria schwanger wird, dass sie ihm einen ganzen Sohn zum Heiland aller Welt empfänget und gebieret. 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 gewesen ist, so ist er doch Gottes natürlicher Sohn, er ist nicht geschaffen, sondern aus Gott und einer heil. Jungfrauen durch den heil. Geist geboren. 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 muthwillig und fürsetzlich wölen irren, so werden sie die zweierlei Amt Gottes, das Amt der Schopfung und sein väterlich Amt, mit der h. Schrift unterscheiden, und aus Matth. i., Luc. i. bedenken, woher Maria sey schwanger worden, was auch

has canceled our sin;⁸ but after his exaltation he was wholly

Unterscheidet seyn möge zwischen einem aus Erd oder Staub erschaffnen Menschen, und einem Menschen, der aus Gott und seinem Geiste ursprünglich von einer heil. Jungfrauen ist gebohren, oder (wie es Paulus unterscheidet) zwischen einem Fleische der Sünden und einem andern, das wohl in der Gleichheit des Fleische der Sünd, aber doch nicht ein Fleisch der Sünden war, wie denn Christus ein solch heilig neu Fleisch, auch vom ersten Blick seines Empfangnus aus Maria gehabt hat. Also denn mögen sie bald finden, dass Christus ein göttlicher Mensch, *θεῖον ἄρωπος*, 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 Menschens, sonder auf zweue unterscheidne Menschen fügenommen und gestellt hat. Auf zweuen, sag ich, deren einer irdisch, der ander himmlisch wär, nicht also himmlisch, dass er nicht ein wahres Fleisch und Blut hab, noch aussem Fleisch Mariä nicht sey erzeugt und gebohren, sonder 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 müsst ja entzweider vom Vater oder von der Mutter herkommen: nicht vom Vater, weil Gott der Vater keiner erschaffnen Creatur, als Creatur, Vater, sonder ihr Schöpfer ist: auch nicht von der Mutter, denn sie hat ihnen nicht vermögen zu schaffen, noch das Wesen geben, so wenig sie aus eigener Kraft hätt mogen schwanger werden, ob sie wohl ihr jungfräuliches Fleisch darzu dargereicht hat, dass er Mensch ist gebohren: woher sollt denn Christus ein geschaffne Creatur, und nicht vielmehr Gottes natürlicher eingebornher 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 mere 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 eingebornen unzertheiligen Sohnes Gottes, 1542. 4., and Cassianus Von der Menschwerdung Christi wider den Nestorianischen Irrthum der Theilung Christi, 4; comp. Erbkam, s. 450.—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. Dörner's Entwicklungsgesch. d. Lehre v. d. Person Christi, s. 204; Baur's Lehre v. d. Dreieinigkeit und Menschwerdung Gottes in ihrer geschichtl. Entwicklung, iii. 219.

⁸ 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 gefreiet, die Sünde mit seinem Blute abgewaschen, und derselbigen Vergebung, auch die Heiligung und das ewige Leben durch seinen bitteren Tod hab erworben. Solches hat dem Mittler Gottes und der Menschen, dem Herren J. Chr. nach dem Willen seines Vaters wollen gebühren, welches auch alleine ihnen aus der Creaturen 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 erfunden, mittlet er nun weiter, dass gedachte Erlösung und seine Wohlthat, 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 nun durch ihn, ja in ihm, und aus ihm auf uns komme, und bei unserm 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 nit alleine der sey, welcher unser Bests bei Gotte handelt, und alles bei ihm erwirbet, sonder den eingenommenen Reich-

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.⁹ 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,¹⁰ and is their real food, which

thum Gottes auch selbst in die Glieder seines Leibes—durch den heil. Geist einflüsse und austheile, dass sie aus seinem geistlichen Einfluss wachse, sich nahre und erhalten werde, dass eben dieser Mittler, der Mensch Jesus Christus, welcher uns Vergebung der Sünden hat erworben, auch solche gebe, und wir in ihm haben und empfangen.“

⁹ Confess. v. J. Chr., Th. i. (Orthodox. Bücher, i. 125): “Dass ich aber geschrieben, Christus sey heut in der Gloria kein Creatur, hab ich damit wollen anzeigen, dass er auch nach seinem Menschen durch die Verklärung und Erhöhung in Gott unser Herr und Gott sey worden (Act. 2). Nicht dass er je ein Creatur sey gewesen, sonder dass er alles was creaturlicher Art, Eigenschaft, oder dieses leiblichen Wesens an seinem Menschen dort befunden (da er der Leidlichkeit und aller Dürftigkeit um unser Willen unterworfen), ja alle Idiomata, so dem Fleisch zeitlich anhangen, nu durch den Tod hab abgelegt, dagegen aber eine vollkommene Neuigkeit, Unsterblichkeit, und das himmlische Wesen durch die Gloria Gottes seines Vaters angelegt, und damit sey bekleidet. Nicht meine ichs also, dass sein menschliche Natur, Leib u. Seel, drum in solcher Gloria abgetilget und aufgehöret hab,—als ob die Menschheit Christi sey zur Gottheit worden, oder in die Gottheit sey verwandelt, wie mir Etfliche unbillig zulegen:—glaube und bekenne, dass Chr. J. auch noch heut u. ewig ein wahrer ganzer Mensch mit Leib, Fleisch, Blut u. Gebein ist in himmlischer Klarheit in einem unbegreiflichen Licht u. Wesen: es ist sein Menschheit geandert oder gewandelt, nicht verkehret, noch verzehret, sonder gewandelt sprich ich, durch die himmlische Gloria gebessert, und mit göttlichem Reichthum gemehret. Christus ist nach seiner Menschheit in die Herrlichkeit des Wesens Gottes kommen, darinnen ganz göttlich und geistlich, ja nach dem Wesen alles das was Gott worden, dass dieser himmlische Mensch, unser Herr und König Christus, durch sein Erhöhung alle göttliche Idiomata und Eigenschaft Gottes hat erreicht und eingenommen, übet göttliche Werk, hat himmlische Amt, Reich und Vermögen.“

¹⁰ Sendbrief v. d. Justification (Orthodox. Bücher, i. 481): “In Summa, wir seind aus heil. Schrift gewiss, gottlob, dass justificatio da in Paulo ein Gerechtmachung, und justificare gerecht machen, wie auch justitia Dei Gottes Gerechtigkeit d. i. die Güte und Fromkeit des frommen treuen Gottes allda heisst, welche er durch Christum im heil. Geiste seinen Auserwählten allhie mittheilet durch den Glauben:—nachdem er dieselb und alle himmlische Güter in Christum als in den Schatzkasten der ewigen Seligkeit hat gelegt, in quo tota plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter inhabitat,—dass wir es bei ihm durch den Glauben sollen suchen, wie denn Christus, der regierende Gnadenkönig, solche Gerechtigkeit Gottes, Fromkeit, Liebe, Güte und Gottseligkeit allhie nach dem Maass des Glaubens ausgeusst in alle auserwählte neugebohrne Herzen.—Christus sollte sterben, und uns nach dem Willen Gottes seines Vatern, auch nach seinem selbst Willen—erlösen, und so das alles geschehen, sollt er alsdann uns zu einem Versühner, Heiland und Gerechtigkeit fürgesetzt werden. Unser Seligkeit sollte zuvor ganz ausgerichtet werden, wir solltens gläuben (da kömmt die Gnad und Gabe des heil. Geists), und im Glauben an deme, der für uns gelitten, alles lebendig sünden, und wahrhaftig und wesentlich empfahen zum ewigen Leben. So nun die Erlösung geschehen, und Jesus Christus mit seinem Fleisch und Blut in alle göttliche Gloria aufgenommen, ja ganz in Gott versetzt, ganz göttlich und herrlich ist worden; so macht er uns durch den heil. Geist, welchen er vom Vater eingenommen (Act. 2.) gerecht. Er erneuert unsern Sinn, wiedergebietet uns, seliget, speiset und heiligt uns in der Einigkeit des einigen ewigen Wesens Gottes. Wie wär er sonst die Nahrung, Speise und Trank unser Seelen (Joh. vi.), wenn er nit

is only set forth in figure in the Lord's Supper.¹¹ 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 zweien Orten ist ausgezogen, und lautet also: Christus ist gestorben um unser Sünden willen, und ist aufgeweckt um unser Gerechtwerdunge willen (Röm. 4.), auf dass, so wir durch seine Gnade gerecht gemacht, Erben wären des ewigen Lebens nach der Hoffnung (Tit. 3.). Das ist die Summa unsers christlichen Glaubens." This righteousness we receive 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, sonder ein Gabe des h. Geists, ja im Grunde ein Wesen mit deme der ihm schenkt oder giebet: er ist ein lebendige empfindliche Kraft des lebendigmachenden Gottes, dadurch die Herzen gereinigt und erneuert werden, welcher Glaube auch die Gerechtigkeit Gottes, Christum Jesum, wahrhaftig, wirklich 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 erkennen, nach seinen Geschichten, Lehre, Mirakeln und Thaten, nicht wie er heut lebendig ist und wirkt. Wie sie auch einen historischen Vernunftglauben und historische Justification haben, die sie auf promissiones, auf die Verheissungen, unangesehen weme sie zustendig sein,—gründen.—Ihre justitia oder Gerechtigkeit ist allein Vergebung der Sünden auswendig aus Glauben, wie man etwa Ablass kaufte, und dass uns Gott um Christi mediatoris, des Mittlers willen die Sünd nicht wolle zurechnen. Das ist, ob wir schon Sünder sein, und böse Buben bleiben, so werden wir doch propter fidem, um des Glaubens willen in Christum von 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 deme gar nichts seiner wesentlichen Gerechtigkeit ist.—Nach dem Glauben und Erkenntniss, da man allein gläubt, dass Christus das sey, was die Schrift von ihm sagt, wird niemand gerecht noch selig vor Gotte: sonst müssten alle gerecht und selig seyn, die Christum für ihren Erlöser und Seligmacher nach dem Zeugniß der heil. Schrift haben angenommen, und Christen genennet werden. Drum trachten so wenig Lutherische nach rechtschaffner Busse und Besserung des Lebens, und wird also die Heiligung des Geistes, die Ernenwerung des Gemüths, und die rechte Frommigkeit in Christo, wie auch die neue Geburt, die guten Werk und Busse verdunkelt, dass ich nit sage gar aufgehoben. Dagegen suchen das Gegentheil (the Catholics) in gemein die Frommigkeit oder Gerechtigkeit in ihren Werken, Applicationibus, Zueignungen, Verdienst und Ceremonien fürnehmlich: Christus regnans et justificans, der regierende gerechtmachende Christus muss überall das Nachtraben halten. Sie wöllen (beede Part) den neuen Menschen, der nach Gotte geschaffen ist in Heiligkeit und Gerechtigkeit der Wahrheit, vom alten nicht unterscheiden, noch die neue Creatur, die in Christo Jesu vor Gott allein gilt (Gal. vi.), nicht recht bedenken, welches viel Irrthum gebietet." If the essential divine righteousness is in the regenerate man, it would seem that he must be without sin; and accordingly this inference was drawn from Schwenckfeld's doctrine. Flacius first represented this as his doctrine, and afterward the Formula Concordiae did the same (Cap. 12). Schwenckfeld himself repeatedly denied this inference, saying that the regenerate still sin in many ways, on account of the old man still remaining, and that they would be perfectly renewed only in the resurrection of the dead; see Planck, v. i. 221; Erbkam, s. 413, Anm.

¹¹ Bekanntnus und Rechenschaft v. d. Hauptpuncten des christl. Glaubens (Orthodox. 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 (welchs der h. Geist ist), damit der himmlische Hohepriester Jesus Chr. innerlich die Seel, Herz und Gewissen zur Vergebung der Sünden täuft, und ein leiblich elementisch Wasser, damit der Diener ausserlich den Leib oder das Aeusserere am Menschen auf das Anrufen und Bekanntnus des Namens des Herren täuft." 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;¹² he staid by turns in Strasburg, Augsburg, Spire, 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;¹³ 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,¹⁴ particularly on

tion comes through faith in the blood of Christ: "Das Wasser des Sacraments wäschet den Leib, und bedeutet das was in der Seel 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, gottlich, himmlisch Brot, Speise und Trank, welches der Leib Christi für uns gegeben, und sein heilig Blut ist, das zur Vergebung der Sünden ist vergossen: und ein leiblich sacramentlich Brot und Trank, so der Herre Jesus im Nachtmal zu seinem Wiedergedächtnis 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 christgläubigen Seele, wie er solches zuvor (Joh. vi.) hat verheissen, welcher auch von Gott dem Vater allein darzu ist besiegelt.—Das ander Brot heisst das Brot des Herren, welches der Diener giebt, oder mit der christl. Gemeine bricht zum Wiedergedächtnis 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 vereinigén, dass er drunter, drinnen oder damit möge genossen werden. Unser Christus ist heut nicht mehr unter der Gewalt der Sünder, dass ihn die Gottlosen zur Speise geniessen."

¹² *Leben und Wirken C. Schwenckfeld's in Schlesien, 1490–1528*, by A. Wachler, in the *Schlesische Provinzialblätter*, 1833, i. 119.

¹³ *Epistolare*, ii. ii. 307: "Die Wiedertaufer 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 he 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 in 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 lehrhafte Missiven, 1556 (doctrinal and practical). III. and IV. The second part of the *Episto-*

account of his Eutycheianism. 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,¹⁵ 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 1558.¹⁶ In Silesia and Upper Lusace they continued after his death,¹⁷ which occurred at Ulm, December 10, 1562. But after 1718 persecution drove them from Silesia; most of them fled to the Upper Lusace,¹⁸ and in 1730 the larger part emigrated to Pennsylvania. Frederick the Great at last gave religious freedom to the feeble remnant in Silesia.¹⁹

lare 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, fol., 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 dahin 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 mochten theilhaftig werden; item wie wir unsern alten Adam ausziehen, die eingeschriebene Maledeyung ausloschen, und dagegen einen neuen Menschen in göttlicher Benedeyung, in Heiligkeit, Gerechtigkeit und Wahrheit zum ewigen Leben mochten anziehen, und einmal, wie wir für Gott ein gut, sicher, fröhlich Gewissen erlangen und ins Reich Gottes, in die himmlische Bürgerschaft Jesu Christi immer weiter versetzt würden, dass wir in Friede, Liebe, Einigkeit, so in Christo ist, aufwachsen und in aller Gottesfurcht leben und wandeln möchten."

¹⁶ Schnurrer's Erläuterungen der Württemberg. Kirchen-Reformations- u. Gelehrten-Geschichte (Tübingen, 1798), s. 154, 256. Erbkam, s. 408.

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), Prentzlau, 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.

M. Goebel's *Die Religiöse Eigenthümlichkeit der Lutherischen und der Reform. Kirche*, Bonn, 1837. D. Schenkel's *Das Wesen des Protestantismus aus den Quellen des Reformationszeitalters dargestellt*, 3 Bde., Schafhausen, 1846-51.
[G. J. Planck, *Gesch. der Entstehung, vom Protestant. Lehrbegriff*, 6 Bde., 1791-1800. H. Heppé, *Die Bekenntnisschriften d. altprot. Kirche Deutschlands*, 1855; *Confessionelle Entwicklung*, 1855; *Ursprung u. Gesch. d. Bezeichnungen "Reformirte" und "Lutherische Kirche"*, 1859. W. Gass, *Gesch. d. Protest. Dogmatik*, 2 Bde., Berlin, 1854-57. Alex. Schweizer, *d. Protest. Centraldogmen*, 2 Bde., Zürich, 1854. Eduard Köllner, *Symbolik d. Luth. Kirche (Erster Bd. d. Symbolik)*, 1837. H. E. F. Guericke, *Symbolik*, 2te Aufl., 1846. K. Matther, *comp. Symbolik*, 1854. R. Hofmann, *Symbolik*, 1857. Sartorius, *Soli Deo Gloria*, 1859; *Beiträge*, 1853. M. Schneckenburger, *Vergleichende Darstellung*, 1855.]

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

by faith in these merits without any works.¹ Moral relations man can, indeed, know and judge by reason;² but he can not thus be-

¹ Augsburg. Confess., Part I., Art. 4: "Weiter wird gelehrt, dass wir Vergebung der Sunde und Gerechtigkeit für Gott nit erlangen mugen durch unser Verdienst, Werk und Genugthuhen, sonder dass wir Vergebung der Sunde bekummen und vor Gott gerecht werden aus Gnaden um Christum willen durch den Glauben, so wir glauben, das Christus für uns gelitten hat, und dass uns um seinetwillen die Sunde vergeben, Gerechtigkeit und ewigs Leben geschenkt wird: dann diesen Glauben will Gott für Gerechtigkeit für ihme halten und zurechnen, wie Sant Paul sagt zu Romern am 3 u. 4." Melancthon ad J. Brentium, 1531 (Corp. Ref., ii. 501): *De fide teneo quid te exerceat. Tu adhuc haeres in Augustini imaginatione, qui eo pervenit, 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 imaginaris, fide justificari homines, quia fide accipimus Spiritum sanctum, ut postea justus esse possimus impletione legis, quam efficit Spiritus sanctus. Haec imaginatio collocat justitiam in nostra impletione, in nostra munditie seu perfectione, etsi fidem 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 justus, hoc est acceptus coram Deo sumus et pacem conscientiae inveniamus, et non propter illam renovationem. Nam haec ipsa novitas non sufficit. Ideo sola fide sumus justus, non quia sit radix, ut tu scribis, sed quia apprehendit Christum, propter quem sumus acceptus: qualis sit illa novitas, etsi necessario sequi debet, sed non pacificat conscientiam. Ideo non dilectio, quae est impletio legis, justificat, sed sola fides, non quia est perfectio quaedam in nobis, sed tantum quia apprehendit Christum: justus sumus non propter dilectionem, non propter legis impletionem, non propter novitatem nostram, etsi sint dona Spiritus sancti, sed propter Christum, et hunc tantum fide apprehendimus. Augustinus non satisfacit Pauli sententiae, etsi propius accedit quam Scholastici. Et ego cito Augustinum tanquam prorsus ἀνόμημον propter publicam de eo persuasionem, cum tamen non satis explicet fidei justitiam. Crede mihi, mi Brenti, magna et obscura controversia est de justitia fidei, quam tamen ita recte intelliges, si in totum removeris oculos a lege et imaginatione Augustini de impletione legis, et defixeris animum prorsus in gratuita promissione, ut sentias, quod propter promissionem et propter Christum justus h. e. acceptus sumus, et pacem inveniamus. Haec sententia est vera, et illustrat gratiam Christi, et mirifice erigit conscientias.—Quando habet conscientia pacem et certam spem, si deberet sentire, quod tunc demum justus reputetur, cum illa novitas in nobis perfecta esset? Quid hoc est aliud quam ex lege, non ex promissione gratuita justificari? Luther subjoined: Et ego soleo, mi Brenti, ut hanc rem melius capiam, sic imaginari, quasi nulla sit in corde meo qualitas, quae fides vel caritas vocetur, sed in loco ipsorum pono ipsum Christum et dico: haec est justitia mea; ipse est qualitas et formalis, ut vocant, justitia mea, ut sic me liberem ab intuitu legis et operum; imo et ab intuitu objectivi istius Christi, qui vel doctor vel donator intelligitur; 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*, ii. 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, 1525 (Walch, xx. 280): "Aber wenn man also mit unserm Glauben will umgehen, dass wir unsern Dünkel zuvor in die Schrift tragen, und darnach dieselbige nach unserm Sinn lenken, 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 gestellt in der Schrift." S. 309: "Hinfürder lehret er (Carlstadt) uns, was Frau Hulda, die natürliche Vernunft zu diesen Sachen sagt: gerade als wüssten wir nicht, dass

come righteous;³ 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.⁴ The Augustinian doctrine of predestination, too,

die Vernunft des Teufels Hure ist, und nichts kann denn lästern und schanden alles was Gott redt und thut."

³ In the Smalcald Articles, 1537, Th. 3, Art. 1, are rejected as heathenish the doctrines that man's natural powers are uninjured by the fall, and that he has natural power to obey all of God's commands: "Dass nach dem Erbfal Adä des Menschen natürliche Kräfte sind ganz und unverlerbt blieben. Und der Mensch habe von Natur eine rechte Vernunft und guten Willen, wie die Philosophi solches lehren. Item, dass der Mensch habe einen freien Willen guts zu thun und böses zu lassen, und wiederum guts zu lassen und böses zu thun. Item, dass der Mensch müge aus natürlichen Kräften alle Gebot Gottes thun und halten. Item, er müge aus natürlichen Kräften Gott lieben über alles, und seinen Nächsten als sich selbst. Item, wenn ein Mensch thut, so viel an ihm ist, so giebt ihm Gott gewisslich seine Gnade."

⁴ Luther ad Spalatinum, 1516 (de Wette, i. 40): Non enim, ut Aristoteles putat, justa agendo justii efficiuntur, nisi simulatorie; sed justii (ut sic dixerim) fiendo et essendo operantur justa: prius necesse est personam esse mutatam, deinde opera: prior placet Abel, quam munera ejus. More fully in his Sermon v. d. Freiheit eines Christenmenschen, 1520 (Walch, xix. 1225). Luth. Comm. in Epist. ad Gal., 1535, ad Gal., 2, 16 (Opp. Jen., T. iv., f. 43 verso): Fides christiana non est otiosa qualitas vel vacua siliqua in corde, quae possit existere in peccato mortali, donec caritas accedat et eam vivificet; sed si est vera fides, est quaedam certa fiducia cordis et firmus assensus, quo Christus apprehenditur. Ita ut Christus sit objectum fidei, imo non objectum, sed, ut sic dicam, in ipsa fide Christus adest. Fides ergo est cognitio quaedam vel tenebra, quae nihil videt, et tamen in istis tenebris Christus fide apprehensus sedet, sicut Deus in Sinai et in templo sedebat in medio tenebrarum.—Justificat ergo fides, quia apprehendit et possidet istum thesaurum, scilicet Christum, praesentem. *Fol. 44 verso*: Fides apprehendit Christum, et habet eum praesentem, inclusumque tenet, ut annulus gemmam. Et qui fuerit inventus hac fiducia apprehensi Christi in corde, illum reputat Deus justum. Haec ratio est et meritum, quo pervenimus ad remissionem peccatorum et justitiam. Qui credit, inquit Deus, in me, et fides tua apprehendit Christum, quem tibi donavi, ut esset mediator et pontifex tuus, ideo sis justus. Itaque Deus acceptat seu reputat nos justos solum propter fidem in Christum. Et valde necessaria est acceptatio seu reputatio: primum, quia nondum sumus perfecte justii, sed in hac vita haeret adhuc peccatum in carne: hoc reliquum in carne peccatum purgat in nobis Deus: deinde relinquimur etiam quandoque a Spiritu sancto, et labimur in peccata, ut Petrus, David et alii Sancti. Habemus tamen semper regressum ad istum articulum, quod peccata nostra tecta sint, quodque Deus ea non velit nobis imputare, Psalm. xxxii. et Rom. iv.—Postquam fidem in Christum sic docuimus, docemus etiam de bonis operibus. Quia apprehendisti fide Christum, per quem justus es, incipe nunc bene operari, dilige Deum et proximum, invoca, gratias age, praedica, lauda, confitere Deum, benefac et servi proximo, fac officium tuum. Haec vere sunt bona opera, quae fluunt ex ista fide et hilaritate cordis concepta, quod gratis habemus remissionem peccatorum per Christum. *Ad r. 20, fol. 55 verso*: Quare fides pure est docenda, quod scilicet per eam sic conglutineris Christo, ut ex te et ipso fiat quasi una persona, quae non possit segregari, sed perpetuo adhaerescat ei, ut eum fiducia dicere possis: ego sum Christus h. e. Christi justitia, victoria, vita, etc., est mea; et vicissim Christus dicat: ego sum ille peccator, h. e. ejus peccata, mors, etc., sunt mea. *Fol. 56, verso*: Ex his intelligi potest, unde veniat illa aliena et spiritualis vita, quam animalis homo non percipit.—Quia illa vita est in corde per fidem, ubi extincta carne regnat Christus cum suo Spiritu sancto, qui jam videt, audit, loquitur, operatur, patitur et simpliciter omnia agit in ipso, etiamsi caro reluctetur. Breviter, ista

did not suffice for Luther, when he tried to shape a speculative statement of it corresponding to his humble sense of an unconditional dependence upon God.⁵ But as he was in general disin-

vita non est carnis, licet sit in carne, sed Christi filii Dei, quem fide possidet Christianus. Augsb. Conf., Part I., Art. 20: "Der Glaub ergreift allzeit allein Gnad u. Verggebung der Sunde, u. dieweil durch den Glauben der heilig Geist geben wird, so wird auch das Herz geschickt gute Werk zu thun. Dann zuvorn dieweil es ohn den heil. Geist ist, so ist es zu schwach, darzu ist es ins Teufels Gewalt.—Derhalb ist die Lehre vom Glauben nicht zu schelten, dass sie gute Werk verbiete, sonder viel meher zu ruhmen, dass sie lehre gute Werk zu thun, u. Hülff anbiete, wie man zu guten Werken kommen muge. Dann ausser dem Glauben u. ausserhalb Christo ist menschliche Natur u. Vermugen viel zu schwach, gute Werk zu thun, Gott anzurufen, Geduld zu haben im Leiden, den Nächsten lieben, befohlne Aemter fleissig auszurichten, gehorsam zu seyn, böse Lust zu meiden: solche hohe u. rechte Werk mügen nit geschehen ohn die Hülff Christi, wie er selbs spricht Johann. xv.: Ohn mich kunnt ihr nichts thun." *Interpretation of First Epistle of Peter*, 1523, on i. 17 (Walch, ix. 672): "Dass nun hier der Apostel saget, dass Gott nach den Werken richtet, ist auch wahr: aber dafür soll mans gewisslich halten, wo der Glaube nicht ist, dass da auch kein gut Werk könne seyn; und wiederum dass da kein Glaube sey, wo nicht gute Werke sind. Darum schleusst er den Glauben u. gute Werke zusammen, dass also in den beyden die Summa des ganzen christlichen Lebens stehe. Wie du nun lebest, so wird es dir gehen, darnach wird dich Gott richten. Darum, ob uns Gott wol nach den Werken richtet, so bleibet dennoch das wahr, dass die Werke allein Früchte sind des Baums, bei welchen man siehet, wo Glaube oder unglaube ist: darum wird dich Gott aus den Werken urtheilen und überzeugen, dass du gegläubet oder nicht gegläubet hast." Comp. Joh. Briefman's Unterricht u. Ermahnung an die christl. Gemein zu Cottbus, 1523, communicated by Dr. Lommatzsch, in *Niedner's Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol.*, iii. 507. How earnestly Luther insisted on a moral renewal of the inner man may be seen in *Disp. III. contra Antinomus*, 1528, T. i., Jen. fol. 519: 1. Poenitentia Papistarum, Turcarum, Judaeorum et omnium infidelium et hypocritarum est per omnia similis. 2. Ea est de aliquo vel aliquibus peccatis actualibus dolere et satisfacere, postea esse securum de aliis peccatis seu originali peccato. 3. Haec autem poenitentia eorum est particularis et temporalis, tantum de aliquibus peccatis, et in aliqua parte vitae. 4. Coguntur ita sentire, qui peccatum originale prorsus non intelligunt corruptionem et perditionem esse totius naturae. 5. Poenitentia fidelium in Christo est ultra peccata actualia, perpetua, et usque ad mortem per totam vitam. 6. Quia ipsorum est, morbum seu peccatum naturae detestari et odisse usque ad finem. 7. Recte enim Christus dicit omnibus suis: *poenitentiam agite*, totam scilicet vitam suorum volens esse poenitentiam. 9. Quare omnia opera post justificationem sunt aliud nihil quam poenitentia seu bonum propositum contra peccatum. 10. Nihil aliud enim agitur, quam ut peccatum per legem ostensum et in Christo remissum expurgetur.

⁵ Comp. particularly L. De servo Arbitrio ad D. Erasmum, Roterod. 1525 (comp. Div. I., § 3, Note 15); e. g. T., Jen. iii. f. 165: Est itaque et hoc inprimis necessarium et salutare Christiano nosse, quod Deus nihil praescit contingenter, sed quod omnia incommutabili et aeterna infallibilique voluntate et praevidet, et proponit, et facit. Hoc fulmine sternitur et conteritur penitus liberum arbitrium.—Ex quo sequitur irrefragabiliter: omnia quae facimus, etsi nobis videntur mutabiliter et contingenter fieri et fiant,—vera tamen sunt necessario et immutabiliter, si Dei voluntatem spectes.—Optarim sane aliud melius vocabulum dari in hac disputatione, quam hoc usitatum *necessitas*, quod non recte dicitur, neque de divina neque humana voluntate.—Voluntas enim sive divina sive humana nulla coactione, sed mere lubentia vel cupiditate quasi vere libera facit quod facit, sive bonum sive malum. Sed tamen immutabilis et infallibilis est voluntas Dei, quae nostram voluntatem mutabilem gubernat. Fol. 198 verso: Primum, etiam ratio et diatribe concedit, Deum omnia in omnibus operari, ac sine ipso nihil fieri

clined to speculate upon religious things,⁶ so, too, he was unwilling to enter into subtle distinctions about these depths of the God-head.⁷ On the other hand, he made the doctrine of justification

nec efficax esse.—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, h. e. cum illi sint aversi et mali, et rapiantur motu illo divinae omnipotentiae, non nisi aversa et mala faciunt.—Ille vides, Deus cum in malis et per malos operatur, mala quidem fieri; Deum tamen non posse male facere, licet mala per malos faciat, quia ipse bonus male facere non potest, malis tamen instrumentis utitur, quae raptum et motum potentiae suae non possunt evadere. Cf. Jul. Müller, Lutheri De Praedestinatione et Libero Arbitrio Doctrina. Göttingae, 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 Chytraeus (see *infra*, § 42, Note 4), and Calixt: the strictest orthodox Lutherans, e. g., Calov and Löscher, 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, Rudelbach's Reformation, s. 279.

⁶ Kirehenpostille for the Sunday of Holy Trinity (Walch, xi. 1548): "Man begehret heute das Fest der heil. Dreifaltigkeit, welches wir auch ein wenig müssen rühren, dass wirs nicht umsonst feiern: wiewol man diesen Namen Dreifaltigkeit nirgend findet in der Schrift, sondern die Menschen haben ihn erdacht und erfunden. Darum lautet es zumal kalt, und viel besser sprache man Gott, denn die Dreifaltigkeit.—Die hohen Schulen haben mancherlei Distinctiones, Träume und Erdichtung erfunden, damit sie haben wollen anzeigen die heil. Dreifaltigkeit, und sind darüber zu Narren worden. Darum wollen wir aus der Schrift eitel Sprüche nehmen, damit wir fassen und beschliessen wollen die Gottheit Christi." Rationis Latomianae Lutherana Confutatio, 1521 (Tom. Jen., ii. fol. 407): Nec est quod mihi hominon illud objectes adversus Arianos receptum. Non fuit receptum a multis, iisque praeclarissimis, quod et Hieronymus optavit aboleri.—Quod si odit anima mea vocem hominon, et nolim ea uti, non ero haereticus. Quis enim me coget uti, modo rem teneam, quae in concilio per Scripturas definita est? Melanchthonis Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum, ed. 1521. A. iv.: In his (locis) ut quidam prorsus incomprehensibiles sunt, ita rursus sunt quidam, quos universo vulgo Christianorum compertissimos esse Christus voluit. Mystera divinitatis rectius adoraverimus, quam vestigaverimus. Immo sine magno periculo tentari non possunt, id quod non raro sancti viri etiam sunt experti.—Proinde non est cur multum operae ponamus in locis illis supremis, de Deo, de unitate, de trinitate Dei, de mysterio creationis, de modo incarnationis. Quaeso te, quid adsecuti sunt jam tot saeculis scholastici theologastae cum in his locis solis versarentur? Nonne in disceptationibus suis, ut ille ait, vani facti sunt, dum tota vita nugantur de universalibus, formalitatibus, connotatis, et nescio quibus aliis inanibus vocabulis? Et dissimulari eorum stultitia posset, nisi Evangelium interim et beneficia Christi obscurassent nobis illae stultae disputationes.—Reliquos vero locos, peccati vim, legem, gratiam qui ignoravit, non video quomodo Christianum vocem: nam ex his proprie Christus cognoscitur, siquidem hoc est Christum cognoscere, beneficia ejus cognoscere, non, quod isti docent, ejus naturas, modos incarnationis contueri.—Haec demum christiana cognitio est, scire quod lex poseat, unde faciendae legis vim, unde peccati gratiam petas, quomodo labascentem animum adversus daemonem, carnem et mundum erigas, quomodo adflictam conscientiam consoleris. Scilicet ista docent scholastici? Baur's christl. Lehre v. d. Dreieinigk. u. Menschwerdung Gottes in ihrer geschichtl. Entwicklung, iii. 19.

⁷ Luther's Enarratio in Genesin (written 1536-1545) ad Gen. vi. 5. (T. vi., Viteberg, 1561, fol. 97 verso): Sequor autem ego hanc perpetuam regulam, ut quantum potest, tales quaestiones vitem, quae nos protrahunt ad solium summae majestatis. Melius autem et tutius est consistere ad praesepe Christi hominis. Plurimum enim periculi in eo

by faith alone the centre of his whole religious life,⁸ and the touch-

est, si in illos labyrinthos divinitatis te involvas. Fol. 98: De hac voluntate substanti-
ali et divina nihil scrutandum, sed simpliciter abstinendum est, sicut a majestate di-
vina: est enim inscrutabilis, nec voluit eam Deus proponere in hac vita. Quibusdam
involveris voluit eam ostendere, baptismo, verbo, sacramento coenae. Haec sunt divina
simulacra et voluntas signi, per quae pro nostro captu nobiscum agit. Igitur in haec
tantum intuentum est. Voluntas beneplaciti simpliciter dimitienda est, nisi sis vel Mo-
ses, vel David, vel aliquis similis perfectus vir, quanquam hi quoque in voluntatem be-
neplaciti sic intuiti sunt, ut a voluntate signi nusquam averterent oculos. Fol. xxvii.,
9, fol. 385: Audio spargi passim sceleratas voces inter nobiles et magnates de praedes-
tinatione sive praescientia divina. Sic enim loquuntur: si sum praedestinatus, sive
bene, sive male egero, salvabor: si non sum praedestinatus, damnabor nulla ratione
habita operum.—Sunt haec diabolica et venenata tela, et ipsum peccatum originale, quo
seduxit diabolus primos parentes, cum diceret: eritis sicut dii. Non enim erant con-
tenti revelata divinitate, qua cognita beati erant, sed volebant penetrare profunditatem
divinitatis.—Sic igitur in libello de servo arbitrio et alibi docui, esse distinguendum,
quando agitur de notitia vel potius de subjecto divinitatis. Aut enim disputandum est
de Deo abscondito aut de Deo revelato. De Deo, quatenus non est revelatus, nulla est
fides, nulla scientia et cognitio nulla. Atque ibi tenendum est quod dicitur: quae supra
nos. Ejusmodi enim cogitationes, quae supra aut extra revelationem Dei, sublimius ali-
quid rimantur, prorsus diabolicae sunt, quibus nihil amplius proficitur, quam ut nos ip-
sos in exitium praecipitemus, quia obijciunt objectum impervestigabile, videlicet Deum
non revelatum. Hauspustille, Septuagesima Sunday, in Walch, xiii. 473. Interpretation
of the 2d Epist., 1524, on 2 Petr., i. 10, in Walch, ix. 846. Interpretation of the
17th chap. John, 1530, on verse 6, in Walch, viii. 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 Allmächtige, im Fall dass er alle Ding weiss, und müssen alle Werk und Ge-
danken in allen Creaturen nach seinem Willen geschehen, juxta decretum voluntatis
suae, so ist doch sein ernstlicher Will und Meinung, auch Befehl, von Ewigkeit beschlos-
sen, alle Menschen selig und der ewigen Freuden theilhaftig zu machen, wie Ezech.
am 18. cap. (v. 23) klärlich gemeldt wird, da er saget: "Gott will nicht den Tod des
Sünders, sondern dass er sich bekehre und lebe." Will er nu die Sünder, die unter dem
weiden, hohen Himmel allenthalben leben und schweben, selig machen und haben: so
wöllet ihr euch durch euer nährische Gedanken, vom Teufel eingegeben, nicht abson-
dern, und von der Gnade Gottes scheiden.—Dazu gehört ein rechter wahrer Glaube, der
solch Zagen und Verzweifeln austreibt, welches ist unser Gerechtigkeit, wie zum Röm.
am iii. (v. 22) stehet: "die Gerechtigkeit Gottes durch den Glauben an J. Chr., welcher
ist in allen und über alle Menschen."

⁸ Luther Comm. major in Epist. ad Galatas, 1535, Praef. brevis (Jen. T. iv. fol. 3 verso): Periculum hoc maximum et proximum est, ut diabolus ablata pura fidei doctrina
rursus invehat doctrinas operum ac traditionum humanarum.—Quare haec doctrina
nunquam satis tractari et inculcari potest. Ea jacente et pereunte jaecet et perit simul
tota cognitio veritatis, ea vero florente florent omnia bona, religio, verus cultus, gloria
Dei, certa cognitio omnium statuum et rerum. Ad Gal. iii. 13, fol. 90 verso: Ita oportet nos magnificare articulum justitiae christianae contra justitiam legis et operum,
quanquam nulla vox aut eloquentia sit, quae digne possit concipere, multo minus elo-
qui ejus magnitudinem. Fol. 91 verso: Locus igitur justificationis, ut saepe moneo, dili-
genter descendus est. In eo enim comprehenduntur omnes alii fidei nostrae articuli, eo-
que salvo salvi sunt et reliqui. Smalcald Articles, Part II., Art. 1: "Von diesem Arti-
kel kann man nichts weichen oder nachgeben, es falle Himmel und Erden, oder was
nicht bleiben will, denn es ist kein ander Name den Menschen gegeben, dadurch wir
können selig werden, spricht S. Petrus Act. iv. Und durch seine Wunden sind wir ge-
heilet, Jes. liiii. Und auf diesem Artikel steht alles, das wir wider den Papst, Teufel
und Welt lehren und leben. Darum müssen wir des gar gewiss seyn und nicht zweifeln.
Sonst ist alles verloren, und behalt Papst und Teufel und alles wider uns

stone by which he tried not only all other doctrines and ecclesiastical usages, but also the worth of the different biblical writings.⁹ 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.¹⁰ When this truth is proclaimed out of the pure source of revelation¹¹—the Holy Scrip-

den Sieg und Recht." To the Church at Eslingen, October 11, 1523, in de Wette, ii. 417.

⁹ Preface to New Testament, 1524, in Walch, xiv. 105: "Weil nun Johannes gar wenig Werke von Christo, aber gar viel seiner Predigten schreibt; wiederum die andern drei Evangelisten viel seiner Werke, wenig seiner Worte beschrieben: ist Johannis Evangelium das einige zarte, rechte Haupteuangelium, und denen andern dreien weit vorzuziehen und höher zu heben. Also auch St. Pauli und Peter's Episteln weit über die drei Evangelia Matthai, Marci, und Lucä vorgehen. Summa, St. Johannis Evangelium und seine erste Epistel, St. Pauli Episteln, sonderlich die zu den Romern, Galatern, Ephesern, und St. Peter's erste Epistel, das sind die Bücher, die dir Christum zeigen, und alles lehren, das dir zu wissen noth und selig ist, ob du schon kein ander Buch noch Lehre nimmermehr sehest noch hörest. Darum ist St. Jacob's Epistel eine rechte ströherne Epistel gegen sie, denn sie doch keine evangelische Art an ihr hat." With this are connected Luther's free views upon inspiration; compare his preface upon Dr. Wenc. Linken's Annotationes über die 5 B. Mosis, 1543, in Walch, xiv. 172: "Und haben ohne Zweifel auf diese Weise die Propheten im Mose, und die letzten Propheten in den ersten studiret, und ihre guten Gedanken, vom heil. Geist eingegeben, in ein Buch aufgeschrieben.—Ob aber denselben guten treuen Lehrern und Forschern der Schrift zuweilen auch mit unterfiel Heu, Stroh, Holz, und nicht citel Silber, Gold, und Edelgestein bauten; so bleibet doch der Grund da: das andere verzehret das Feuer des Tages." Schenkel, i. 53, 168.

¹⁰ See Div. I., § 1, Notes 7, 8, 54. Luther, De abroganda Missa privata. Praef. ad fratres suos Augustinenses, dd. 1. Nov., 1521 (T. Jen. ii. f. 442 verso): Ego quotidie in meipso experior, quam difficile sit conscientiam longo impietatis usu vexatam ad sanam pietatis scientiam revocare et infirmitatem ejus sanare. Quot, rogo, medicamentis, quam robusta resina Galaad (comp. Jer. viii. 22), quam potentibus et evidentibus scripturis meam ipsius conscientiam vixdum stabilivi, ut auderem unus contradicere Papae, et credere eum esse Antichristum, Episcopus esse ejus Apostolos, Academias esse ejus lupanaria! Quoties mihi palpitavit tremulum cor, et reprehendens objecit eorum fortissimum et unicum argumentum: tu solus sapi? totne errant universi? tanta saecula ignoraverunt? Quid, si tu erres, et tot tecum in errorem trahas damnandos aeternaliter? Et tandem confirmavit me verbis suis certis et fidelibus Christus, ut jam nec tremat nec palpitet, sed insultet cor meum his papisticis argumentis, non aliter atque tutissimum littus minaces et tumidas procellas ridet.

¹¹ Luther, De Servo Arbitrio ad D. Erasmus, 1525 (T. Jen. iii. fol. 162): Quid ais Erasme? Non satis est submisisse sensum Scripturis? etiam Ecclesiae decretis submittis? Quid illa potest decernere non decretum in Scripturis? Deinde ubi manet libertas et potestas judicandi decretores illos, ut Paulus 1 Cor. xiv. docet: *caeteri didicunt?*—Quae ista nova religio et humilitas, ut nobis tuo exemplo potestatem adimas judicandi decreta hominibus, et subjicias sine judicio hominibus? Fol. 162 verso: Sed esse in Scriptura quaedam abstrusa, et non omnia exposita, invulgatum est quidem per impios Sophistas, quorum ore et tu loqueris hic, Erasme, sed nunquam unum articulum produxerunt, nec producere possunt, quo suam hanc insaniam probarent. Talibus autem larvis Satanas absternit a legendis literis sacris, et reddidit Scripturam sacram contemptibilem, ut suas pestes ex philosophia in Ecclesia faceret regnare. Hoc sane fateor, esse multa loca in Scripturis obscura et abstrusa, non ob majestatem rerum, sed ob ignoran-

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.¹² Luther by no means desired to reject all ecclesiastical developments; he, in fact, laid stress upon agreement with the universal Church;¹³ but he would have all the doctrines and usages

tiam vocabulorum et grammaticae, sed quae nihil impediunt scientiam omnium rerum in Scripturis. Quid enim potest in Scripturis augustius latere reliquum, postquam fractis signaculis et voluto ab ostio sepulcri lapide, illud summum mysterium proditum est, *Christum filium Dei factum hominem, esse Deum trinum et unum, Christum pro nobis passum et regnaturum aeternaliter?* Nonne haec etiam in bivii sunt nota et cantata? Tolle Christum e Scripturis, quid amplius in illis invenies? Res igitur in Scripturis contentae omnes sunt proditae, licet quaedam loca adhuc verbis incognitis obscurae sunt. Stultum est vero et impium, scire, res Scripturae esse omnes in luce positae clarissima, et propter pauca verba obscura res obscuras dicere. Si uno loco obscura sunt verba, alio sunt clara. *Fol. 184*: Si scriptura obscura vel ambigua est, quid illam opus fuit nobis divinitus tradi? annon satis sumus obscuro et ambigui, nisi de coelo nobis augeatur obscuritas et ambiguitas et tenebrae?—Debent omnes Christianorum articuli tales esse, ut non modo ipsis certissimi sint, sed etiam adversus alios tam manifestis et claris Scripturis firmati, ut omnibus os obstruant, ne possint quiequam contradicere.

¹² Luther Vom Anbeten des Sacraments an die Böhmen, 1523; see Div. I., § 14, Note 2, at the close.

¹³ Thus he defends infant baptism, Ep. ad Melancth., 13. Jan., 1522 (de Wette, ii. 127): Ego vero video id singulari miraculo Dei factum, ut solus hic articulus de parvulis baptisandis nunquam fuerit negatus ne ab haereticis quidem: adeo nulla est confessio illius in oppositum, sed e contra totius orbis confessio constans et una ad propositum. Hanc autem confessionem negare esse Ecclesiae illius verae et legitima, arbitrator impiissimum esse. Idem enim mihi videtur atque Ecclesiam 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, ungezweifelte Wort Christi gestift und gegründet, und von Anfang der christlichen Kirchen in aller Welt bis auf diese Stund einträchtiglich gegläubet und gehalten:—welchs Zeugniß der ganzen heiligen christlichen Kirchen (wenn wir schon nichts mehr hätten) soll uns allein gnugsam seyn, bei diesem Artikel zu bleiben, und daruber keinen Rottengeist zu hören noch zu leiden. Denn es fahrlich ist und erschrecklich, etwas zu hören oder zu gläuben wider das einträchtig Zeugniß, Glauben und Lehre der ganzen heiligen christlichen Kirchen, so von Anfang her, nu uber funfzehn hundert Jahr in aller Welt einträchtiglich gehalten hat. Wenns ein neu Artikel wäre, und nicht von Anfang der heil. christl. Kirchen, oder wär nicht bei allen Kirchen noch bei der ganzen Christenheit in aller Welt so einträchtiglich gehalten: wäre es nicht so fahrlich 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 nu dran zweifelt, der thut eben so viel, als glaubet er kein christliche Kirche, und verdammt damit nicht allein die ganze heilige christliche Kirche, als eine verdamnte Ketzern, sondern auch Christum selbs mit allen Aposteln und Propheten, die diesen Artikel, da wir sprechen: "Ich gläube eine heilige christliche Kirche" gegründet haben, und gewaltig bezeuget, namlich 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

sion, at the end, it is said that this confession is made, "damit man daraus dester bas zu vernehmen habe, dass bei uns nichts weder mit Lehre noch mit Ceremonien angenommen ist, das entweder der heiligen Schrift oder gemeiner christlichen Kirchen zugelegt wäre." Cf. Melancthon ad Campegius, dd. 6. Jul., 1530, Div. I., § 5, Note 22. Ejusd., Epist. Nuncupatoria ad Frid. Myconium, prefixed to Sentent. Veterum aliquot Scriptorum de Coena Domini, Viteberg, 1530, in Corp. Ref., ii. 29: *Quoniam autem fides non pendeat ab humana auctoritate sed a verbo Dei, tamen cum Scriptura imbecilles a fortioribus confirmari velit, juvat habere Ecclesiae testimonia in omni genere tentationum. Ut enim vivos libenter consulimus, quos judicamus usum aliquem habere spiritualium rerum, ita et veteres, quorum scripta probantur, censeo consulendos esse.*

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 reprehenso a Paulo, c. 1: "Ich gebe allein den heil. Büchern, die da canonici heissen, die Ehre, dass ich gläube, keinen derselben Schreiber geirret haben: die andern alle lese ich also, dass, wie hoch sie scheinen mit Kunst und Heiligkeit, dennoch nicht darum recht achte, dass sie also halten; sonder wo sie mirs mit den Sprüchen 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 über diess Ziel sich nicht gebührt Jemand anzunehmen, er sey wie heilig u. gelehrt er müge. Sölichen Verstand von den Lehrern, so die christl. Kirche angenommen und approbirt hat, achten wir auch in Mandat seyn; wöllen und künften 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. 23): *Valde igitur speciosum et robustum hoc argumentum Pseudoapostolorum fuit, quod et hodie plures commovet, scilicet: "Apostoli, sancti Patres, et eorum successores sic docuerunt, Ecclesia sic sentit et credit: impossibile est autem, quod Christus tot saeculis Ecclesiam suam errare sinat. Tu certe solus non sapis plus, quam tot sancti viri, et tota Ecclesia," etc.—Quando Satan hoc urget, et conspirat cum carne et ratione, perterrefit conscientia et desperat, nisi constanter ad te redeas, et dicas: "Sive S. Cyprianus, Ambrosius, Augustinus, sive S. Petrus, Paulus, Johannes, imo angelus e coelo aliter doceat, tamen hoc certo scio, quod humana non suadeo, sed divina, h. e. quod Deo omnia tribuo, hominibus nihil."—At ais: "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 coelo credendum est, si quid contra verbum Dei docemus: sed verbum Domini stat in aeternum. Alioqui hoc argumentum Pseudoapostolorum maxime valuisset contra Pauli doctrinam, quia profecto magna, magna, inquam, res fuit, opponere totam Ecclesiam cum toto choro Apostolorum Galatis contra Paulum unicum, et eum recentiore, ac minus auctoritatis habentem. Firmissimum ergo hoc argumentum fuit, et potenter conclusit: nemo enim libenter dicit Ecclesiam errare, et tamen necesse est dicere, eam 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 doceant purum Dei verbum, cui tum credendum est? Quis interim certas faciat conscientias, utri purum Dei verbum doceant, nos an adversarii nostri? Nam et ipsi jaectant se purum Dei verbum habere et docere. Nos Papistis non credimus, quia verbum Dei non docent, neque possunt docere. E contra ipsi acerrime nos oderunt et insectantur, ut pestilentissimos haereticos ac seductores.—Quisque igitur videat, ut certissimus sit de sua vocatione et doctrina, ut cum Paulo certissime ac securissime ausit dicere: "Etiamsi nos aut angelus e 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, Instructions to all who come to Confession, 1521, in *Walch*, xix. 1009: "Niemand soll zum Glauben gezwungen, sondern nur berufen werden. Soll jemand kommen, Gott wird ihn durch ein Rufen wohl bewegen; bewegt er ihn nicht, was machst du mit deinem Treiben?" S. 1012: "Zum eilften. Darum hüte dich, und lass ja kein Ding so gross seyn auf Erden, ob es auch Engel vom Himmel wären, dass dich wider dein Gewissen treibe von der Lehre, die du göttlich erkennest und achtest." Luther, On Confession, to F. v. Sickingen, 1521, in *Walch*, xix. 1036: "Aber der Papst und geistliche Setzer, die fahren mit Lucifer über den Himmel, geben vor, ihr Ding sey göttlich, und mache vor Gott fromm, regiere und führe die Gewissen zu recht. Das kann Gott nicht leiden, da ist er ein Eiferer. Denn in den Gewissen will er allein seyn, und sein Wort allein regieren lassen, da soll Freiheit seyn von allen Menschenatzungen." Luther's Answer to the Book of King Henry VIII. of England, 1522, in *Walch*, xix. 333. "Frei, frei, frei wollen und sollen wir seyn in allem, das ausser der Schrift ist: trotz der es uns wehre." Luther, To the Church at Eslingen, 21. October, 1523, in *de Wette*, ii. 419: "Wahr ist, dass ich gesagt habe, es sey gut Ding um Beichten. Item ich wehre und verbeut nit fasten, wallen, Fisch essen, feiren, etc., aber doch also, dass solchs frei geschehe.—Das Gewissen wöllen und sollen wir frei haben in allen Werken, die nit zum Glauben oder der Liebe des Nächsten dienen." Luther's Short Confession about the Holy Sacrament, 1544 (*Walch*, xx. 2225): "Was frey ist, nemlich weder geboten noch verboten, darin man weder sündigen, noch verdienen kann, das soll in unser Macht stehen, als unser Vernunft unterworfen, dass wirs mögen, ohn alle Sünde und Fahr des Gewissens, brauchen oder nicht brauchen, halten und fahren lassen, nach unserm Gefallen oder Nothdurft; und wollen kurzum hierin freye Herren, und nicht Knechte seyn."

¹⁶ Luther to Spalatin, 7. March, 1522, in *de Wette*, ii. 145: "Ich verdamme als ein Greuel der Papisten Messe, daraus sie ein Opfer und gut Werk machen, dadurch der Mensch Gott versühnet 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 solchen Missbrauch der Messen durchs Wort. Wers gläubt, der gläube es, und folge ungenöthiget; wers aber nicht gläuben will, der lasse und fahre immer hin: denn niemand soll zum Glauben, und was den Glauben belanget, gezwungen, sondern durchs Wort gezogen und gewonnen werden.—Ich verwerfe auch die Bilde, die man ehret, aber durchs Wort; treibe die Leute 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 Papsts 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 hängen 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 Eslingen, 21. October, 1523, in *de Wette*, ii. 419: "Weil nun viel schwacher Gewissen seind, die in Papsts 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 dienst, 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.¹⁷ Externally he would have diverging doctrines repressed by the civil authorities only so far that they should not disturb the public order.¹⁸

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 ausserlich, 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 aeusserliche 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 ausgeusst, *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 Ketzler aufrührerisch, die öffentlich lehren, dass man keine Obrigkeit leiden soll. Item dass kein Christ möge im Stande der Obrigkeit sitzen. Item dass man soll nichts Eigenes haben, sondern von Weib und Kind laufen, Hias und Hof lassen, oder alle Dinge gemein halten und haben. Diese sind stracks und ohne allen Zweifel zu strafen von der Obrigkeit, als die da öffentlich wider die weltlichen Rechte und Obrigkeit streben, *Röm. xiii. 2*. Denn sie sind nicht schlecht allein Ketzler, sondern als die Aufrührer greifen sie die Obrigkeit und ihr Regiment und Ordnung an, gleichwie ein Dieb fremdes Gut, ein Morder fremden Leib, und ein Ehebrecher fremdes Gemahl antastet, welches alles nicht zu leiden ist. Zum Andern, wo etliche wollten lehren wider einen öffentlichen Artikel des Glaubens, der klärlieh in der Schrift gegründet, und in aller Welt gegläubet ist von der ganzen Christenheit, gleichwie die, so man die Kinder lehret im Credo: als wo jemand lehren wollte, dass Christus nicht Gott sey, sondern ein schlechter Mensch, und gleich wie ein anderer Prophet, wie die Türken und die Wiedertäufer halten; die soll man auch nicht leiden, sondern als die öffentlichen Lasterer strafen: denn sie seind auch nicht schlecht allein Ketzler, sondern öffentliche Lästerer. Nun ist ja die Obrigkeit schuldig, die öffentlichen Lästerer zu strafen, als man die strafet, so sonst fluchen, schwören, schmähen, lästern, schänden, verleumden.—Denn hiermit wird niemand zum Glauben gedrunge, denn er kann dennoch wol gläuben, was er will. Allein das Lehren und Lästern wird ihm verboten, damit er will Gott und den Christen ihre Lehre und Wort nehmen, und will solches dennoch unter derselbigen eigenen Schutz und Gemeinschaft aller weltlichen Nutzung zu ihrem Schaden thun. Er gehe dahin, da nicht Christen sind, und thue es daselbst. Denn, wie ich mehr gesagt, wer bei Bürgern sich nähren will, der soll das Stadtrecht halten, und dasselbige nicht schänden und schmähen, oder soll sich trollen.—Zum Dritten, wo sichs begibt, dass in einer Pfarre, Stadt oder Herrschaft die Papisten und Lutherischen (wie man sie nennet) gegen einander schreiben und wider einander predigen über etlichen Artikeln, da beides Theils die Schrift vor sich haben will, wollte ich dennoch solche Zwiespalt nicht gerne leiden, und meine Lutherischen sollten auch selbst gerne abtreten und schweigen, wo sie merken, dass man sie nicht gerne höret, wie Christus lehret, *Matth. am 10. v. 14*, und sich lassen zu predigen zwingen, wie ich thue.—Will aber ja hier kein Theil, oder kann vielleicht Amts halben nicht weichen noch schweigen, so thue die Obrigkeit dazu, und verhöre die Sache, und welches Theil nicht bestehet mit der Schrift, dem gebiete man das Stilleschweigen.—Denn es ist nicht gut, dass man in einer Pfarre oder Kirchspiel widerwärtige Predigt in das Volk lässt gehen:

Yet he rejected all punishment of heretics as such, and all use of force in their conversion.¹⁹

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.²⁰ Accordingly, Melancthon, in his *Articulis, de quibus egerunt Visitatores in regione Saxoniae, 1527*,²¹ insisted with emphasis that the preachers should also

denn es entspringen daraus Rotten, Unfriede, Hass und Neid, auch in andern weltlichen Sachen. Zum Vierten, wo aber etliche gegen einander schreien über 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, Würzweihe, und dergleichen unnöthige Stücke mehr, die weder mit Wunderzeichen noch Märtyrerblut bestätigt sind, da soll man keinesweges solch Gezanke auf der Canzel leiden, sondern beiden Theilen 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 gehet weit über alle Ceremonien, wie St. Paulus auch sagt, dass der Friede solle über alles den Vorgang haben, und ist unchristlich, dass Friede und Einigkeit solle denen Ceremonien weichen.—Was ich aber sage von öffentlichen Predigten, das sage ich vielmehr von Winkelpredigten und heimlichen Ceremonien: denn dieselbigen sind aller Dinge nicht zu leiden: sonst mag einer bei sich selbst lesen und gläuben, was er will. Will er nicht Gott hören, so hore er den Teufel."

¹⁹ 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 (Waleh, xi. 693): "Aufs andere (lehrt uns diess Evangelium), wie wir uns halten sollen gegen dieselbigen Ketzler und falsche Lehrer. Nicht sollen wir sie ausrotten, noch vertilgen. Er spricht öffentlich allhier, man sollte 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 erwürget wird, so wird damit gewehret, dass er nicht kann zurecht kommen, und wird er also dem Worte Gottes entrücket, dass er muss verloren seyn, der sonst hätte mogen selig werden. Da geschieht denn, was hier der Herr sagt, dass der Waizen wird auch mit ausgerauft, wenn man das Unkraut ausgäet. Das ist denn gar graulich Ding vor Gott, und nimmermehr zu verantworten. Daraus merke, welche rasende Leute wir sind so lange Zeit gewesen, die wir die Türken mit dem Schwerte, die Ketzler mit dem Feuer, die Juden mit Töden 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 comburi est contra voluntatem Spiritus, is rejected in the terms—haec propositio est falsa, contra voluntatem Spiritus divini asserta et errori Catharorum et Waldensium consona; d'Argentré Collectio Judiciorum de novis Erroribus, i. ii. 367.

²⁰ See above, § 30, Note 3. Georgii Wicellii Assertio honorum Operum, p. 71, at the end of his Confutatio Calumniosissimae Responsionis Justi Jonae, Colon., 1549: Concionatores secuti magistros suos mirum in modum ubique et semper supplerunt bona opera, adeo ut nulla ab illis sit audita conecio, in qua misera opera non crucifixerint. Neque enim judicaverunt se εὐαγγελίζεω, nisi quam insanissime bona opera conspue- rent. Atque adeo ipsa populi evangelicæ religio et conversatio plus satis declarant, doctæ sint opera in suis ecclesiis an deducta, etc.

²¹ 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 Melancthon, in Torgau,²⁵ December, 1527; but he renewed his assertions in some arrogant theses, 1537.²⁶ The truth that seemed to be

²² Chursächsische Visitations-Artikel, 1527 and 1528, Latin and German; edited by G. Th. Strobel, Altdorf, 1777. It begins: Pastores debent exemplum Christi sequi, quoniam poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum docuit, debent et ista pastores tradere Ecclesiis. Nunc vulgare est vociferare de fide, et tamen intelligi quid sit fides non potest, nisi praedicata poenitentia. Plane vinum novum in utres veteres infundunt, qui fidem sine poenitentia, sine doctrina timoris dei, sine doctrina legis praedicant, et ad carnalem quandam securitatem adsuefaciunt vulgus. Ea securitas est deterior, quam omnes errores, qui antea sub Papa fuerunt, hoc genus concionatorum describit Hieronymus et vituperat eos, qui dicant, pax pax, et non est pax.—Aliquando totum decalogum enarrant ordine, quia praedicatio legis ad poenitentiam provocat, aliquando certum aliquod vitium vituperent, et copiose declarent, quam graviter offendatur Deus, et quas poenas minetur. Non enim satis est praecepta enarrare, sed etiam poenas commemorent, quas Deus minatur peccatoribus. Nec tantum de aeternis poenis, sed etiam de praesentis vitae poenis doceant.

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 de Wette, v. 321: Non est Meister Grickel is vir, qualis cupit videri, aut qualem credit esse Marchio, neque unquam erit. Nam si velis scire, quidnam ipsa vanitas sit, nulla certiore imagine cognosces, quam Islebii. Hoc deprehendes gestu, voce, cachinnis, denique omnibus animi et corporis motibus et moribus, ut scurram possit superare quemvis. Meum consilium fuit, ut a functione verbi in aeternum abstineret, et jocularem aliquam professionem susciperet: ad docendum prorsus non valet. Ac si omnia reliqua essent tolerabilia, tamen gloriae furor tantus est in eo, ut nihil possit Deo in suo opere prodesse, sed plurimum nocere. The attack on Melancthon 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.

²⁴ Documents about its history in C. E. Förstemann's Neues Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Evangel. Kirchenreformation, Bd. 1 (Hamburg, 1842. 4.), s. 291. Comp. Planck's Gesch. der Entstehung unseres Prot. Lehrbegriffs, v. i. 1. C. L. Nitzsch De Antinomismo Jo. Agricolae Comm. II., Viteberg, 1804. 4. (also in his De Discrimine Revelationis Imperatoriae et Didacticae, Viteb., 1830, ii. 1). A. Wewetzer De Antinomismo Jo. Agricolae diss., Stralsund, 1829. 4. K. Matthes Phil. Melancthon (Altenburg, 1841), s. 93.

²⁵ Mel. ad Just. Jonam, dd. 20. Dec., 1527, Corp. Ref., i. 914; cf. Lutherus ad eundem, dd. 10. Dec., 1527, in de Wette, iii. 243.

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, 1537, and then, in 1538, refuted them in five *Disputationes*, to which a sixth was added in 1540 (Opera, Tom. i., Jen. fol. 516. Comp. the relation in Förstemann, i. 313). 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.²⁷ 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.²⁸

non ex decalogo, aut ulla lege Mosi, sed ex violatione Filii per Evangelium. 2. Nam Christus Lucae ultimo ait: "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 ait, Spiritum arguere mundum de peccato, non legem. 4. Idem docet ultima concio Christi: ite, praedicate Evangelium omni creaturae. 5. Paulus cum ad Philippenses ait: "hoc sentite in vobis, quod et in Christo Jesu, ut in timore et tremore salutem vestram operemini," praecclare statuit, docendam esse poenitentiam, quam vocat timorem et tremorem, ex memoria Christi, non ex lege. 6. Ex concionibus Pauli et Barnabae satis manifestum est, non esse opus lege ad ullam partem justificationis. 7. Sine quacunque re datur Spiritus sanctus, et homines justificantur: ea res non est necessaria, ut doceatur, neque pro principio, neque medio, neque fine justificationis. 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 justificationis. 13. Quare pro conservanda puritate doctrinae resistendum est iis, qui docent, Evangelium non praedicandum nisi animis prius quassatis et contritis per legem. 16. Lex tantum arguit peccata, et quidem sine Spiritu sancto, ergo arguit ad damnationem. 17. 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. 18. Nam Evangelium Christi docet iram de caelo et simul justitiam Dei, Rom. i. Est enim praedicatio poenitentiae, conjuncta promissioni, 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 Antinomi," which are probably only oral declarations: 1. Lex non est digna, ut vocetur 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 *Klagschrift*, in Forstemann, i. 317) to be a—purum figmentum et chimaera. Luther appended to the Weimar copy in MS.: istas duas potest negare fortasse, tamen nescio. Nec sunt Islebio imputati, sed aliis ut 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: Certam 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.

²⁷ Comp. Nitzsch Comm. ; see Note 25. Schenkel, i. 178.

²⁸ Disp. i. (T. i., Jen. fol. 517): 1. Poenitentia, omnium testimonio et vero, est dolor de peccato cum adjuncto proposito melioris vitae. 2. Hic dolor proprie aliud nihil est, nec esse potest, quam ipse tactus seu sensus legis in corde seu conscientia. 4. Poeni-

The doctrines held in common by the Lutheran Reformers were set forth in the Catechisms of Luther, 1529;²⁹ in the Augsburg Confession,³⁰ 1530, in opposition to the old church, on the part of the rulers and cities; in the Smalcald Articles,³¹ 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.³²

tentiae prior pars, scil. dolor, est ex lege tantum. Altera pars, scil. propositum bonum, non potest ex lege esse. 5. Non enim potest homo, territus a facie peccati, bonum proponere suis viribus, cum nec quietus et securus id possit. 6. Sed vi peccati confusus et obrutus eadit in desperationem et odium Dei, seu descendit ad inferos, ut Scriptura loquitur. 7. Ideo addenda est legi promissio seu Evangelium, quae conscientiam territam pacet et erigat, ut bonum proponat. Disp. ii. 1: Lex non solum est non necessaria ad justificationem, sed plane inutilis et prorsus impossibilis. 10. Ex his autem non sequitur, legem esse abolendam, et e concionibus Ecclesiae tollendam. 11. Quin eo magis est necesse eam doceri et urgeri, quod necesse non est necessaria, sed impossibilis ad justificationem, 12. ut homo superbus et de viribus suis praesumens erudiat, sese per legem non posse justificari. 37. Sed et hoc falsum est, quod sine Spiritu sancto arguat lex peccatum, cum lex sit scripta digito Dei. Disp. v. 42: Quare lex promiscue docenda est, sicut et Evangelium, tam piis quam impiis. 43. Impiis, ut territi agnoscant suum peccatum, mortem et inevitabilem iram Dei, per quam humilientur. 44. Piis, ut admonentur carnem suam crucifigere cum concupiscentiis et vitiiis, ne securi fiant. Agricola yielded; and, as he had diffused his error especially in Eisleben, Luther addressed a letter (de Wette, v. 147) to the preacher of that place, Casp. Güttel, Jan. 1539, in which he refuted the error and announced Agricola's recantation. Afterward, however, Agricola thought that Luther, in that letter and other writings, had ascribed to him doctrines he had never held, and addressed a formal complaint about the matter to the Elector (March 1, 1540, in Forstemann's Neues Urkundenbuch, i. 317). Luther answered very violently (ibid., s. 321). Without awaiting the investigation Agricola went to Berlin as court preacher, and at length sent thence a recantation, Dec. 6, 1540 (ibid., s. 349).

²⁹ Dr. J. Chr. W. Augusti's Einleitung in die beiden Hauptkatechismen der Evangel. Kirche, Elberfeld, 1824, s. 44. Dr. E. Köllner's Symbolik der Luther. Kirche, Hamburg, 1837, s. 485. Die erste Ausgabe v. Luther's kl. Katechismus in einer niedersächsischen Uebersetzung (1529), mit einer Untersuchung über die Entstehung des kleinen Katechismus, edited by C. Mönckeberg, Hamburg, 1851, 12mo. Dr. G. Mohnike's das sechste Hauptstück im Katechismus nebst einer Gesch. der katechet. Literatur in Pommern, Stralsund, 1830.

³⁰ Div. I., § 5, Notes 4 and 5.

³¹ Div. I., § 7, Notes 18 and 19.

³² In the new statutes of the theological faculty drawn up by Melancthon, 1533, it is declared (Liber Decanorum facultatis theol. Acad. Viteberg, ed. C. E. Forstemann, Lips., 1838, p. 152): 1. Ut in Ecclesiis totius ditionis nostrae—ita in Academia—volumus puram Evangelii doctrinam, consentaneam confessioni, quam Augustae anno 1530, Imp. Carolo exhibuimus,—pie et fideliter proponi, conservari et propagari. And in the oath for the doctorate, appended, p. 158: Ego promitto Deo,—me Deo juvante fideliter servitutum esse Ecclesiae in docendo Evangelio sine ullis corruptelis, et constanter defensorum esse Symbola, Apostolicum, Nicaenum et Athanasianum, et perseveraturum esse in consensu doctrinae comprehensae in confessione Augustana, quae per hanc Ecclesiam exhibita est Imperatori anno 1530. The Hamburg Convention, April 15, 1535, 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.

[Das theologische System Zwingli's, by Dr. E. Zeller, Tübingen, 1853; *ibid.*, Ursprung u. Charakter des Zwingli. Lehrbegriffs, in *Theol. Jahrbücher* (Tübingen), 1855. C. Sigwart, Zwingli, mit Rücksicht auf Pius Mirandula, 1855. Kohler, zur Beurtheilung Zwingli, in *Zeitschrift f. d. Luth. Theol.*, 1857. G. W. Roder, d. Schweizer. Reformator, Mag. Huld. Zwingli, St. Gallen, 1855. R. Christoffel, *Leben und Schriften Zwingli's*, 1855 (the *Life* transl. by John Cochrane, Edinb., 1858). F. J. Stahl, *Die Lutherische Kirche und die Union*, Berlin, 1859: reviewed by Stier and Baxmann, in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift*, 1859.]

Zwingle, like Erasmus,¹ 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.² The Holy Scriptures were to him an unconditional authority.³ He would have the highest re-

examined upon it before they were received, and also that they should diligently use the Catechism of Luther; see Schröder's *Evangel. Mecklenburg*, i. 302. The Church Order of Suabian 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. Fürstentag*, Leipzig, 1793, s. 139 ff.), it was more frequently made binding in the regular Church Orders. Comp. J. C. G. Johannsen's *Untersuchung der Rechtmässigkeit der Verpflichtung auf symbolische Bücher*, Altona, 1833, s. 317 ff. The same, *Die Anfänge des Symbolzwanges unter den Deutschen Protestanten*, geschichtlich dargestellt. Leipzig, 1847.

¹ See Div. I., § 2, Notes 9, 12. Melancthon 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 (II. Bullinger's *Reformationsgesch.*, i. 12): "Das wöllt er erklären mit Geschrift, und nit mit Menschen Gutdüngen, alles zu Ehren Gott, sinem einigen Sun unserm Herren Jesu Christo, und zu rechtem 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 uff Gottes Sun, J. Chr., als den einigen Heiland vertrauen lehrt. Heftig hub er an wider den Missglauben, Superstition und Glychssnery reden. Die Buss oder Besserung des Lebens, und christenliche Lieb und Trüw treib er heftig. Die Laster, als der Müssigang, Unmaass in Essen, Trinken, Kleidern, Fressery und Füllery, Undertrucken der Armen, Pensionen und Kriegen straft er ruch, trang ernstlich uff dass ein Oberkeit Gericht und Recht hielten, Wittwen und Waisen schirmten, und dass man die eidgenossische Fryheit sich zu behalten flysse, der Fürsten und Herren buhlen usschlüge."

³ Zwingli's Artikel, 1-16, 1523, Div. I., § 2, Note 65. Explanation of Art. 15 (Zw. Werke, *Schuler u. Schulthess*, i. 209): "Kurz nüt ist war, denn das Gott zeigt; und alles, das nit in dem Wort Gottes sinen Grund hat, wird nit war erfunden: denn der Mensch ist lügenhaftig." Guil. Farel *De l'Autorité de la Parole de Dieu* (*Life of Farel*, by Kirchhofer, Zürich, 1831, ii. 189): Soyons, soyons par l'Évangile serfs de Dieu et de l'Évangile, et affranchis de tout ce que Jesus Christ ne nous a point ordonné, et

erence 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 remould 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.⁴ He blamed Luther for advancing too slowly, and yielding too much to the weak.⁵ Zwingle was also attached to Augustinianism,⁶ and to the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith;⁷ but by faith he understood the total appropriation of sal-

que l'Évangile ne contient point, de sorte que tout cela soit loin de nous, et qu'il n'ait ne lieu ne puissance en nous: mais que J. Chr. seul et son Évangile y regne et y ait lieu.

⁴ Comp. the ordinances, Div. I., § 2, Notes 85, 88, 89, etc. The Bernese *gemein Reformation*, Febr. 7, 1528 (Bullinger's Reformationsgesch., i. 440), begins with the declaration of the mayor and council: "Als dann uns von wegen der Oberkeit gebührt, uch, die unseren, uns von Gott bevolchenen nit allein in weltlichen Sachen zu aller Billikheit zewysen, sondern ouch zu rechtgeschaffnem christenlichem Glauben (als wyt Gott Gnad gibt) Inleitung zegeben, und ein erber Vorbild üch vorzetragen, ist üch ane Zwyfel wol wüssend, wie vil wir uns in sollichem gearbeitet, wie mangerlei Ordnungen und Mandaten wir disshalb, uns und üch zu guter Unterrichtung, angesähen und uffgericht," etc.

⁵ His treatise, *De Vera et 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 adinet, quamvis quod ad fucum nitidissima sint, ut nescias, an satius fuisset stilum nunquam levavisse, quam veritatem adeo inverecundis blanditiis involvisse. Qui tamen usque adeo sibi placent, ut nisi ipsorum vestigiis incedas, ac contra christiani pectoris ingenium sis vel procaciter blandus, vel ambitiose elegans, cum veritatis etiam iactura, a tuis absteineant, ut canis a balneo. Tumultuosa sunt illis, quae vera sunt; morbum enim graviorem esse ajunt, quam qui fortibus remediis possit restitui. Belli homines! an unquam viderunt gravem morbum levibus curari? lenti morbi levibus curantur. Pontificum 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 restituere potest, propinandum est? lenta fortasse lentam redderet mortem, sed nativa vitam ac valetudinem restituent.* 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 nachgibt in etlichen Dingen den Blöden, dass er vil anderst handlen möcht, in dem ich nit seiner Meinung bin; nit dass er ze vil, sunder ze wenig gredt hat; als in dem Büchlin der zehen Ussatzigen (als mir geseit ist, dann ich es nit gelesen hab) lasst er etwas der Bycht nach, dass man sich dem Priester solle erzeigen, welchs doch us 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 bekümmert uns Tütschen, wie die wälschen todten Pfyfer die heiligen Zeichen, die uns Gott gegeben hat, nennind.—Derglychen von Fürbitt der Seligen und andren Dingen, darin er für und für etwas nachgibt, als ich verstand, den Blöden."

⁶ Second explanation of the 20th Article, 1523 (Werke, i. 275). *Elenchus contra Catabaptistas*, 1527 (Opp., iii. 424). *Sermonis de providentia Anamnema*, 1530 (Opp., iv. 111).

⁷ Second explanation of the 15th Article, 1523 (Werke, i. 208), on Mark xvi. 16:

vation in Christ, thus including sanctification.⁸ He handled the Augustinian doctrine of election with great freedom,⁹ 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,¹⁰ denying that original sin is a

“Welcher glouben wirt und getouft, der wirt heil oder selig. Welcher gloubt und sicher vertraut 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 ei tandem est soli qui ipso fident, consequi putant ii, qui Evangelio vel parum fidei habent, vel ipsum impurius hauserunt, ut omnes, qui ipso nitantur, licentia deteriores fiant: fieri enim aliter non posse, quam cum humana mens audiat sic liberaliter omnia condonari per Christum, proclivior, ut est ingenium, ad libidinem redatur.* Thereupon the answer: *Fides christiana res est, quae in animo credentium sentitur, sicut valetudo in corpore. Hanc quisque facile sentit, iniqua sit an aequa. Sic qui Christianus est, sentit, ut mens propter peccatorum onus male habeat; et contra sentit, quam bene habeat, cum remedii in Christo certa est.—Qui crus fregit, et medicum nactus est felicem, qui deluxatum membrum recte restituit, non sic cogitat: “Beatus es quod talem invenisti medicum, crebro crus franges, nam medicus iste omnia potest:” sed per omnem vitam—circumspicit ac cavet ne crus iterum frangat.—Sic qui ad hunc modum exultant, cum Christum audiunt pro omnium commissis solvisse: “Peccabimus, nam gratis omnia condonantur per Christum,” nunquam senserunt peccati dolorem. Nam si sensissent unquam, omni studio caverent, ne qua fieret, ut reciderent.*

⁸ Ebrard's Dogma v. h. Abendmal, ii. 88. Schenkel, ii. 299. Melanethon reports to the Elector John about the Marburg Conference, 1529 (*Corp. Ref.*, i., p. 1099): “Zum Vierten reden sie (Zwingle and his friends) und schreiben unschieklich davon, wie der Mensch vor Gott gerecht geschätzt werde, und treiben die Lehre vom Glauben nicht genugsam, sondern reden also davon, als waren die Werke, so dem Glauben folgen, dieselbige Gerechtigkeit. Auch thun sie bösen Bericht, wie man zum Glauben komme. Nun haben sie Unterrichts in diesem Artikel von uns dazumal, so viel in der Eil geschehen mögen, empfangen. Je mehr sie davon höreten, je bass es ihnen gefiel, und sind in allen diesen Stücken gewichen, wiewohl sie zuvor öffentlich anders geschrieben.” *Id. ad Gorlicium*, 1530 (*Corp. Ref.*, ii. 25): *Nulla est mentio fidei justificantis in omnibus Zwinglianorum libris. Cum nominant fidem, non intelligunt illam, quae credit remissionem peccatorum, quae credit, nos recipi in gratiam, exaudiri et defendi a Deo, sed intelligunt historicam.*

⁹ Dr. A. Hahn on Zwingle's doctrine of providence, of the nature and destination of man, and also of election, in the *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1837, iv. 765. J. J. Herzog, *Remarks on Hahn*, *ibid.*, 1839, iii. 778. Ebrard's Dogma vom h. Abendmal, ii. 80. Schenkel, ii. 390. Calvin's opinion about Zwingle's Sermonis de Providentia Anamnema, in *Epist. ad Bullingerum*, 1552 (ex Ms., in *Henry's Leben Calvin's*, iii. i. 62): *Zwingle's enim libellus, ut familiariter inter nos loquamur, tam duris paradoxis referendus est, ut longissime ab ea quam adhibui moderatione distet.* Zwingle would not have this speculation taught to the weak, *Ep. ad Fridol. Fontejum*, 25. Jan., 1527 (Opp., viii. ii. 21): *Sed heus tu, caste ista ad populum, et rarius etiam: ut enim pauci sunt vere pii, sic pauci ad altitudinem hujus intelligentiae perveniunt.*

¹⁰ *Zw. ad illustr. Cattorum Principem Philippum Sermonis de Providentia Dei Anamnema.*, 1530 (Opp., iii. 79), c. 3, p. 89: *Cum igitur unum ac solum infinitum sit, necesse est praeter hoc nihil esse.—Jam certum est quod quantum ad esse et existere atinet, nihil sit quod non numen sit: id enim est rerum universalium esse. C. 4, p. 99: Quid enim alienius est a mentis et intellectus perspicuitate ac luce quam terrae corporisque stupor et inertia?—Mens veri amans et subinde numinis reverens, e cujus substantia cognitionem trahit, aequitati et innocentiae studet: corpus ad suam originem propen-*

ground of guilt and punishment.¹¹ Nor would he concede that election was conditioned by baptism, and consequently he did not hesitate to reckon even pious heathen among the elect.¹² With

det, ad lutum, ad carnem, atque horum ingenium sequitur. Ita ut si hominem comparare cuiquam velis, nulli rei videatur esse similior quam si luti massam rivulo clarissimo et purissimo imponas. P. 105: 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 carnis tamen improbitatem non operemur. Cum autem utriusque vigor non suus sit sed praesentis Dei, qui omnium esse, existere et virtus est, resultat, ut omnino illius voluntate et conscientia caro spiritui ogganniat, perinde ac spiritus illius dicto audiens esse cupit. C. 6, p. 112: Sed quod Deus operatur per hominem, homini vitio vertitur, non etiam Deo. Hic enim sub lege est, ille liber legis spiritus et mens.—Unum igitur atque idem facinus, puta adulterium aut homicidium, quantum Dei est auctoris, motoris ac impulsoris, opus est, crimen non est; quantum autem hominis est, crimen ac scelus est. Schenkel, ii. 146.

¹¹ Zw. de Peccato Originali Declaratio, ad Urbanum Rhegium, 1526 (Opp., iii. 629): Diximus, originale contagionem *morbum* esse (before: naturalem defectum, germanice, ein natürliches Bresten), non *peccatum*, quod peccatum cum culpa conjunctum est; culpa vero ex commisso vel admissio ejus nascitur qui 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 äusserliche böse Werke und Thaten, und meinet, des Herzens angeborne Unreinigkeit und Lüste, item dass wir von Natur Gott nicht fürchten, nicht glauben, sey nicht Sünde. Diess ist eine grosse Anzeigung, dass Zwinglius nicht viel von rechter christlicher Heiligkeit wisse, dieweil er Sünde allein in äusserliche Thaten setzt." Yet Zwingle also wrote in his *Fidei Ratio ad Carolum Imp.*, 1530 (Opp., iv. 6): De originali peccato sic sentio: peccatum vere dicitur cum contra legem itum est: ubi enim non est lex, ibi non est praevaricatio, et ubi non est praevaricatio, ibi non est peccatum proprie caput.—Patrem igitur nostrum peccavisse fateor: at qui ex isto prognati sunt, non hoc modo peccarunt: quis enim nostrum in paradiso pomum vetitum depopulatus est dentibus? Velimus igitur nolimus, admittere cogimur, peccatum originale, ut est in filiis Adami, non proprie peccatum esse:—non enim est facinus contra legem. Morbus igitur est proprie et conditio. Schenkel, ii. 31.

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 divini judicii: videntur quotquot de hac questione unquam disseruerunt paulo incautius definivisse, nunc quidem infantes omnes, qui vel circumcisi vel tincti baptismi lavacro non essent, nunc vero adultos itidem omnes damnando.—Cum ergo vita aeterna eorum sit, qui ad eam electi sunt a Deo, cur nos temere judicamus de quibusvis, cum electio Dei nos lateat?—Cum iterum Paulus Rom. ii. eum, cujus intactum est praeputium,—superare dicat atque praestare, si modo, quod lex monet, faciat, ei qui inciso praeputio gloriatur: ostendere enim legis opus scriptum esse in corde suo, cum id faciat quod lex monet. Quis autem in cor humanum quicquam scribit Deo dignum, nisi is, qui ipsum condidit, quemadmodum testatur, Hierem. xxxi. ?—Si ergo impulsore Deo Dei opus facit, cur nos eum damnamus, quod tinctus aut recisus non sit?—Ista in hunc usum argumentati sumus, ut ostenderemus toto errare coelo, etiamsi sint non modo magna, sed vetera quoque nomina, qui damnationi aeternae solent adjudicare nunc Christianorum infantes, cum non sint baptismo tincti, nunc vero eos omnes quos gentiles vocamus. Quid enim scimus, quid fidei quisque in corde suo Dei manu scriptum teneat? Zw. Christianae Fidei Expositio ad Regem Christianum (Franciscum I.) scripta, 1531 (Opp., iv. 65): Credimus ergo, animos fidelium protinus, ut ex corporibus evaserint, subvolare in coelum, numini conjungi, aeternumque gaudere. Hic tibi sperandum est, o piissime Rex, si modo instar Davidis, Ezechiae et Josiae rerum summam 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.¹³ And thus the doctrine of the

sua specie;—deinde—sanctorum, prudentium,—virtuosorum omnium, quicumque a condito mundo fuerunt, sodalitates.—Hic duos Adamos, redemptum ac redemptorem, hic Abelum, Enochum,—Petrum, Paulum; hic Herculem, Theseum, Socratem, Aristidem, Antigonum, Numam, Camillum, Catones, Scipiones, hic Ludovicum pium,—et quotquot in fide hinc migrarunt majores tuos videbis. Comp. Ebrard's Dogma vom h. Abendmal, ii. 77; cf. Lutheri Enarratio in Genesin (written 1536-45) ad Gen. xlvii. 26 (T. vi., Viteberg, 1561, fol. 699): Nos quoque dicimus, plurimas gentes salvatas esse, etiam ex linea seu stirpe Cain. Multi enim conversi sunt fortuita misericordia, quod aggregaverunt se ad Ecclesiam, quae habebat eloquia Dei. Quanquam ipsis non fuerat data promissio de Christo, tamen fructus ejus in gentes manabat, cum audirent conciones et doctrinam patrum.—Sed Judaei haec non credunt, et fanatici nostri, hac doctrina abusi, foedissime lapsi sunt. Sicut Zuinglius nuper scripsit, Numam Pompilium, Hectorem, Scipionem, Herculem frui aeterna beatitudine in Paradiso cum Petro et Paulo et aliis Sanctis. Quod nihil aliud est, quam aperte fateri, quod sentiant, nullam esse fidem, nullum Christianismum. Si enim Scipio et Numa Pompilius, qui fuerunt idolatrae, salvati sunt, cur oportuit Christum pati et mori, aut quorsum opus est baptizari Christianos, aut doceri Christum?—Itaque valde perniciosus error est, quem nos neutiquam probare aut tueri possumus. Et tamen audio, Zuinglium allegare commentarium meum in Genesin, ubi dixi, aliquos de generatione Cainica salvatos esse: idque etiam doceo, sed non dico, quod salvati sunt ut Cainitae aut Aegyptii, sed ut incorporati et conjuncti Ecclesiae piorum. Supra enim audivimus, quoties narravit Moses excitata fuisse altaria ab Abrahamo et aliis Patribus, docuisse eos familiam suam, et ad eam alios accessisse, audivisse conciones, et verbum traditum a patribus amplexos esse, adjunxisse etiam vota et preces suas ad invocationem piorum.—Non excludo quidem gentes, sed dico, eas nulla alia ratione servari, quam per verbum Christi. But besides this, there is still a second resort in favor of the heathen; see Melancthon ad A. Musam, 1543 (Corp. Ref., v. 58): De quaestione tua aliquoties cum Luthero disserui: et illi et mihi videtur simplicissime, ut sonat, articulus intelligendus esse: *Christum fuisse apud inferos*, excitasse multos mortuos, et crudiisse fortassis praestantes omnium gentium viros, ut Scipionem, Fabium et similes. Tale quiddam intelligit Petrus, qui clare ait, Christum apud inferos concionatum esse.

¹³ Zw. Comm. de Vera et Falsa Religione, 1525 (Opp., iii. 228): Vocem istam *Sacramentum* magnopere cupiam Germanis nunquam fuisse receptam, nisi germane esset accepta. Cum enim hanc vocem Sacramentum audiunt, jam aliquid magnum sanctumque intelligunt, quod vi sua conscientiam a peccato liberet. Rursum alii, cum istorum errorem viderunt, dixerunt sacrae rei signum esse. Quod equidem non improbarem admodum, nisi hoc quoque statuerent, cum externe Sacramentum peragas, tum certo intus peragi mundationem. Tertii prodiderunt Sacramentum signum esse, quod tandem datur, ubi mentis expiatio facta sit, sed in eum usum datur, ut is qui accipit, certus reddatur, quod jam transactum sit istud, quod per Sacramentum significatur. All these opinions he sets aside (against the second, p. 230: Hac ratione libertas divini Spiritus alligata esset, qui dividit singulis ut vult, i. e. quibus, quando, ubi vult: nam si tunc cogere retur intus operari, cum nos extra signis notamus, signis prorsus alligatus esset), and declares his opinion, p. 231: Sunt ergo Sacramenta signa vel caeremoniae,—quibus se homo Ecclesiae probat aut candidatum aut militem esse Christi, redduntque Ecclesiam totam potius certiore de tua fide quam te. (So, too, Melancthon, Loci Theol., 1521. Q1 verso: Probabilis et illi voluntatis, qui symbolis seu tesseris militaribus haec signa comparaverunt, quod essent notae tantum, quibus cognosceretur, ad quos pertinerent promissiones divinae.) Hence it was objected to the Zwinglians in Marburg (Melancthon's Report to the Elector, Corp. Ref., i. 1099): "Zum Andern irren sie sehr vom Predigtamt oder Wort, und vom Brauch der Sacramente. Denn sie Lehren, dass der heil. Geist nicht

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 Zwin-

durchs Wort oder Sacrament gegeben werde, sondern werde ohne Wort und Sacrament gegeben. Also lehrete auch Münzer, und fiel dadurch auf eigene Gedanken; wie denn folgen muss, wenn man den heil. Geist ohne Wort vermeinet zu erlangen." Yet still Zwingle again declares, in the *Fidei Ratio ad Carol. Imp.* 1530 (Opp., iv. 9): *Credo, in eo scio, 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 ratio qua cuncta feruntur, non qui ferri debeat; neque id unquam legimus in Scripturis sacris, quod sensibilia, qualia 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.

¹⁴ On the beginning of the contest and the first controversies, see Div. I., § 3, Note 21 sq. Zwingle and Luther came out against each other, especially after 1527. There were published, almost contemporaneously, 1527, Zwinglii *Amica Exegesis*, i. e. *expositio Eucharistiae negotii ad Mart. Lutherum* (Opp., iii. 459); and M. Luther, "Dass diese Worte Christi: das ist mein Leib, noch veste stehen, wider die Schwärmgeister" (in Walch, xx. 950). To this Zwingle responded in the work, "Dass dise Wort Jesu Christi: das ist min Lychnam, der für üch hingeben wirt ewiglich den alten einigen Sinn haben werdend, u. M. Luther mit sinem letzten Buch sinen und des Papsts Sinn gar nit gelehrt noch bewährt hat," 1527 (Werke, ii. ii. 16); and Oecolampadius: "Das der Missverstand Dr. Mart. Luther's auf die ewige beständige Worte, das ist mein Leib, nicht bestehen mag, die andere billige Antwort Joh. Oekolampadii," Basel, 1527. 4. "Vom Abendmal Christi Bekenntniss" M. Luther, 1528 (usually called the Great Confession), in Walch, xx. 1118. "Ueber Dr. M. Luther's Buch Bekenntniss genannt, zwo Antworten Joh. Oekolampadii u. Huldreich Zwingli's" (Zwingli's answer in his Works, ii. ii. 94, and in Walch, xx. 1538; that of Oecolampadius in Walch, xx. 1720).—*Historical Accounts*. 1. *The side of the Reformed*: Lud. Lavateri *Hist. de Origine et Progressu Controversiae Sacramentariae de Coena Domini ab anno 1524–63 deducta*. Tiguri, 1563. 4. Rud. Hospiniani *Historia Sacramentaria* (2 Tomi. Tiguri, 1598 and 1602, fol.), T. ii. Ebrard's *Dogma v. h. Abendmale*, ii. 136. 2. *The Lutheran side*: Comp. Ernst Löscher's extended *Historia Motuum zwischen den Evangelisch Lutherischen u. Reformirten*, 2te Aufl., 3 Th. Frankf. u. Leipzig, 1723. 24. 4. Planck's *Gesch. der Entstehung unsers Protest. Lehrbegriffs*, ii. 247, 464.

¹⁵ Goebel, Luther's Abendmallslehre vor und in dem Streite mit Carlstadt (Theol. Studien u. Kritiken, 1843, ii. 314), Schenkel, i. 397, 475, 502. Luther's *Grosse Confession*, 1528, in Walch, xx. 1380: "Der heil. Geist—lehret uns solche Wohlthat Christi, uns erzeiget, erkennen, hilft sie empfangen u. behalten, nützlich brauchen u. austheilen, mehren u. fördern. Und thut dasselbige beide innerlich u. äusserlich: innerlich durch den Glauben und andere geistliche Gaben, äusserlich aber durchs Evangelium, durch die Taufe und Sacrament des Altars, durch welche er, als durch drei Mittel oder Weise, zu uns kömmt, und das Leiden Christi in uns übet und zu Nutz bringet der Seligkeit.—Eben so rede ich auch und bekenne das Sacrament des Altars, dass daselbst wahrhaftig der Leib und Blut im Brod und Wein werde mündlich gegessen und getrunken, obgleich die Priester, so es reichen, oder die, so es empfangen, nicht gläubeten, oder sonst misbrauchten. Denn es stehet nicht auf Menschen Glauben oder Unglauben, sondern auf Gottes Wort u. Ordnung." Luther's Sixth Sermon against Carlstadt, 1523 (Walch, xx. 48): "Die leibliche u. äusserliche Empfangung ist die, wenn ich den Leichnam Christi und sein Blut äusserlich mit dem Munde empfahe. Und solche Empfangung kann wol

gle, on the other hand, the bread and the wine were only signs of the body and the blood;¹⁶ 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.¹⁷

ohne Glauben u. Liebe geschehen von allen Menschen.—Aber die innerliche, geistliche u. rechte Empfangung des Sacraments ist viel ein ander Ding.—Ohne den Glauben ist die äusserliche Empfangung dieser Sacramente nichts.—Der Glaube aber ist dahin gerichtet, —dass wir vestiglich gläuben müssen, dass Christus Jesus Gottes Sohn sey, u. die einige Genugthuung für unsere Sünde.—Der in einem solchen Glauben stehet, der—nimmt diess Sacrament würdig zu einer Sicherung und Wahrzeichen, dass er göttlicher Zusage und Versprechung gewiss sey."

¹⁶ Zw. de Vera et Falsa Religione, 1525, Opp., iii. 256, shows that in the Scripture *est* often stands for *significat*, and gives his view, p. 258: *Coena igitur dominica, ut eam Paulus appellat, mortis Christi commemoratio est, non peccatorum remissio: nam ea solius mortis Christi est. Ait enim: hoc quod nunc edere ac bibere jubeo, symbolum vobis erit, quo omnes utemini simul manducando et bibendo tunc, cum mei commemorationem facietis. Quam commemorationem Paulus i. Cor. xi. 26.—Sic expressit: quotiescunque enim ederitis panem hunc, symbolicum scilicet (nam carnem nemo appellat omnium), et hoc poculum biberitis, mortem Domini annunciate, donec veniat. Quid vero est annunciare mortem Domini? predicare nimirum, gratulari, laudare. Schenkel, i. 487.*

¹⁷ Zw. ad Matth. Alberum de Coena Dom. Epist. 1524 (Opp., iii. 589): *Joh. vi. does not refer to the Sacrament (p. 593). The sense of the passage is (p. 594): Panis, quem ego dabo, caro mea est pro mundi vita tradita. Caro igitur mea, quatenus est morte afflicta, cibus, h. e. spes est animae. P. 595: Vult ergo Christus, nos, nisi edamus ejus carnem, i. e. nisi credamus, cum pro nobis mortem obiisse et sanguinem effudisse, vita esse carituros. This is a spiritualis manducatio; Christ here speaks de fide, non de sacramento Eucharistiae. For, p. 602, with Augustin. super Joan vi., Tract. 26, the sacramentalis esus must be distinguished from the spiritualis. (On John vi. he discourses at length in his Klare Unterrihtung vom Nachmahle Christi, Werke, ii. i. 438.) 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 uspiam in Scripturis repertum est aliud spirituale Christi corpus, quam aut Ecclesia, quemadmodum, Eph. iv. 4 et Col. i. 18, habetur, aut fides nostra, quae et credit, eum in cruce poenas pro nobis dependisse, et per eum salutis certa est? Cur quaeso ejusmodi vocibus, quas nullus capit intellectus, pias mentes oneramus? Spirituale corpus sic ab homine capitur, ut si dicas corporea mens, aut carnea ratio. An non spiritualiter edimus Christi corpus, cum ipsum credimus pro nobis caesum, eoque fidimus? On the other hand, Bucer was in favor of the spiritual reception. Thus, as early as his opinion upon the controversy between Carlstadt and Luther, 26. Dec., 1524 (Füssli's Beiträge zur Reformationsgesch., v. 115): "Sehe allein, was du da genieusst, dass du es dem Herrn zur Gedächtniss genieusst, auf dass du durch den Glauben das Fleisch und Blut Christi geistlich genieusst; d. i. dass du gänzlich glaubest, dass du durch solches Opfer von allem Uebel erloset, und ein Kind Gottes worden seyst." 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 (Praefatio in quartum tomum postillae Lutheranae continens summam doctrinae 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 mansit,*

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.¹³ In the investigation and determination of these points against Zwingle 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, sicut corpore panis, ita 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 (Zwingle's Werke by Schuler u. Schulthess, ii. i. 126): "Item wir verläugnen 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, Zwingle accepted the 15th Marburg Article (Div. I., § 4, Note 38). Cf. Zwingle ad Carolum Imp. Fidei Ratio, 1530 (Opp., iv. 11): Credo in sacra Eucharistia—coena verum Christi corpus adesse fidei contemplatione; h. e. eos, qui gratias agunt Domino pro beneficio nobis in Filio suo collato, agnoscere, illum veram carnem adsumsisse, vere in illa passum esse, vere nostra peccata sanguine suo abluisse, et sic omnem rem per Christum gestam illis fidei contemplatione velut presentem fieri. Sed 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 illustr. Germaniae Principes Augustae congregatos de Convitiis Ecclii (Opp., iv. 33): Et nos nunquam negavimus, corpus Christi sacramentaliter ac in mysterio esse in Coena, cum propter fidei contemplationem, tum propter symboli, ut diximus, totam actionem. Ejusd. Christ. Fidei Expositio ad Regem Christ. scripta, 1531 (Opp., iv. 53): Spiritualiter edere corpus Christi nihil est aliud quam spiritu ac mente niti misericordia et bonitate Dei per Christum; h. e. inconcussa fide certum esse, Deum nobis peccatorum veniam et aeternae beatitudinis gaudium donaturum esse propter Filium suum.—*Sacramentaliter* autem edere corpus Christi, cum proprie volumus loqui, est adjuncto Sacramento mente ac spiritu corpus Christi edere.—Spiritualiter edis corpus Christi, non tamen sacramentaliter, quoties mentem tuam sic anxiam: quomodo salvus fies? etc.—cum, inquam, sic anxiam mentem sic solaberis: Deus bonus est, etc.—Verum cum ad Coenam Domini cum hac spirituali manducatione venis, et Domino gratias agis pro tanto beneficio,—ac simul cum fratribus panem et vinum, quae jam *symbolicum* Christi corpus sunt, participas, jam *proprie sacramentaliter* edis, cum scilicet intus idem agis quod foris operaris, cum mens reficitur hac fide quam symbolis testaris. At *sacramentaliter improprie* dicuntur edere, qui visibile sacramentum sive symbolum publice quidem comedunt, sed domi fidem non habent.

¹³ Luther, Against the Heavenly Prophets, 1525 (Walch, xx. 368): "Uns ist nicht befohlen zu forschen, wie es zugehe, dass unser Brod Christus Leib wird und sey. Gottes Wort ist da: da bleiben wir bei, und glaubens." Dass diese Worte—noch veste stehen, 1527 (Walch, xx. 968): "Wie aber das zugehe, wissen wir nicht, sollens auch nicht wissen." S. 1011: "Wie aber das zugehe, ist uns nicht zu wissen: wir sollens glauben, weil es die Schrift u. Artikel des Glaubens so gewaltiglich bestätigen." To the Swiss Reformed, Dec. 1, 1537 (de Wette, v. 85): "Wir lassens göttlicher Allmächtigkeit befohlen seyn, wie sein Leib und Blut im Abendmal uns gegeben werde, wo man aus seinem Befehl zusammen kommt, u. sein Einsatzung gehalten wird. Wir denken da keiner Auffahrt u. Niederfahrt, die da sollt geschehen, sondern wir bleiben schlechts u. einfältiglich bei seinen Worten: das ist mein Leib, das ist mein Blut." Comp. Planck, vi. 745.

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.¹⁹ The Strasburg theologians, Bucer and Capito, saw correctly, from the first, that the supposition of a spiritual

¹⁹ To Zwingle'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 Wort 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 theilen in viel Stücke, sondern ein einiges 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. drüber 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 ers 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 allenthalben 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 Transsubstantiation, oder Verwandlung des Brods in seinen Leib; kann dennoch 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 every where, 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, *alloiosis*, as often exemplified in the words of Christ; s. 66: "Hierum wiss, dass die Figur, die *ἀλλοίωσις* heisst (mag uns 'Gegenwechsel' zimlich vertütschet werden), von Christo selbs unzalblich gebrucht wird; und ist die Figur, so vil hieher dient, ein Abtuschen 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 *alloiosis*, 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 beweisete, wie Christus Leib allenthalben sey, weil Gottes rechte Hand allenthalben sey, das that ich darum (wie ich gar öffentlich daselbst bedinget), dass ich doch eine einige Weise anzeigte, damit Gott vermoecht, dass Christus zugleich im Himmel und sein Leib im Abendmal sey, und vorbehielt seiner göttlichen Weisheit und Macht wohl mehr Weise, dadurch er dasselbige vermöchte, weil wir seiner Gewalt Ende noch Maass 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. Rettberg's Occam u. Luther, oder Vergleich ihrer Lehre vom heil. Abendmale*, in the *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1839, i. 69. *Baur's Dreieinigkeit*, iii. 398. *Schenkel*, i. 529. [Cf. C. II. 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 Zwingle 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 Bu-

²⁰ See Bucer, above, Note 17. They sent George Chaselius, 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. 535.

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. Oecolampads*, Zürich, 1793, s. 311; J. J. Herzog's *Leben Joh. Oecolampads* (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 Nachtmal gegenwärtig sey, nicht im Brod, nicht vereinigt mit dem Brod, sondern im Sacrament,—der blossen Seel und reinem Gemüth; und also geistlich auf die Weise zugegen sey, als die Geschrift 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 (l. 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 concordēs simus, uti scribis, quod utriusque confitemur, corpus et sanguinem Christi vere in Coena adesse, et cum verbis porrigi in cibum animae. Miror autem, quod Zwinglium et Oecolampadium quoque hujus opinionis aut sententiae participes facis.—Si igitur corpus Christi confitemur vere exhiberi animae in cibum, et nulla est ratio, cur non impias quoque animae hoc modo exhiberi dicamus, etiamsi illa non recipiat, quemadmodum lux solis videnti pariter et caeco offertur: miror, cur vos gravet ultro confiteri, etiam cum pane offerri foris ori tam piorum quam impiorum.—Sed si ista sententia nondum apud vos maturuit, censeo differendam causam, et divini gratiam ulterius expectandam.—Quæ 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;²⁴ 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.²⁵ 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,²⁶ which appeared in January,

concordiam (völlige Kirchengemeinschaft) non possum vobiscum confiteri, nisi velim conscientiam laedere, imo nisi velim semina jactare multo majoris turbationis ecclesiarum nostrarum et atrocioris discordiae inter nos futurae.—Commendemus causam Deo, interim servantes pacis istius qualiscunque et concordiae eatenus firmatae, quod confitemur, corpus Domini vere adesse et exhiberi intus animae fideli (i. e., the articles agreed upon in Marburg, Div. I., § 4, Note 38). His doubts about them are more fully developed to the Elector John, under date Feb. 16, 1531 (de Wette, iv. 223). Bucer asked of Zwingle, Feb. 6, 1531 (Zwingle, Opera, viii. ii. 576), a written declaration in the sense of the earlier agreement, that it might be laid before Luther; and in this connection he expressed the idea of a *syncretism*: Cuperem vel quavis ratione, quae modo Christi gloriam non obscuret, si nondum solidam concordiam, saltem Syncretismum inter nos obtinere. Meanwhile Zwingle had already heard, through the Landgrave of Hesse, about Luther's doubts, and violently opposed all union, February 12, 1531 (Opp., viii. ii. 579): Vos istud plane agitis, ut concordia *ἑπιουλος* fiat, quae quotidie novum dissidium exulceret. Isti Missam ferme magis papisticam habent, quam ipsi Papistae, Christum in loco, in pane, in vino non minus indicant, quam in scrinio Pontificii.—Nam bonus ille Cattorum Princeps anxie monet, Lutherum cupere, ut et istud fateamur, Christi corpus ori etiam praeberi, cum symbola porriguntur. At the end: Summa summarum: perstatum perpetuo, neque aliter credas me unquam sensurum, etiamsi orbis diversum sentiat, quam et nunc et antea sensimus.

²⁴ On these renewed attempts at union, see Planck, iii. i. 355; Lebensgeschichte H. Bullinger's, by S. Hess (2 Bde., Zürich, 1828-29), i. 185; Oswald Myconius, by Melch. Kirchofer (Zürich, 1813), s. 195; Die Conflict des Zwinglianismus, Lutherthums und Calvinismus in der Bernischen Landeskirche von 1532-58, by Dr. C. B. Hundeshagen, Berne, 1842, s. 59; Ebrard's Dogma v. h. Abendmal, ii. 361. [Comp. The Lives of Oecolampadius and of Myconius, by Hagenbach, in his Leben u. Schriften der Reformatoren, 1859.]

²⁵ Thus to the Swiss he spoke with reverence of Zwingle and Oecolampadius, while toward Luther he was always trying to ward off the suspicion that he was inclined to Zwingle's doctrine; see Bullinger, by Hess, i. 283, 290, 301.

²⁶ K. R. Hagenbach's Krit. Geschichte der ersten Basler Confession, Basel, 1827. Dr. H. A. Niemeyer Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis publicarum, Lips., 1840, p. 78; cf. praef., p. xxviii. The article on the Lord's Supper there reads: "In des Herren Nachtmal, in dem uns mit des Herren Brot und Trank, sammt den Worten des Nachtmals der wahr Lyb und das wahr Blut Christi durch den Diener der Kylchen fürbildet und angeboten würdet, blybt Brot und Win. Wir glaubend aber vestiglich, dass Christus selbs syge die Spys der gläubigen Seelen zum ewigen Leben, und dass unsere Seelen durch den wahren Glauben in den krützigten Christum mit dem Fleisch und Blut Christi gesspyset und getränk werdend, also dass wir seines Lybs, als unsers einigen Houpts, Glieder in ihm, und er in uns lebe, damit wir am jüngsten Tag durch ihn und in ihm in die ewigen Frowd und Seligkeit ufferstan werdend.—Und schliessend aber den natürlichen, wahren, wesentlichen Lyb Christi—nit in des Herren Brot noch

1534, but also in taking part in the union which was effected, 1534, in the adjacent Württemberg.²⁷ Zürich, too, showed itself favorable, under the lead of Henry Bullinger. In Berne, among the clergy, a strict Zwinglianism had the preponderance;²⁸ but the aristocratic government desired the union.²⁹ Thus Bucer succeeded in bringing the Swiss, at a synod held in Basle, January 30, 1536 sq.,³⁰ into the pacific mood which is expressed in the Confession of Faith (*Confessio Helvetica I.*)³¹ 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.³² Yet Bucer was still able to pacify them by explanations;³³ with these interpretations the Swiss declared to Luther that they were ready to adopt the Concordia (November, 1536),³⁴ and he replied

Trank. Darum wir auch Christum nit in diesen Zeichen Brot und Wins, die wir gemeinlich Sacramenta des Lybs und Bluts Christi nennend, sonder in den Himlen by der Gerechten Gott des Vatters anbetend, daher er künftigt 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; Kirckhofer's Myconius, s. 206.

²⁸ At their head was Caspar Megander; see Kirckhofer's Myconius, s. 226; Hundeshagen, s. 64.

²⁹ Das Leben Wilh. Farel's, by Melch. Kirckhofer (Zürich, 2 Bde., 1831, 1833), ii. 27.

³⁰ Bullinger's Leben, by Hess, i. 217. Kirckhofer's Myconius, s. 237.

³¹ Less correctly called Conf. Basileensis II.; see in Niemeyer Confess. Reform., p. 105; cf. praef., p. xxxiii.; in the original German in Bockel's Bekenntnisschriften der Evangel. Reform. Kirche (Leipzig, 1847), s. 115. 21. *De rei et efficacia Sacramentorum*: Signa, quae et Sacramenta vocantur, duo sunt, Baptismus et Eucharistia. Haec rerum arcanarum symbola non nudis signis, sed signis simul et rebus constant.—In Eucharistia panis et vinum signa sunt, res autem communicatio corporis Domini, parva salus, et peccatorum remissio. Quae quidem ut ore corporis signa, sic fide spiritus percipiuntur. Nam in rebus ipsis totus fructus Sacramentorum est.—23. (Asserimus) coenam vero mysticam, in qua Dominus corpus et sanguinem suum, i. e., seipsum suis vere ad hoc offerat, ut magis magisque in illis vivat, et illi in ipso. Non quod panis et vino corpus et sanguis Domini vel naturaliter uniantur, vel hic localiter includantur, vel ulla huc carnali praesentia statuatur. Sed quod panis et vinum ex institutione Domini symbola sint, quibus ab ipso Domino per Ecclesiae ministerium vera corporis et sanguinis ejus communicatio, non in perituum ventris cibum, sed in aeternae vitae alimoniam exhibetur.

³² Div. I., § 7, Note 28. Myconius, by Kirckhofer, s. 263. Ebrard's Abendmal, ii. 382. Schenkel, i. 545.

³³ Div. I., § 7, Note 29. Myconius, by Kirckhofer, 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., 1536 (in Bullinger's Lebensgesch. by Hess, i. 263), which points out unsparingly that among the Swiss theologians, also, exaggerated mistrust and excitableness were delaying the union so much to be desired.

³⁴ Their letter in Hospiniani Hist. Sacramentaria, ii. 263.

in such terms (December 1, 1537)³⁵ 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.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," 1544.³⁷ This work aroused in Switzerland a general indignation,³⁸ and completely shattered the Concordia, which had been but loosely held.

In 1561 *Calvin* returned to Geneva,³⁹ and commenced that extraordinary career which made him the second reformer of his Church. In Strasburg he had become connected with the Church

³⁵ See above, Note 18, and Div. I., § 7, Note 32. Ebrard's *Abendmal*, ii. 396. The Swiss looked upon the union as already completed, in their reply, 4. Mai, 1538 (in *Walch*, xvii. 2608).

³⁶ Megander's deposition, at the end of 1537; Hundeshagen, s. 95. The leaders of the Lutheranizing tendency in Berne were, Peter Kunz (see his letter to Iodocus Neobolus, in *Wittenberg*, in Hundeshagen, s. 369), and Sebastian Meyer, to whom (1538) Simon Sulzer was added, who soon became the head of the party; Hundeshagen, s. 105. On Basle, see above, Note 27. How Myconius was cried out against as a Lutheran in Zürich, see *Kirchhofer's Myconius*, s. 354.

³⁷ See Div. I., § 8, Note 26.

³⁸ Bullinger, by Hess, i. 437. Melancthon ad H. Bullingerum, 30. Aug., 1544 (*Corp. Ref.*, v. 475): Fortassis priusquam hae meae literae ad te perferentur, accipies atrocissimum Lutheri scriptum, in quo bellum *περὶ δείπνου κυριακοῦ* instaurat. Nunquam majore impetu hanc causam egit. Desino igitur sperare Ecclesiarum pacem. Tollent cristas inimici nostri,—Ecclesiae nostrae magis distrahentur, qua ex re ingentem capio dolorem. Calvin, too, expressed his decided disapproval to Bullinger, Nov. 25, 1544 (*infra*, Note 42), and to Melancthon, 12. Cal. Febr., 1545 (*Calvini Epp. et Responsa*, Genevae, 1575, fol., p. 52). The Zürichers thereupon published the Confession drawn up by Bullinger, "Wahrhafte Bekenntniß der Diener der Kirche zu Zürich, was sie—glauben und lehren, insonderheit aber von dem Nachmal unseres Herrn J. Chr., mit gebürlicher Antwort auf das unbegründet ärgerlich Schmähnen, Verdammn u. Schelten Dr. M. Luther's," 1545; Bullinger, by Hess, i. 445. The document was also subscribed by Berne, although a Lutheranizing Bernese preacher called it "a fencing and fantastical little book;" *ibid.*, s. 451. Calvin, too, judged unfavorably of it (*ibid.*, s. 455). Calvinus ad Melancth., 28. Jun., 1545: Verum aut aliter scribere oportuit aut penitus tacere. Praeterquam enim quod totus libellus jejunnus est et puerilis, cum in multis pertinaciter magis quam crudite, et interea parum verecunde Zuinglium suum excusant ac tumentur, nonnullaque in Luthero immerito exagitant, tum vero in praecipui capitis tractatione, i. e. in ipso causae statu, infeliciter, meo judicio, se gerunt. Luther did not reply to this Zürich document.

³⁹ See Div. I., § 10, Note 35. *Das Leben Joh. Calvin's des grossen Reformators*, by Paul Henry. Hamburg, 3 Bde., 1835-44.

there established, had subscribed the Augsburg Confession,⁴⁰ and entirely agreed with Bucer as to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Calv. ad M. Schalingium, Pastorem Ratisbon., viii. Cal. April, 1557 (Epp. et Responsa, Genev., 1575, fol. p. 182): Nec vero Augustanam confessionem repudio, cui pridem volens ac libens subscripsi, sicuti eam auctor ipse interpretatus est (viz. in the Variata). Henry, ii. 505.

⁴¹ Ebrard's Abendmal, ii. 412, 424. Schenkel, i. 425, 565. He gives testimony to Bucer, in a letter to H. Bullinger, 12. Mart., 1540: Tametsi enim singulari perspicentia iudicii acumine praeditus est, nemo tamen est, qui religiosius studeat in simplicitate Verbi Dei se continere, ac alienas ab eo argutias non dico minus captet sed magis oderit (ex MS. in Henry's *Leben Calvin's*, i. 274). Comp. Calv. ad Zebedaeum, 19. Maj., 1539 (ex MS. in Henry, Bd. i. Appendix, s. 43), ad Bullingerum, 6. Cal. Jul., 1548 (Henry, Bd. ii. Appendix, s. 131). Calvin's Judgment on the sacramental controversy, in his *De Sacra Coena* (1540 in French, 1545 Latin, by Des Gallars; Henry, i. 268. *Calvini Tractatus Theol.* Amstelod., 1667, fol., or *Opp. Calv.*, T. viii. p. 8): Cum Lutherus docere coepit, sic materiam Coenae tractabat, ut, quod ad corporalem Christi praesentiam attinet, talem ipsam relinquere videretur, qualem tunc omnes concipiebant. Nam transubstantiationem damnans, panem corpus Christi esse dicebat, quod una cum ipso conjunctum esset. Adjungebat praeterea similitudines duras quidem illas et rudes. Sed eis uti eogebatur, quod aliter mentem suam explicare non poterat. Difficile enim est rem tam arduam exponere, quin impropria quaedam subinde accersantur. Dehinc suborti sunt Zuinglius et Oecolampadius, qui, cum imposturam et deceptionem a diabolo invecam considerarent in stabilienda praesentia illa carnali, quae ab annis sexcentis tradita et pro certo habita fuerat, rem tanti momenti dissimulare nefas esse existimarent. Maxime cum huic errori execrabilis idololatria annexa esset, quod Christus quasi sub pane inclusus adoraretur. Quia vero difficillimum erat, hanc opinionem, quae diu jam et altius radices egerat in animis hominum, revellere, omnem ingenii vim ad eam impugnamdam applicarunt, admonentes crassissimi et absurdissimi erroris esse, non agnoscere ea quae de adscensione Christi tota Scriptura testificat, ipsum in coelum in hominis natura receptum esse, ibique mansurum, quoad descendat ad iudicandum orbem. Sed huic proposito nimium intenti, quam praesentiam Christi in Coena credere debeamus, qualis illic communicatio corporis et sanguinis ipsius recipiatur, dicere omitebant, adeo ut Lutherus eos nihil praeter signa nuda et spiritualis substantiae vacua relinquere velle existimaret. Ideo coepit palam obsistere, ita ut pro haereticis habendos denunciarer. Ex quo semel efferbuit contentio, sic temporis progressu adaucta et inflammata est, ut acerbius aequo exagitata sit per annos plus minus quindecim, quibus interim neutri alteros aequo animo et placido audire sustinebant. Cum etiam ad concordiam aliquam accedere debuissent, magis ac magis regressi sunt, nihil aliud spectantes quam ut opinionem suam tuerentur, et contrariam refutarent. Habemus itaque qua in re impegerit Lutherus, in qua etiam Oecolampadius et Zuinglius. Lutheri partes erant ab initio admonere, non esse propositi sui, praesentiam localem talem statuere, qualem Papistae somniant. Item testari, se non hoc quaerere, ut Sacramentum Dei loco adoraretur. Tertio abstinere a similitudinibus illis rudibus et perceptu difficillimis, aut moderate eis uti, atque ita interpretari, ut nullam offensionem parere possent. Denique, ex quo mota est contentio, ipse modum excessit, tum in declaranda opinione sua, tum in aliis nimia verborum acerbitate vituperandis.—Alii etiam offenderunt in eo, quod ita tenaciter inhaeserunt in oppugnanda superstitiosa illa et fanatica opinione Papistarum de praesentia locali et adoratione quae inde sequebatur, ut ad vitium diruendum conatus suos potius converterint, quam ad id quod cognitum utile erat stabiliendum. Nam etsi veritatem non negarunt, eam tamen non ita aperte ut decebat docuerunt. Hoc intelligo: dum nimis studiose ac diligenter in hoc toti incumbant, ut assererent, panem et vinum corpus et sanguinem Christi vocari, quod ipsorum signa sint; non cogitarunt sibi hoc interea simul agendum, ut adjungerent ita signa esse, ut nihilominus veritas cum eis conjuncta sit. Nec testati sunt, sese non eo tendere, ut veram communionem

For Luther he had a high regard,⁴² and was also greatly esteemed in turn by him.⁴³ He put Zwingli much lower, express-

obscurarent, quam nobis hoc Sacramento Dominus in corpore et sanguine suo exhibet. Utrique profecto in culpa fuerunt, dum sese mutuo audire non sustinuerunt, ut posita omni affectione veritatem, undecunque patefieret, 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 exortus est Lutherus, cum alias fere omnes difficultates habuisse cum Apostolis communes videbit: una vero in re iniquiorem ac duriorum 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 interitu, quod non modo omnium potentissimum erat, sed reliqua omnia quasi sibi obnoxia tenebat. P. 123: De Luthero—nunc quoque sicut haecenus non dissimulanter testamur, eum nos habere pro 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 dotibus excellat, quanta animi fortitudine et constantia, quanta dexteritate, quanta doctrinae efficacia haecenus ad profligandum Antichristi regnum et simul propagandam salutis doctrinam incubuerit. Saepe dicere solitus sum, etiamsi me diabolus vocaret, me tamen hoc illi honoris habiturum, ut insignem Dei servum agnoscam, qui tamen, ut pollet eximiis virtutibus, ita magnis vitiis laboret. Hanc intemperiam, qua ubique ebullit, utinam magis frenare studuisset; vehementiam autem, quae illi est ingenua, utinam in hostes veritatis semper contulisset, non etiam vibrasset in servos Domini; utinam recognoscendis suis vitiis plus operae dedisset! Plurimum illi obfuerunt adulatores, cum ipse quoque natura ad sibi indulgendum nimis propensus esset. Nostrum tamen est sic reprehendere quod in eo est malorum, ut praeclaris illis donis aliquid concedamus. Hoc igitur primum reputes, 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 Melancthon, but not delivered by him.

⁴³ Calv. ad Farellum, 20. Nov., 1539 (ex MS. in Henry, i. 267. The passages in parenthesis were erased by Calvin, but plainly expressed his real sentiments): Crato unus ex chalcographis nostris Witemberga nuper rediit, qui literas attulit a Luthero ad Bucerum (see the same in de Wette, v. 210), in quibus ita scriptum erat: *saluta mihi Sturmium et Calvinum reverenter, quorum libellos singulari cum voluptate legi.* (Jam reputa, quid illie de Eucharistia dicam. Cogita Lutheri ingenuitatem. Facile erit statuere, quid causae habeant, qui tam pertinaciter ab eo dissident.) Philippus autem ita scribebat: *Lutherus et Pomeranus Calvinum et Sturmium jusserunt salutari. Calvinus magnam gratiam iniiit.* Hoc vero per nuncium jussit Philippus narrari, quosdam, ut Martinum exasperarent, illi indicasse, quam odiose a me una cum suis notaretur. Locum ergo inspexisse, et sensisse sine dubio illie se attingi. Tandem ita fuisse locutum: *spero quidem, ipsum olim de nobis melius sensurum, sed aequum est a bono ingenio nos aliquid ferre.* (Tanta moderatione si non frangimur sumus plane saxei. Ego vero fractus sum. Itaque satisfactionem scripsi, quae praefationi in epistolam ad Romanos inseretur.) 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 Christoph. Pezel, in his *Ausführ. Erzählung vom Sacramentsstreit*,

ing an unfavorable judgment respecting him.⁴⁴ 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;⁴⁵ 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 Hände 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 Hülfe hinausführen werden." On Calv. de Sacra Coena, which was sent to him by the Wittenberg bookseller, Moritz Golsch, 1545, and particularly on the passage adduced above, Note 41, he thus expresses himself to the same (s. 137): "Moritz, es ist gewiss ein gelehrter und frommer Mann, dem hätte ich anfänglich wohl dürfen die ganze Sache von diesem Streit heimstellen. Ich bekenne meinen Theil: wenn das Gegentheil dergleichen gethan hätte, wären wir bald anfangs vertragen worden, denn so Oecolampadius und Zwinglius sich zum ersten also erkläret hätten, wären 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.

⁴⁴ Calv. ad Zebedaicum, 19. Maj., 1539 (in Henry, i.; Beil., s. 45): Buceri retractationibus non est ut tantopere succenseas. Quia in tradendo Sacramentorum usu erraverat, jure eam partem retractavit. Atque utinam idem facere Zwinglius in animum induxisset, cujus et falsa et perniciosa fuit de hac re opinio. Quam cum viderem multo nostratum applausu arripī, adhuc agens in Gallia impugnare non dubitavi.—Nihil fuisse asperitatis in Zwinglii doctrina, tibi minime concedo. Siquidem videre promptum est, ut nimium occupatus in evertenda carnalis presentiae superstitione, veram communicationis vim aut simul disjecerit, aut certe obscuravit. Calv. ad Farellum, 4. Mart., 1540 (in Hundeshagen, s. 33): Uruntur boni viri (the Zürichers), si quis Lutherum audeat praeferre Zwinglio, quasi Evangelium nobis pereat, si quid Zwinglio decedit, neque tamen in eo fit ulla Zwinglio injuria. Nam si inter se comparantur, seipsa ipse, quanto intervallo Lutherus excellat. Itaque mihi minime placuit Zebedaici carmen, in quo non putabat se pro dignitate laudare Zwinglium, nisi diceret majorem sperare nefas. Cum viventibus et umbris maledicere inhumanum habetur, tum vero de tanto viro non honorifice sentire impie certe esset. Verum est aliquis modus in laudando, a quo ille procul discessit. Ego certe tantum abest quin illi assentiar, ut majores multos nunc videam, aliquos sperem, omnes cupiam. Calv. ad Petr. Viretum, 3. Id. Sept., 1542 (J. Calvini, Th. Bezae, Henrici IV., Regis Literae quaedam, ed. C. G. Bretschneider, Lips., 1835, p. 10): De scriptis Zwinglii sic sentire, ut sentis, tibi permitto. Neque enim omnia legi. Et fortassis sub finem vitae retractavit ac correxit in melius quae temere initio excederant. Sed in scriptis prioribus memini, quam profana sit de Sacramentis doctrina.

⁴⁵ Jo. Calvini Institutio Christianae Religionis was published in three principal editions, with alterations (Henry, iii.; Beil., s. 177); 1. In French, Basle, 1535; in Latin, Basle, 1536 (Henry, i. 102). 2. Argentorati, 1539. 3. Genevae, 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 caligine non modo utilis hujus doctrinae, sed suavissimus quoque fructus se profert. Nunquam liquido ut deceat persuasi erimus, salutem nostram ex fonte gratuitae misericordiae Dei fluere, donec innotuerit nobis aeterna ejus 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 imminuat, quantum verae humilitati detrahat, palam est.—Qui hoc extinctum volunt, maligne quantum in se est obscurant quod magnifice ac plenis buccis celebrandum erat, et ipsam humilitatis radicem evellunt.—Qui fores ocludunt, ne 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 obtinetur, corruptionem*

for which he demanded independence of the State and strict discipline.⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ The Lutherizing clergy of Berne were indeed favorable to Calvin;⁴⁹ but this led to their defeat in 1548, and giving the upper hand again to the strict Zwinglian party.⁵⁰ By the Consensus Tigurinus⁵¹ of 1549 Calvin removed the doubts about

Dei ordinatione predestinati ante fuerant? Cum ergo in sua corruptione pereunt, nihil aliud quam poenas luunt ejus calamitatis, in quam ipsius predestinatione lapsus est Adam, ac posteros suos praecepites secum traxit. Annon itaque injustus, qui creaturis suis tam crudeliter illudit? Fateor sane, in hanc qua nunc illigati, sunt conditionis miseriam Dei voluntate decidisse universos filios Adam: atque id est quod principio dicebam, redendum tandem semper esse ad solum divinae voluntatis arbitrium, ejus causa sit in ipso abscondita. Sed non protinus sequitur, huic obtreccationi Deum subjacere. Occurramus enim cum Paulo in hunc modum: O homo tu quis es, qui disceptes cum Deo? 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 Ecclesiae propria est et necessaria cognita ad salutem: nihil scilicet valere per se naturae vires ad percipiendam fidem, ad obedientiam divinae legis, et totam spiritualem justitiam. So, too, in 1546, he published Melancthon's Loci in a 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 Konflikte 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. 132: Obsecro te, mi Bullingere, si ita agendum est, utrum generosius saltem fuit, Bernae an Romae subijci? Agnosce etiam, quam apta fuerit Jodoci interrogatio, quis me vocasset, ut Lausannae concionarer. Tandem ut primis ultima responderent, jussi sunt fratres abire et faecessere cum suo Calvinismo et Buceranismo. Et haec omnia furioso prope impetu et insanis clamoribus. Quid durius aut truculentius a Papistis expectes?

⁵¹ Agreed upon by Calvin and Farel in Zürich, with the clergy of that city; see Bullinger's Leben, by Hess, ii. 15; Calvin's Leben, by Henry, ii. 469; Hundeshagen, s. 248; Niemeyer Confess. Ecl. Ref., praef., p. xli.; the Consensus itself, in Niemeyer, p. 191; German in Böckel's Bekenntnisschriften d. Evang. Ref. Kirche, s. 173. 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, bonorum compotes. Cujus testificandae causa tam Evangelii praedicatione instituta, quam Sacramentorum usus nobis commendatus, nempe Baptismi, et sacrae Coenae. VII. Sunt quidem et haec Sacramentorum fines, ut notae sint ac tesseræ christianae professionis et societatis sive fraternitatis, ut sint ad gratiarum actionem incitamenta et exercitia fidei ac piae vitae, denique syngraphae ad id obligantes. Sed hic unus inter alios praecipuus, ut per ea nobis gratiam suam testetur Deus, repraesentat atque obsignet.—VIII. Cum autem vera sint, quae nobis Dominus dedit gratiae suae testimonia et sigilla, vere procul dubio praestat ipse intus suo Spiritu, quod oculis et aliis sensibus figurant: h. e. ut potiamur Christo, tanquam bonorum omnium fonte, tum ut beneficio mortis ejus reconciliemur Deo, Spiritu renovemur in vitae sanctitatem, justitiam denique et salutem consequamur, simulque pro his beneficiis olim in cruce exhibitis, et quae quotidie fide percipimus, gratias agamus. IX. Quare etsi distinguimus, ut par est, inter signa et res signatas, tamen non disjungimus a signis veritatem, quin omnes, qui fide amplectuntur illie oblatas promissiones, Christum spiritualiter cum spiritualibus ejus donis recipere, adeoque et qui dudum participes facti erant Christi, communionem illam continuare et reparare fateamur. X. Materia aquae, panis aut vini, Christum nequaquam nobis offert, nec spiritualium ejus donorum compotes nos facit; sed promissio magis spectanda est, ejus partes sunt, nos recta fidei via ad Christum ducere, quae fides nos Christi participes facit. XII. Praeterea si quid boni nobis per Sacramenta confertur, id non fit propria eorum virtute, etiam si promissionem, qua insiguntur, comprehendas. Deus enim solus est, qui Spiritu suo agit. Et quod Sacramentorum ministerio utitur, in eo neque vim illis suam infundit, neque Spiritus sui efficaciae quicquam derogat, sed pro rudilitatis nostrae captu ea tanquam adminicula sic adhibet, ut tota agendi facultas maneat apud ipsum solum. XIV. Constituimus ergo, unum esse Christum, qui vere intus baptizat, qui nos in Coena facit sui participes, qui denique implet quod figurant Sacramenta; et sic quidem uti his adminiculis, ut totus effectus penes ejus Spiritum resideat. XVII. Hae doctrina evertitur illud Sophistarum commentum, quod docet, Sacramenta novae legis conferre gratiam omnibus non ponentibus obicem peccati mortalis. Praeterquam enim quod in Sacramentis nihil nisi fide percipitur, tenendum quoque est, minime alligatam ipsis esse Dei gratiam, ut, quisquis signum habeat, re etiam potiat. Nam reprobis peraeque ut electis signa administrantur, veritas autem signorum ad hos solos pervenit. XVIII. Certum quidem est, offerri communiter omnibus Christum cum suis donis, nec hominum incredulitate laefactari Dei veritatem, quin semper vim suam retineant Sacramenta; sed non omnes Christi et donorum ejus sunt capaces.—XIX. Quemadmodum autem nihil plus Sacramentorum usus infidelibus conferet, quam si abstinerent, imo tantum illis exitialis est: ita extra eorum usum fidelibus constat, quae illie figuratur veritas.—Sic in Coena se nobis communicat Christus, qui tamen et prius se nobis impertierat et perpetuo manet in nobis. Nam eum jubeantur singuli seipsos probare, inde consequitur, fidem ab ipsis requiri, antequam ad Sacramentum aecedant. Atqui fides non est sine Christo, sed quatenus Sacramentis confirmatur et augetur fides, confirmantur in nobis Dei dona, adeoque quodammodo augetur Christus in nobis, et nos in ipso. XXI. Praesertim vero tollenda est quaelibet localis praesentiae imaginatio. Nam eum signa hic in mundo sint, oculis certantur, palpentur manibus; Christus, quatenus homo est, non alibi quam in coelo, nec aliter quam mente et fidei intelligentia quaerendus est. Quare perversa et impia superstitio est, ipsum sub elementis hujus mundi includere. XXII. Proinde qui in solemnibus Coenae verbis: *hoc est corpus meum, hic est sanguis meus*, praecise literalem, ut loquantur, sensum urgent, eos tanquam praeposteros interpretes repudiamus. Nam extra controversiam ponimus, figurate accipienda esse, ut esse panis et vinum dicantur id quod significant.—XXIV. Hoc modo non tantum refutatur Papistarum commentum de transsubstantiatione, sed crassa omnia figmenta atque fuites argutiae, quae vel coelesti ejus gloriae detrahunt vel veritati humanae naturae minus sunt

which he rejected; but Berne did not accept this formula,⁵² and was steadfast in its hostility. When Hieronymus Bolsec was put in prison in Geneva,⁵³ October 16, 1551, for his opposition to unconditional election, and this doctrine was formally set forth by the Genevese clergy in the *Consensus Genevensis*,⁵⁴ January 1, 1552, the German cantons replied by referring to the unsearchableness of the secret things of God, and advised mildness.⁵⁵ 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;⁵⁶ 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 *Abendmal*, ii. 503. 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, 1839), s. 187. [Comp. Jul. Müller, *Lutheri et Calv. Sent. de sacra Coena*, Halle, 1853.]

⁵² Hundeshagen, s. 251. Ebrard, ii. 522 f.

⁵³ Trechsel's *Antitrinitarier*, i. 185. Henry, iii. i. 44. Hundeshagen, s. 271.

⁵⁴ Henry, iii. i. 82. 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. xlvi.); 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*. Melancthon ad C. Peucerum, 1. Febr., 1552 (*Corp. Ref.*, vii. 932): Lelius (Soëmus) mihi scribit, tanta esse Genæ certamina de Stoica necessitate, ut carceri inclusus sit quidam a Zenone dissentiens. O rem miseram! Doctrina salutaris obscuro peregrinis disputationibus.

⁵⁵ See the letters of Zürich, Berne, and Basle, in Jo. Alph. Turretini *Nubes Testium pro moderato et pacifico de Rebus theologicis 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 sentimus, ne quid severius statuatur in errantes, ne, dum dogmatum puritatem immoderatus vindicamus, a regula Spiritus Christi deficiamus, h. e. caritatem fraternam, unde discipuli Christi censemur, ad sinistram declinantes, transgrediamur. Bullinger wrote to Calvin (*Bullinger's Leben*, by Hess, ii. 42): Apostoli sublimem hanc causam paucis attigerunt, nec nisi coacti, eamque sic moderati sunt, ne quid inde offenderentur pii.—Si simpliciter veritate non sinit se superari Hieronymus (Bolsec), nos nullam vim practerea possumus addere.

⁵⁶ 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 Papis deteriorum pro suggestu proclamant. Ac quo quisque petulantius in me bacchatur, eo plus sibi favoris et praesidii comparat. The execution of Servetus, Oct. 27, 1553, was made the occasion of much reproach to Calvin by all his opponents (Trechsel, i. 263); Bolsec said, Magnam injuriam Serveto factam esse, et bonam causam injusta Calvini tyrannide fuisse oppressam (Trechsel, i. 195). Andr. Zebedée, professor in Lausanne, a stiff Zwinglian: Ignis gallicus vicit ignem hispanicum, sed ignis Dei vincet ignem gallicum (Hess, ii. 238). Sebast. Castellio, professor in Basle, published: De Haereticis, an sint persequendi, et omnino quomodo sit cum eis agendum, doctorum virorum tum veterum tum recentiorum

predestination was forbidden;⁵⁷ the Vaudois were prohibited from receiving the Lord's Supper in Geneva;⁵⁸ and no satisfaction was given to the Genevese when they complained of being calumniated.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 Würtemberg, a Confession,⁶⁰ and there-

Sententiae (the Preface, with the assumed name Martinus Bellius, subscribed, Magdeburgi, 1554); Laelius Socinus: *Dialogus inter Calvinum et Vaticanum*, 1554; cf. Seb. Castellio *Lebensgeschichte*, by J. C. Füesslin, Frankf. u. Leipz., 1775, s. 63; F. Chr. Schlosser's *Leben des Theodor de Beze und des Peter Martyr Vermili*, Heidelberg, 1809, s. 54. The dissension was increased by the fact that the Genevese held that the Lord's Supper could not be dispensed in a holy manner without the excommunication of the unworthy, which was not the case in Berne. Other subjects of strife were baptismal fonts (of stone), which the Genevese abolished and the Bernese retained; and the doing away in Geneva, after a short time, of all festivals which did not fall on Sundays.

⁵⁷ The 26th January, 1555, the Bernese Council renewed the prohibition about disputing on doctrines and ecclesiastical order, and especially emphasized (*Hundeshagen*, s. 286) *certaines 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 *Gerdessii Scrinium Antiqu.*, ii. 472.

⁵⁸ In the edict of 26th January, 1555, in *Hundeshagen*, s. 394. The Lord's Supper, in the Bernese churches, was held by many Calvinists not to be valid, because there was no church discipline.

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 38), and also charges of heterodoxy. The council did not impose punishment, but demanded peace, *Arrêt du 3. Avril, 1555* (*Trechsel's Antitrinitarier*, i. 203; *Hundeshagen*, s. 292):—*Aussy que nos très chers combourgeois de Genève tiennent main, que leurs ministres fassent du semblable et que dorrenavant se dépourtent de composer livres contenant si hautes choses, pour perscruter les secrets de Dieu, à notre semblant non nécessaires, qui donnent occasion de telles choses et qui plus destruisent que édifient.—Toutefois luy (Calvin) et tous les Ministres de Genève par ces présentes expressément advertissons, cas advenant, que nous trouvions aulecuns livres en nos pays, par luy ou par aultres composez, contrairians et repugnans à notre dite Disputation et Réformation (Div. I., § 6, Notes 10, 11), que non seulement ne les souffrirons, ains aussi les bruslerons. Item tous personnages, qui viendront, hanteront en nos pays, parlants, dévisants, disputants, escripivants, et tenants propos contraires à nostre Disputation et Réformation, i ceux punirons selon leur démérite, de sorte que chascung entendra que ne vouldons cela souffrir.*

⁶⁰ Bullinger, by Hess, ii. 359. *Hundeshagen*, s. 311. The Confession subscribed by Beza, Farel, and others, professed to give the doctrines of the Churches in France, Switzerland, and Savoy; the best account of this is in *Baum's Theodor Beza*, Th. I (Leipz., 1843), s. 405: *Fatemur in Coena Domini non omnia modo Christi beneficia, sed ipsam etiam Filii hominis substantiam, ipsam, inquam, veram carnem, quam Verbum aeternum in perpetuam unitatem personae assumpsit, in qua natus et passus pro nobis resurrexit, et ascendit in coelos, et verum illum sanguinem, quem fudit pro nobis, non*

upon, at the Diet of Worms, October, 1557, made declarations⁶¹

significari duntaxat, aut symbolice, typice vel figurate tanquam absentis memoriam proponi; sed vere ac certe representari, exhiberi, et applicanda offerri, adjunctis ipsi rei symbolis minime nudis, sed quae, quod ad Deum promittentem et offerentem attinet, rem ipsam semper vere ac certo conjunctam habeant, sive fidelibus, sive infidelibus proponantur. Jam vero modum illum, quo res ipsa, i. e., verum corpus et verus sanguis Domini cum symbolis copulatur, dicimus esse symbolicum sive sacramentalem. Sacramentalem autem modum vocamus non, qui sit duntaxat figurativus, sed qui vere ac certo sub specie rerum visibilium representet, quod Deus cum symbolis exhibet et offert, nempe quod superiore articulo diximus: ut appareat, nos ipsius corporis Christi substantiae praesentiam in Coena retinere et defendere. Et si quid nobis cum vere piis et doctis controversiae est, non de re ipsa, i. e., de praesentia sed de modo praesentiae duntaxat, qui soli Deo est cognitus, a nobis autem creditur, disceptari. Quod autem attinet ad modum, quo symbola nobiscum communicantur, physicum eum esse scimus. Nam physice visibilia illa et palpabilia sumimus. Denique quod attinet ad modum, quo res ipsa, i. e., naturalis illa et vera Christi substantia vere ac certo nobis communicatur, non facimus eum modum physicum, nec localem conjunctionem imaginamur, aut diffusionem naturae humanae Christi, aut crassam illam et naturalem commixtionem substantiae Christi cum nostra substantia, non denique papisticam transsubstantiationem, sed spirituale esse modum dicimus, i. e., qui nitatur incomprehensibili Spiritus Dei omnipotentis virtute, quam nobis in hoc verbo suo patefecit: *hoc est corpus meum, hoc est sanguis meus*. Obtestamur autem omnes fratres verae pacis ac concordiae amantes, ut sepositis omnibus privatis affectibus cogitent, eequid oporteat illos, qui de Christi Sacramentis ita sentiunt et docent, pro infidelibus et haereticis traduci. This 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 correspondence about it with Calvin and Beza, in Bullinger, by Hess, ii. 362; Hundeshagen, s. 312. Comp. the account in Bullingeri ad Jo. a Lasco, 24. Jun., 1558, in J. C. Fueslini Epistolae ab Eccl. Helv. Reformatoribus vel ad eos scriptae (Tiguri, 1742), p. 414; Baum's Theod. Beza, i. 267.

⁶¹ When the Lutheran divines in Worms asked for a Confessio doctrinae Ecclesiarum Gallicarum, for which they were to intercede, their deputies, Beza, Farel, Joh. Budäus of Geneva, and Casper Carmel, Reformed preacher in Paris, did not dare to present the Confession which in the spring had been handed in to the Duke of Würtemberg, because it was so much disapproved in Switzerland; but they drew up a shorter and more cautious declaration (see this in Corp. Ref., ix. 332, 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 Ecclesiis judicamus, et eam amplectimur, excepto tamen uno articulo, videlicet de Coena Domini, in quo controversiae haerent, de quibus colloquia cum vestris semper expetivimus, et speramus dirimi eas posse, si eruditorum et piorum explicatio audiatur. Nunquam hoc nos sensimus aut docuimus, Coenam Domini esse tantum signum professionis,—aut esse signum absentis Christi.—Constantissime affirmamus, Filium Dei missum 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 communicatio corporis*, i. e., illa res, quam cum sumimus, filius Dei vere adest et facit nos per fidem 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, s. 319. Bullinger ad Jo. a Lasco, 24. June, 1558 (in Fueslini Epist., p. 416): implicate iterum loquuntur de Coena, et exponunt locum Pauli 1 Cor. x. secus quam oportebat. Dubitamus item, an Ecclesiae Gallicanae per omnia agniturae sint Augustanam confessionem, 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 strieter church discipline, were banished from the Canton de Vaud,⁶² 1559. 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 1563.⁶³ 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,⁶⁴ the Swiss were led to unite in the Confession left by Bullinger, as the expression of their common faith (*Confessio Helvetica II.*, 1566),⁶⁵ 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;⁶⁶ but the Augustinian doctrine of election is not in the

⁶² Hundeshagen, s. 351 ff.

⁶³ In German and Latin in Niemeyer's *Coll. Confessionum Reform.*, p. 390; cf. *Praef.*, p. lvii.; in German in Böckel's *Bekenntnisschriften d. Evangel. Ref. Kirche*, s. 395. H. S. van Alpen's *Gesch. und Literatur d. Heidelb. Katechism.*, Frankf. a M., 1800. Augusti's *Hist. Krit. Einleitung in die beiden Hauptkatechismen der Evangel. Kirche*, Elberfeld, 1824, s. 96. Dr. M. J. H. Beckhaus über den *Lehrbegriff des Heidelb. Katechismus*, in Illgen's *Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol.*, viii. (1838), ii. 39. Ebrard's *Abendmal*, ii. 602. [On the Heidelberg Catechism, compare Nevin's work, and his articles in the *Mereersburg Review*, 1853 sq., and the *Princeton Repertory*, 1854. Also Kahn's, *Lehre vom Abendmal*, 1851; and Dieckhoff, *Abendmalslehre im Zeitalter der Ref.*, 1854.]

⁶⁴ B. G. Struven's *pfälzische Kirchenhistorie*, Frankfurt, 1721. 4., s. 165 ff.

⁶⁵ *Confessio Helvetica posterior*. *Recognovit atque cum integra lectionis varietate autographi Turicensis, prolegomenis indicibusque edidit O. F. Fritzsche, Turici*, 1839. In Niemeyer, p. 462; cf. *Praef.*, p. lxiii. Ebrard's *Abendmal*, ii. 735.

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. dadurch Vergebung der Sünden u. ewiges Leben bekommen: sonder auch darneben durch den heil. Geist, der zugleich in Christo u. in uns wohnet, also mit seinem gebenedeiten Leib je mehr u. mehr vereinigt 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 unsers Leibs von einer Seelen) ewig leben und regieret werden." Question 78: "Wie

Catechism at all, and the Confession gives it in a mild form, far behind that in which Calvin advocated it.⁶⁷ On the other hand,

das 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, wiewol es nach Art und Brauch der Sacramenten der Leib Christi genennet wird." Question 79: Christus hat das Brod seinen Leib, u. den Kelch sein Blut genannt, "dass er uns nit allein damit will lehren, 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. ii. 82; Ebrard's Abendmal, ii. 604. Conf. Helvetica Posterior, c. xxi.: Retinere vult Dominus ritu hoc sacro in recenti memoria maximum generi mortalium praestitum beneficium, nempe quod tradito corpore et effuso suo sanguine omnia nobis peccata nostra condonavit, ac a morte aeterna et potestate diaboli nos redemit, jam pascit nos sua carne et potat suo sanguine, quae vera fide spiritualiter perceptae alunt nos ad vitam aeternam.—Et quidem visibiliter hoc foris Sacramento per ministrum repraesentatur, et veluti oculis contemplandum exponitur, quod intus in anima invisibiliter per ipsum Spiritum sanctum praestatur.—Manducatio non est unius generis. Est enim manducatio corporalis, qua cibus in os percipitur ab homine, dentibus atteritur, et in ventrem deglutitur. Hoc manducationis genere intellexerunt olim Capernaitae sibi manducandam carnem Domini, sed refutantur ab ipso Joan. c. vi.—Est et spiritualis manducatio corporis Christi, non ea quidem, qua existimemus cibum ipsum mutari in spiritum, sed qua, manente in sua essentia et proprietate corpore et sanguine Domini, ea nobis communicantur spiritualiter,—per Spiritum sanctum, qui videlicet ea, quae per carnem et sanguinem Domini, pro nobis in mortem tradita, parata sunt, ipsam inquam remissionem peccatorum, liberationem, et vitam aeternam applicat et confert nobis, ita ut Christus in nobis vivat, et nos in ipso vivamus, efficitque, ut ipsum, quo talis sit cibus et potus spiritualis noster, i. e., vita nostra, vera fide percipiamus.—Fit autem hic esus et potus spiritualis etiam extra Domini Coenam, et quoties, aut ubicunque homo in Christum crediderit. Quo fortassis illud Augustini pertinet: *quid paras dentem et ventrem? crede et manducasti.* Praeter superiorem manducationem spirituales est et sacramentalis manducatio corporis Domini, qua fidelis non tantum spiritualiter et interne participat vero corpore et sanguine Domini, sed foris etiam accedendo ad mensam Domini accipit visibile corporis et sanguinis Domini Sacramentum. Prius quidem, dum creditur fidelis, vivificum alimentum percipit, et ipso fruitur adhuc, sed ideo, dum Sacramentum quoque accipit, non nihil accipit. Nam in continuatione communicationis corporis et sanguinis Domini pergit, adeoque magis magisque incenditur, et crescit fides, ac spirituali alimonia reficitur.—Et qui foris vera fide sacramentum percipit, idem ille non signum duntaxat percipit, sed re ipsa quoque, ut diximus, fruitur. Praeterea idem ille institutioni et mandato Domini obedit, laetoeque animo gratias pro redemptione sua totiusque generis humani agit, ac fidelem mortis dominicae memoriam peragit, atque coram Ecclesia, cujus corporis membrum sit, attestatur: obsignatur item percipientibus Sacramentum, quod corpus Domini non tantum in genere pro hominibus sit traditum,—sed peculiariter pro quovis fideli communicante.—Ceterum qui nulla cum fide ad hanc sacram Domini mensam accedit, Sacramento duntaxat communicat, et rem Sacramenti, unde est vita et salus, non percipit. Et tales indigne edunt de mensa Domini,—et ad judicium sibi edunt et bibunt.

⁶⁷ Heidelb. Catech. Qu. 37, it reads that Christ "an Leib und Seele—den Zorn Gottes wider die Sünde des ganzen menschlichen Geschlechts getragen hat;" Question 51: "Dass der Sohn Gottes aus dem ganzen menschlichen Geschlecht ihm ein auserwähl'te Gemein zum ewigen Leben aus durch sein Geist u. Wort in Einigkeit des wahren Glaubens

strict Calvinism had the preponderance among the Reformed, outside of Switzerland and Germany,⁶⁸ and was decidedly expressed in the *Confessio Belgica*, 1559, and in the *Confessio Gallicana*,⁶⁹ 1561.

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 Andreä's work on the *Formula Concordiæ*; 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.⁷⁰

§ 36.

MELANCTHON'S THEOLOGICAL RELATIONS TO LUTHER.

Versuch einer Charakteristik Melancthon's als Theologen u. einer Entwickelung seines Lehrbegriffs, von F. Galle, Halle, 1840. Phil. Melancthon, 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, Rossel in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1844: comp. *Zeitschrift für d. Hist. Theol.*, 1851. Mel. *Hypotyposes*, Schwarz in

von Anbeginn der Welt bis ans End versammle, schütze u. erhalte, u. dass ich derselben ein lebendiges Glied bin, u. ewig bleiben werde." On the later controversy, whether the Catechism teaches universal or particular grace, see Beekhaus, in Illgen's *Zeitschr.*, viii. 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 ullum meritum nostrum, sed in Christo et propter Christum nos elegit Deus, ut qui jam sunt in Christo insiti per fidem, illi ipsi etiam sint electi; reprobi vero, qui sunt extra Christum.—Et quamvis Deus norit, qui sint sui, et alicubi mentio fiat paucitatis electorum, bene sperandum est tamen de omnibus, neque temere reprobis quisquam est annumerandus.—Satis perspicuum et firmum habebimus testimonium, nos in libro vitae inscriptos esse, si communicaverimus eum 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 ait: *petite 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.

⁶⁸ Beza was a strict supralapsarian. Thus, at the colloquy of Mömpelgard, 1586, he defended against Andreä the position: Adamum sponte quidem, sed tamen non modo praesciente, sed etiam juste ordinante et decernente Deo in istas calamitates prolapsus esse; see *Acta Colloquii Montisbelligartensis*, Witteberg, 1613. 4., p. 414, 424, 429. Th. Beza, *Ad Acta Colloqu. Montisbell. Responsio* (Partes ii., Genev., 1588, 4.), p. 233.

⁶⁹ Niemeyer *Coll. Confess. Reform.*, p. 360 n. 311.

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.

Stud. u. Krit., 1855; *ibid.* on Melancthon's *Loci* in Stud. u. Krit., 1857; comp. *Corpus Reform.*, vol. xxv.—xxvii. *Zum Secular-Andenken Phil. Mel.*, by J. F. T. Wohlfarth, 1858.]

When Philip Melancthon came to Wittenberg in 1518, he was already attached to the reforming tendencies. He there came into intimate relations with Luther,¹ and devoted himself with great zeal to the study of theology.² 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.³ 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,⁴ and unity and order as essential conditions of

¹ Mel. ad Jo. Langium, 11. Aug., 1519, Corp. Ref., i. 106: Ego et Martini studia et pias literas et Martinum, si omnino in rebus humanis quidquam, vehementissime diligo, et animo integerrimo complector. Galle, s. 101.

² Mel. ad Jo. Schwebelium, Maj., 1520, C. R., i. 190: Nunc seriae ac necessariae magis sunt occupationes nostrae, quam fuerunt illae in Suevis olim, cum adhuc *ἐνεανειόσομεν*. Galle, s. 109. For the high estimation in which Luther held him, see Luth. ad Jo. Staupitium, 3. Oct., 1519 (de Wette, i. 341): Philippi positiones (against Eck, in *Lutheri Opp.*, Tom. i., Jen. lat., p. 345) vidisti aut nunc vides audaculas sed verissimas. Ita respondit, ut omnibus nobis esset id quod est, scilicet miraculum: si Christus dignabitur, multos ille Martinos praestabit, diabolo et scholasticae theologiae potentissimus hostis: novit illorum nugas et Christi petram: ideo potens poterit. Amen. Ad Jo. Langium, 18. Aug., 1520 (de Wette, i. 478): Ego de me in his rebus nihil statuere possum: forte ego praecursor sum Philippi, cui exemplo Heliae viam parem in spiritu et virtute, conturbaturus Israel et Achabitas. Galle, s. 101, 131.

³ In many letters he expresses the desire to give up the theological lectures. Galle, s. 113. Mel. ad Spalatin., Jul., 1522, C. R., i. 575. Theologica, quae praelegere coeperam propter Baccalaureatum, ut mos est, omittere malim.—Humanarum literarum et multis et adsiduis doctoribus opus esse video, quae non minus hoc saeculo, quam sophistico illo negliguntur. Nuper adeo plerosque juvenes languentes revocavi in viam, qui omnia bene dicendi cura nescio quid sectabantur. Mel. Praefatio ad Lutheri Librum de constituendis Scholis., Aug., 1524, C. R., i. 666: Linguas profecto praecidi oportet iis, qui pro concionibus passim a literarum studiis imperitam juventutem dehortantur. Nam admissa barbarie videmus olim labefactam esse religionem, et vehementer metuo, ne eodem redeat res, nisi manibus ac pedibus pulcherrimum Dei munus, literas, defenderimus. [Comp. L. Koch, *Melancthon's Schola Privata*, 1859.]

⁴ Mel. ad Joach. Camerarium, 22. Jan., 1525, C. R., i. 722: De negotio *εὐχαριστίας* non aliud adhuc susceptum video, nisi ut hac occasione in intricatas, obscuras et profanas quaestiones ac rixas conjecti animi a conspectu doctrinae necessariae tanquam turbine quodam auferantur.—Ego mihi ita conscius sum, non aliam ob causam unquam *πυρολογηκέναι*, nisi ut vitam emendarem.

the efficiency of the Church.⁵ Hence he was repugnant to the theological speculations and controversies, which seemed to lose sight of that object and of these conditions;⁶ 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,⁷ and was impartial in acknowledging what was true in the opinions of his opponents.⁸ Thus his doctrinal peculiarities, gradually developed, and consummated, as to the chief points, in his edition of the *Loci*⁹ of 1535, had for their aim to sunder what was essential

⁵ Melancthon's judgment expressed to the Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, Sept., 1526, C. R., i. 821: Videtur item utile prohibere dissensiones in concionibus. Rixantur autem non tantum Papistae, sed et adversarii Papistarum saepe multo vehementius quam alteri. Nonnunquam etiam lis est de lana caprina. Eas dissensiones, quantum fieri potest, studeat V. Cels. per praefectos cohiberi ita, ut qui sanior videatur solus doceat, alter taceat prorsus, juxta Pauli regulam. Doceat autem non fidem tantum, sed timorem quoque Dei, cujus jam paene nulla in concionibus mentio fit, ac caritatem, et inter praecepta caritatis summum et gravissimum obedientiam erga magistratus. Postremo rogo Cels. V., ut quantum pie fieri potest, pacis publicae causa veteres ceremonias conservet. Nunquam ritus ac mores sine magnis scandalis mutantur. Et Christianismus minime in ritibus situs est, sed in timore Dei, fide, caritate et obedientia erga magistratus; quae utinam tam sedulo docerent concionatores quam strenue vociferantur in Papam.

⁶ Postilla Melancthoniana (collecta a C. Pezelio, p. i., Heidelb., 1594; p. ii.-iv., Hanoviae, 1594. 95. 8.), p. ii., p. 759: Ego non delector inanibus disputationibus, nec quaero subtilitates in ullo genere doctrinarum, sed quaero realia et quae utilia sunt in omni vita. Non est sapientia quaerere praestigias et excoGITARE nova, aut occupari disputationibus inutilibus. Galle, s. 234.

⁷ Mel. ad Alex. Drachstadium Epist. Nuncupatoria in Scholia in Epist. Pauli ad Coloss., Haganoae, 1557. C. R., i. 874: Multae hoc tempore controversiae tractantur, quas hic attingere oportuit. In his explicandis volui non tantum diligentiam meam probari lectoribus, sed etiam *επιεικειαν*, quam in ecclesiasticis dissensionibus in primis praestari oportebat. Neque enim aliter aut conservari aut sarciri Ecclesiae concordia potest. Ad Ge. Spalatinum, 1527, on his instructions to the Visitatores: Tantum me hoc cavisse, ut sine acerbitate verborum res nude proponerentur. Multae mihi causae fuerunt ejus lenitatis. Nolui enim alere *Aurci* et similium amentiam, qui putant, unum hoc esse docere Evangelium, summa contentione atque amarulentia debacchari velut e plaustris adversus eos, qui a nobis dissentiunt. Neque ignoro, quantum odii apud quosdam conciliarit mihi haec mea diligentia; sed mihi magis spectandum, quid Deo placeret, quam quomodo sycophantas illos mihi placarem, a quibus nunc ut haereticus, ut fanaticus traducor (C. R., i. 898).

⁸ Mel. ad Casp. Aquilam, Nov., 1527, C. R., iv. 959: Ego in hac inspectione Ecclesiarum maxime volui concordiam constituere. Itaque hortatus sum eos, qui docent Evangelium, ut moderate et sine conviciis suum officium faciant: quaedam etiam in doctrina superioris saeculi probavi, v. c. poenitentiae partitionem, si tamen tribuatur satisfactio Christi (*leg. Christo*), eamque partitionem utilem esse existimo ad docendum.—Nimio odio Papae quidam omnia bona et mala juxta damnant: ea ex re quanta sint nata scandala videmus. Quin potius quae poterunt tolerari aut excusari leniamus, ut Ecclesiae concordiae consulamus.—Multa nunc melius docentur divino beneficio in Ecclesia quam ante; sed quaedam melius olim docebant aliqui, quam multi nunc indocti Lutherani.—Quaedam Papistae in nostris non sine causa reprehendunt.

⁹ On this second chief edition, see Strobel's *Literargesch.* v. Ph. Melancthon's *Loci*

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.¹⁰ After 1527 he abandoned it by degrees,¹¹ 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.¹²

Theologieis, Aitdorf u. Nürnberg, 1776, s. 56. Mel. ad J. Camerarium, 2. Sept., 1535, C. R., ii. 936: Ego nunc in meis locis multa mitigavi. Ad emnd., 24. Dec., 1835, C. R., ii. 1027: In locis meis etiam sieubi videor habere *δευτέρας φροντίδας*, vides me hoc agere, ut rebus obscuris et intricatis aliquid addam lucis. Nam tu ne malles obscuro me augere *τὰς ἀκυρολογίας, ὡς περ στωϊκόν τινα ἢ πλατωνίζοντα*, cum summam rerum videas me retinere. Neque tamen valde recuso, etiam si qua plaga mihi accipienda aliquando erit, habeo enim rationem mei consilii.

¹⁰ *Loci Theol.*, 1521. A. 7: Quandoquidem omnia, quae eveniunt, necessario juxta divinam praedestinationem eveniunt, nulla est voluntatis nostrae libertas. B. 4 *verso*: Praedient liberi arbitrii vim Pharisaei scholastici: Christianus agnosceat, nihil minus in potestate sua esse, quam cor suum.—*Summa*, si ad praedestinationem referas humanam voluntatem, nec in externis nec in internis operibus nulla est libertas, sed eveniunt omnia juxta destinationem divinam. Si ad opera externa referas voluntatem, quaedam videtur esse judicio naturae libertas. Si ad adfectus referas voluntatem, nulla plane libertas est etiam naturae judicio. 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 fatentur proprium Dei opus fuisse Pauli vocationem, ita fateantur, opera Dei propria esse, sive quae media vocantur, ut comedere, bibere, communia enim brutis, sive quae mala sunt, ut Davidis adulterium, Manlii severitatem animadvertentis in filium.—Constat, Deum omnia facere non permissive sed potenter,—ita ut sit ejus proprium opus Judae proditio, sicut Pauli vocatio. Galle, s. 247.

¹¹ Mel. Enarratio Epist. ad Colossenses, 1527: Quia Christus ipse dicit Joh. viii.: *cum loquitur mendacium, ex propriis loquitur*, non faciam Deum auctorem peccati, sed naturam conservantem, et vitam et motum impertientem, qua vita et motu diabolus aut impii non recte utuntur.—Clarissimè 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 impiis.—Habet libertatem voluntas humana in deligendis his, quae *ψυχικά* sunt, ut hoc aut illud cibi genus eligere,—habet et vim carnalis et civilis justitiae efficiendae, continere manus potest a caede, a furto, abstinere ab alterius uxore. 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, ad cap. 9: Scriptores veteres omnes praeter unum Augustinum ponunt, aliquam causam electionis in nobis esse. Et recentiores *μᾶλα βεβήλωσ* affirmare audent, rem totam pendere ex meritis nostris et dignitate nostra, quod ideo falsum esse necesse est, quia neque justificamur neque salvamur propter dignitatem nostram aut impletionem legis. Verecundius est, quod aliquamdiu placuit Augustino, misericordiam Dei vere causam electionis esse, sed tamen eatenus aliquam causam in accipiente esse, *quatenus promissionem oblatam non repudiat*, quia malum ex nobis est. Galle, s. 274.

¹² *Loci Theol.*, 1535. *De causa peccati et de contingentia, E. verso*: Est autem haec pia et vera sententia, utraque manu, ac verius toto pectore tenenda, quod Deus non sit

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 *περί τῆς ἀνάγκης*: nihil enim habent veri aut firmi, sed sunt merae praestigiae ac sophisticae coactiones. Deinde non est obscurum, quantum haec opinio noceat pietati et moribus, si sic sentiant homines, ut Zenonis servulus dicebat, non debere se plecti, quia Stoico fato coactus esset peccare. Ab his opinionibus decet pios aures atque animis abhorreere. *De humanis viribus seu de libero arbitrio, E. IV. verso*: Quaeritur, quomodo voluntas sit libera, h. e. quomodo possit obedire legi Dei.—Primum igitur respondeo: cum in natura hominis reliquum sit iudicium et delectus quidam rerum quae sunt subjectae rationi aut sensui, reliquum est etiam delectus externorum operum civilium. Quare voluntas humana potest suis viribus sine renovatione aliquo modo externa legis opera facere.—Illud tantum addam, hanc ipsam libertatem efficiendae civilis iustitiae saepe vinci naturali imbecillitate, saepe impediri a diabolo.—Secundo, Evangelium docet in natura horribilem corruptionem esse, quae repugnat legi Dei, h. e. facit, ne praestare integram obedientiam possimus.—Sciendum est igitur de libero arbitrio, non posse homines legi Dei satisfacere. Nam lex divina requirit non tantum externa facta, sed interiorem munditiam, timorem, fiduciam, dilectionem Dei summam, denique perfectam obedientiam, et prohibet omnes vitiosos affectus. Constat autem, homines hanc perfectam obedientiam in hac corrupta natura non praestare. De hac corruptione praecipue loquimur, non de externis factis, cum extenuamus libertatem voluntatis.—Deinde et hoc addendum est: voluntas humana non potest sine Spiritu sancto efficere spiritualia affectus, quos Deus requirit, scil. verum timorem Dei, veram fiduciam misericordiae Dei, obedientiam ac tolerantiam afflictionum, dilectionem Dei, et similes motus.—Neque haec eo dicuntur, ut laqueos injiciamus conscientiis, aut deterreamus homines a studio obediendi, aut credendi, aut ne conentur. Imo cum a verbo ordiri debeamus, certe non repugnandum est verbo Dei, sed annitendum ut obtemperemus, et intueria promissio Evangelii, quae est universalis. Porro in veris certaminibus haec clarius judicari possunt, quam in otiosis disputationibus. Nam in vero agone, ubi angimur de remissione peccatorum, erigere nos debemus et intueri in promissionem.—Et Spiritus sanctus ibi efficax est per verbum. Sicut inquit Paulus: Spiritus adjuvat infirmitatem nostram. In hac lucta hortandus est animus, ut omni conatu retineat verbum. Non est dehortandus ne conetur, sed docendus, quod promissio sit universalis, et quod debeat credere. In hoc exemplo videmus, *conjugi has causas, Verbum, Spiritum sanctum, et voluntatem*, non sane otiosam, sed repugnantem infirmitati suae. Has causas hoc modo ecclesiastici scriptores conjungere solent. Basilius inquit: *μόνον θέλησον, καὶ ὁ θεὸς προοπιωντῆ*. Deus anteverit nos, vocat, movet, adjuvat, sed nos viderimus ne repugnemus. Constat enim peccatum oriri a nobis, non a voluntate Dei. Chrysostomus inquit: *ὁ δὲ ἔλακον τὸν βουλούμενον ἔλακε*. Id apte dicitur auspicianti a verbo, ne advesetur, ne repugnet verbo. Et nos quidem sic judicare oportet. Non enim indulgere debemus diffidentiae aut desidia naturali. Schenkel, ii. 445.

¹³ Supra, § 34, Note 22.

¹⁴ Loci Theol., 1535. *De bonis operibus, G. IV. verso*: Plane igitur et clare dico: obedientia nostra, h. e. iustitia bonae conscientiae seu operum, quae Deus nobis praecipit, necessario sequi debet reconciliationem.—Acceptatio ad vitam aeternam, seu donatio vitae aeternae conjuncta est cum justificatione, i. e., cum remissione peccatorum et reconciliatione, quae fide contingit, juxta illud: *quos justificat, eosdem et glorificat* (Rom. viii. 30). Itaque non datur vita aeterna propter dignitatem bonorum operum, sed gratis propter Christum. *Et tamen bona opera ita necessaria sunt ad vitam aeternam, quin 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,¹⁵ and had been opposed to all union with the Swiss,¹⁶ he was first led to adopt a milder tone by the *Dialogus* of Oecolampadius,¹⁷ and began, after 1531, to declare in favor of a union.¹⁸ After the conference with Bucer in Cassel, at the end of 1534 and beginning of 1535, he decidedly changed his views,¹⁹ 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.²⁰

gelium (1 Cor. ix. 16). Item: *qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt* (Gal. v. 21). *Requirantur autem non solum externa civilia opera, sed etiam spiritualia motus, timor Dei, fiducia, invocatio, dilectio, et similes motus.*—Sed non satis est docere, quod obedientia nostra necessaria sit: addendum est enim, quomodo placeat Deo, cum constet, neminem satisfacere legi.—Et necessaria est illa obedientia, et placet Deo, sed in reconciliatis, et est iustitia, non quia legi satisfacit, sed quia jam personae placent.

¹⁵ He seeks to show this agreement in the work: *Sententiae Patrum de Coena Domini* cum præf. ad Myeonium, March, 1530. Galle, s. 390.

¹⁶ Mel. ad H. Baumgartnerum, 17. Maj., 1529 (Corp. Ref., i. 1070): *Quæso, ut quantum poteris, des operam, ne recipiantur Cingliani in ullius foederis societatem. Neque enim convenit impiam sententiam defendere, aut confirmare vires eorum, qui impium dogma sequuntur, ne latius serpat venenum.* Cf. ad eund., 20. Jun., 1529, l. c., p. 1077.

¹⁷ Oec. *Dialogus*, quid de Eucharistia Veteres tum Graeci, tum Latini 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 Bucerum, Apr., 1531 (Corp. Ref., ii. 498): *De nostris negotiis nihil habeo quod scribam, nisi quod sperem, aliquando inter nos veram et solidam concordiam coitutum esse idque ut fiat Deum oro, certe quantum possum ad hoc annitar. Nunquam enim placuit mihi hæc violenta et hostilis digladiatio inter Lutherum et Cinglium. Melius illi toti causæ consultum fuerit, si sinamus paulatim consulescere has tragicas contentiones.* Ad eund., 10. Oct., 1533 (l. c., p. 675).

¹⁹ Mel. ad J. Brentium, 12. Jan., 1535 (C. R., ii. 823): *Ὁρῶ δὲ πολλὰς τῶν παλαιῶν συγγραφήων μαρτυρίας εἶναι, αἱ ἄνευ ἀμφιβολίας ἐρμηνεύουσι τὸ μυστήριον περὶ τύπου, καὶ τροπικῶς ἐναντία δὲ μαρτυρία εἰσὶν ἢ νεώτεροι ἢ νόθοι* (the *Dialogues* of Oecolampadius had manifestly helped him to a knowledge of this). *Σκεπτέον δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν, εἰ παλαιῆς γνώμης ὑπερασπίζετε. σφόδρα δὲ εὐχόμην τὴν εὐσεβῆ ἐκκλησίαν ταύτην δίκην ἐκείσῃ ἄνευ σοφιστικῆς καὶ ἄνευ τυραννίδος.* 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 requirere, sui enim nuncius alienæ, etsi profecto non dissimulabo quid sentiam, ubi audiero, quid respondeant nostri.* Schenkel, i. 552.

²⁰ *Loci Theol.*, 1535. *De Coena Domini, N. VIII.*: *Supra dictum est, Sacramentum ceremoniam esse additam promissioni, in qua Deus nobis aliquid exhibet. Sic et hæc Coena est Sacramentum, debet enim intelligi ceremonia addita summæ totius Evangelii, quod et complectitur in ipsis verbis: hic est calix novum testamentum, i. e., testimonium novæ promissionis. Est et summa Evangelii seu promissionis in his verbis: hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis datur, item: hic est sanguis qui pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum. Principalis igitur finis hujus ceremoniæ est, ut testetur, nobis exhiberi res in Evangelio promissas, scil. remissionem peccatorum et justificationem propter Christum.—Deinde sic prodest hæc ceremonia, cum fidem addimus, scil. qua credimus promissa contingere, nosque consolamur; et hoc spectaculum oculis atque animo objicitur, ut nos ad credendum admoncat, et fides in nobis exsuscitetur. 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.²¹

enim testatur ad nos pertinere beneficium suum, cum nobis impertit suum corpus, et nos sibi adjungit tanquam membra, qua non potest alia conjunctio cogitari propior. Testatur item se in nobis efficacem fore, quia ipse est vita: dat sanguinem, ut testetur, se nos abluere.—Multae autem et horribiles de hoc Sacramento controversiae extiterant. Disputatur de verbis Coenae, an sit in his verbis metaphora: *hoc est corpus meum*. Quaeritur de Missa, an sit quaedam oblatio facienda et applicanda pro aliis vivis et mortuis, ut mereatur eis remissionem seu culpae seu poenae; quid differant opus sacerdotis et laici. Haec controversiae et aliae his vicinae facile dijudicari possent, si non esset mutata vetus Ecclesiae consuetudo in hac ceremonia tractanda. Atque utinam synodus eas pie et feliciter explicet. Ego nec auctor nec assertor ullius novi dogmatis esse volo, quod non habet Ecclesiae veteris probata testimonia. Non enim contemno Ecclesiae catholicae iudicium et auctoritatem. Quid autem de verbis Coenae senserint ecclesiastici scriptores, ex dictis eorum apparet. Paulus inquit: *Panis est communicatio corporis Christi, poculum est communicatio sanguinis Christi*. Itaque datis his rebus, pane et vino, in Coena Domini, exhibentur nobis corpus et sanguis Christi. Et Christus vere adest Sacramento suo, et efficax est in nobis, sicut Hilarius inquit: *quae sumpta et hausta faciunt, ut Christus sit in nobis, et nos in Christo*. Mirum profecto et iugens pignus summi erga nos amoris, summae misericordiae, quod hac ipsa 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 recederem a veteribus, posui in usu sacramentalem praesentiam, et dixi, datis his rebus Christum vere adesse et efficacem esse. Id profecto satis est. Nec addidi inclusionem, aut conjunctionem talem, qua affigeretur $\tau\omega\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omega\ \tau\delta\ \sigma\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$, aut ferruminaretur, aut misceretur. Sacramenta pacta sunt, ut rebus sumptis adsit aliud.—Quid requiris amplius? Et huc decurrendum est tandem, nisi defendas illud, quod nonnulli jam dicunt, separatim tradi corpus et sanguinem. Id quoque novum est, ac ne Papistis quidem placiturum. Error foecundus est, ut dicitur, multas quaestiones parit illa physica conjunctio: an separatim, an sint inclusae partes, quando adsint, an extra usum? Horum nihil legitur apud veteres. Nec ego, mi Vite, inveham has disputationes in Ecclesiam, eoque tam parce dixi in *Locis* de hoc negotio, ut a quaestionibus illis juventutem abducerem. On his agreement with Calvin, see Calvinus ad Farellum, Mart., 1539 (Calv. Epistolae, ed. Genev., 1575, p. 12): Cum Philippo fuit mihi multis de rebus colloquium (in Frankfort, March, 1539, see Henry, i. 244): de causa concordiae ad eum prius scripseram, ut bonis viris de ipsorum sententia certo possemus testari. Miseram ergo paucos articulos, quibus summam rei breviter perstrinxeram. His sine controversia ipse quidem assentitur: sed fatetur esse in illa parte nonnullos, qui crassius aliquid requirant, atque id tanta perveracia, ne dicam tyrannide, ut diu in periculo fuerit, quod eum videbant a suo sensu nonnihil alienum. Quanquam autem non putat constare solidam consensionem, optat tamen, ut haec concordia, qualiscunque est, fovatur, donec in unitatem suae veritatis nos Dominus utrinque adduxerit. De ipso nihil dubita, quin penitus nobiscum sentiat.

²¹ How Luther thought about the attacks on Melancthon (§ 34, Note 25), ad Mel., 27. Oct., 1527 (de Wette, iii. 215): Scilicet te flagellari a quodam, quod poenitentiam a timore Domini incipi docueris in visitatione vestra. Scripsit similia fore Mag. Usladius,

When Caspar Crueiger, in 1536, first made public the Melancthonian formula—*Bona opera non quidem esse causam efficientem salutis, sed tamen causam sine qua non*²²—it was violently assailed by Cordatus.²³ Luther, whom Amsdorf tried to rouse up,²⁴ disapproved, indeed, of the formula, but so fully conceded the right intention of it, that the opponents had to drop their complaint.²⁵

sed ego pugnam istam verborum non magni puto, praesertim apud vulgum. Nam timor poenae et timor Dei quam differant, facilius dicitur syllabis et literis, quam re et affectu 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 quaedam minus horride dicere de praedestinatione, de assensu voluntatis, de necessitate obedientiae nostrae, de peccato mortali. De his omnibus scio re ipsa Lutherum sentire eadem, sed ineruditi quaedam ejus *φορτικώτερα* dicta, cum non videant quo pertineant, nimium amant. Nec ego cum illis pugnandum mihi esse duco. Fruantur suo judicio. Mihi tamen concedant homini Peripatetico, et amanti medioeritatem, minus Stoice alieni loqui.

²² Supra, Note 14.

²³ Strobel's *Literär-gesch. v. Mel. Locis Theol.*, s. 97. Ratzeberger, edited by Neudecker, s. 81. Galle, s. 345.

²⁴ Amsdorf, ad Lutherum, 14. Sept., 1536 (Corp. Ref., iii. 162), an announcement of the false doctrine. Melancthon, 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.

²⁵ Mel. ad Vitum Theodorum, 22. Jun., 1537 (C. R., iii. 383): Equidem studeo omni officio tueri concordiam nostrae Academiae, et scis in hoc genere me etiam artis aliquid adhibere solere. Nec hostili animo videtur in nos esse *Lutherus*. Heri etiam admodum amanter de his controversiis mecum colloctus est, quas movit *Quadratus* (Cordatus), cum quidem ego disputarem, quam tragicum spectaculum futurum esset, si velut Cadmei fratres inter nos ipsi depugnaremus. Cruciger ad Vitum Theodorum, 10. Jul., 1537, l. c., p. 385: Existimo, te vidisse jam propositiones Lutheri nuper disputatas respondente Petro Ravo. Ibi cum forte repeterem ejusdam argumenta de hac propositione, quod nova obedientia sit necessaria ad salutem, adductis ad id Scripturae locis, tametsi D. negabat sibi placere hoc sic dici *necessariam ad salutem*, quod vulgus fortasse non recte intelligeret; hoc mihi prolixè concedebat, quod sit effectus necessario sequens justificationem. (According to an account of Friedr. 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 accipiebam, cum de re viderem eum non dissentire, etiamsi quaedam *ὑποσχλίρωσ* dicere solebat, ut de batuentibus vocabulis philosophicis, praesertim illud, quod Philippo respondebat de abrogatione legis, etiam obligationem sublatam esse, quasi sentiens, non solum quoad 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 satis ostendit, hoc sibi displicere.* Melancthon changed the passage in his *Locis* (cf. Note 14), in the edition of 1538, so as to read: *Haec nova spiritualitas ita 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,²⁶ an attempt was made to bring him into suspicion with the Electoral Court and with Luther as to his general doctrine about this sacrament;²⁷ but no abiding impression could be made. Luther, on the contrary, decidedly took Melancthon's part, when Agricola, doubtless en-

lancthon 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 *Loci* of 1535; see Note 14.

²⁶ Strobel's *Literärgesch. von Mel. Loci Theol.*, s. 112. Matthes, s. 185.

²⁷ 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 5, 1537 (C. R., iii. 365), 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 ihme Philippus das Schreiben Ew. Chf. G. (?) an Doctor Jacob (Schenk) verborgen gehabt. Er zeigte darneben an, er hatte wohl allerlei Vorsorge, und könnte nicht wissen, wie Philippus am Sacrament wäre. Denn er nennte es nicht anders, hielte es auch nur für eine schlechte Ceremonien, hätte ihn auch lange Zeit nicht sehen das heil. Abendmal empfaßen. 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 Rätthe, 'dass unter den Tyrannen einer das Sacrament möge in einerlei Gestalt empfaßen,' 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 Theol.*, 13. Oct., p. 429: *Heri intellexi 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 Theol.*, 25. Nov., 1537, l. c., p. 152: *Post illas nuper de me deliberationes habitas etsi dies mihi dicta erat, tamen Lutheri morbus impediit, ne quid ageretur, deinde fuerunt induciae. Et Fribergensis ille δημώγορος ita ruit, ut displiceat suo theatro. Vociferatur turpiter contra legem illa ἄτοπα, quae somniabat Islebius, Christianis nullam legem praedicandam esse. De hac ipsa re jam litigat per literas Islebius cum Luthero. Vide, quale doctrinae genus isti inepti pariant, qui nostras in his materiis accuratas et μεθοδικὰς distributiones fastidiunt, et suas quasdam ἀκρολογίας amant, quibus applaudunt indocti.*

couraged by these circumstances, again tried to insist upon his Antinomian views in opposition to Melancthon.²⁸ Melancthon remained in the position of collocutor of the Wittenbergers,²⁹ and was ever conscious of his essential agreement with Luther,³⁰ which was also conceded by the latter, who always spoke with high veneration of his Philip.³¹ As to the new edition of the Augsburg Confession in 1540, the so-called *Variata*, afterward so much calumniated,³² no one at that time thought of taking of-

²⁸ See above, § 34, Note 27. But still the machinations of the opponents continued; Mel. ad Vitum Theod., 22. Mart., 1538, C. R., iii. 503: Amsdorfius Luthero scripsit, viperam eum in sinu alere, me significans: omitto alia multa. Ad Jo. Camerarium, 27. Nov., 1539, l. c., p. 840: Me dolores animi, quos tuli toto triennio acerbissimos et continuos, et caeterae quotidianae aerumnae ita consumerunt, ut verear me diu vivere non posse. To this time of controversy also belong the recommendations of ecclesiastical unity in acaedemical orations: De puritate doctrinae in Ecclesia conservanda, 1536, C. Ref., xi. 272; and De concordia et communicatione studiorum atque operarum, 1537, p. 329.

²⁹ In Smalcald, Febr., 1540, Matthes, s. 197; in Worms, Nov., 1540, s. 207; in Ratisbon, Apr., 1541, s. 218.

³⁰ Testamentum Melancthonis, 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 fuit, ullam novam opinionem serere, sed perspicue et proprie exponere doctrinam catholicam, quae traditur in nostris Ecclesiis, quam quidem judicio singulari Dei beneficio patefactam esse his postremis temporibus per Dr. Martinum Lutherum, ut Ecclesia repurgaretur et instauraretur, quae alioqui funditus periisset.—Ago autem gratias Rev. D. Doctori M. Luthero, primum quia ab ipso Evangelium didici, deinde pro singulari erga me benevolentia, quam quidem plurimis beneficiis declaravit, eumque volo a meis non secus ac patrem coli. Ego, quia vidi et comperi praeditum esse excellenti et heroica vi ingenii et multum magnis virtutibus ac pietate, doctrina praecipua, semper eum magni feci, dilexi, et colendum esse sensi.

³¹ Luth. ad Mel., 18. Jun., 1540 (when Melancthon was staying in Weimar, on the journey to Hagenau), in de Wette, v. 293: Mirum est, quam desideramus te 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 Melancthon sick unto death in Weimar, he exclaimed, when he first saw him, "God help! how the devil has reviled this *orgamon* to me!" and then he prayed mightily, and spoke to Melancthon words of the tenderest love. See Ratzberger, by Neudecker, s. 102.

³² Conf. Aug. a. 1540 a Mel. edita variata illa, accurate reddita et illustrata a Mich. Weber, Halis, 1830, 4. The most important change was in Article X. This originally read: De Coena Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuantur vescentibus in Coena Domini, et improbant secus docentes. But in the *Variata*: De Coena Domini docent, quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur corpus 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 Verhältniss der veränderten Augsb. Conf. zur unveränderten, Rudelbach's und Guericke's Zeitschr. f. d. Luther. Theol. und Kirche, 1851, iv. 610.—The *German* Confession, subscribed by the princes in Augsburg, was changed by Melancthon in later editions only verbally, and thus has had 10 *editio variata*.

fense at it.³³ 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 divisions³⁴ 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;³⁵ and he had also been made very excitable by the controversy with the Swiss,³⁶ then renewed, just upon this

³³ It was considered as a revision, which made the Confession more plain; very much praised by Brenz (Brenz. ad Vit. Theodor., 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. 34) by the Elector (who yet in his Instructions had specially desired that the colloquists should abide by the Augsburg Confession) or by Luther (Weber's Gesch. d. Augsb. Conf., ii. 312). On the contrary, Luther wrote to the Elector, May 10, 1541 (de Wette, v. 357), 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 abermal sich zu Tod grame. Denn sie haben ja die liebe Confession ihnen furbehalten, und darin noch rein und fest blieben, 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 Melancthon's, s. 131 ff.), until it was first rejected by Flacius in the Weimar disputation with Striegel, 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. i., 1562: *Fuit autem posterior (editio emendatio Aug. Conf.) scripta a Philippo, mandante, recognoscente et approbante Luthero, et necesse fuit, eam scribi propter adversarios, quod multa cavillarentur illi, quae oportuit explicari, ut occasiones et argumenta talium cavillationum—eis adimerentur.* On the other hand, the divines of the Duke of Saxony maintained at Altenburg, 1569 (Acta, the Wittenberg edition, fol. 253, b): "Es wissen auch viel Christen, dass Lutherus selbst wider dieselbige Aenderung oftmals geredt, Beschwerung daruber gehabt, und gesaget, dasselbe Buch ware auch nicht Philippi, sondern der christl. Kirchen Bekenntniß, darum gebühre es ihm als einem Privaten nicht, nach seinem Gutdünken und Wohlgefallen dasselbe zu verneuern oder zu verandern." But yet Peucer's allegation was repeated by men who were not at all on the side of the Philippists. Nic. Schneccer, *Catalogus Brevis Praecipuorum Conciliorum, Francof. ad M. 1571. 8.*, p. 97: *Recognita est Aug. Conf. posterior, relegente et approbante Luthero, ut rivi adhuc testes affirmant.* Dav. Chytraus *Hist. d. Augsb. Conf.*, 2te Ausg., 1577, and Mart. Chemnitius, *Judicium de 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 Melancthon's, s. 85. Weber's *Gesch. der Augsb. Conf.*, ii. 291.

³⁴ See Div. I., § 8, Note 18.

³⁵ 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).

³⁶ See Div. I., § 8, Note 26; supra, § 35, Note 38.

matter of the Lord's Supper. The friendly relations between the two men seemed to be endangered;³⁷ but Melancthon had most to undergo from the strict Lutherans. Luther regained his composure, and the attack upon Melancthon³⁸, from which he shrunk, 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);³⁹ 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.

³⁷ Mel. ad M. Bucerum, 28. Aug., 1544 (C. R., v. 474): (Lutherus) rursus tonare coepit vehementissime *περὶ δειπνου κυριακοῦ*, et scripsit atrocem librum, qui nondum editus est, in quo ego et tu sugillamur. Fuit his diebus hanc ipsam ob causam apud Amsdorfium, quem unum ad hujus consilii societatem adhibet, habetque unum laudatorem hujus impetus. Landgrave Philip besought Chancellor Brück to pacify Luther, and to prevent an open rupture between him and Melancthon, Oct. 12, 1544 (p. 501). The Elector also commissioned Brück to endeavor to keep Luther from writing against Melancthon, April 26, 1645 (p. 746). To this period, and to the years 1536-39, Melancthon refers in his declaration—ad Chph. a Carlowitz, 28. Apr., 1548 (C. R., vi. 880): Tuli antea servitum paene deformem, cum saepe Lutherus magis suae naturae, in qua *φιλοφεικία* erat non exigua, quam vel personae suae vel utilitati communi serviret. When this declaration became known, and excited great attention, he excused it in a letter to Th. a Malzan, 13. Sept., 1549 (C. R., vii. 462): Et fortasse quid significet *φιλόφεικος* non considerant. Non est erimen sed *πάθος*, usitatum heroicis naturis, quod nominatim Pericli, Lysandro, Agesilao tribuunt scriptores. Et omnino erant in Luthero heroici impetus. Nec mirum est, nos, quorum naturae sunt segniores, interdum mirari illam vehementiam.

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 Philippi excellunt, quibus theologus et Episcopus pulchre et abunde formari potest, ut sit potens in sermone doctrinae pietatis.—Eodem anno (1518) jam M. Philippus Melancthon a Principe Friderico vocatus huc fuerat ad docendas literas graecae, haud dubie ut haberem socium 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 squamae 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 Bekenntniss zu hören, und zu fragen, ob es bei dieser einigen göttlichen Lehre u. Kirchen bleiben wollt. und nach der Bekenntniss und Zusage mit Auflegung der Hände 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 gestärkt 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 Gnaden um seines Todes willen, nicht von wegen dieses unsers Gehorsams, wolle uns gnädiglich erhören und regirn, etc. Item, dass wir für seinen Tod und Auferstehung u. alle Gaben hie danken. Item, dass wir hiebei auch erkennen, dass wir Eines Heilands Christi Gliedmass sind, und sollen gogen allen Gliedmassen Lieb u. Gutes erzeigen unserm Heiland Christo zu gefallen," etc. S. 598, a proposal again to recognize bishops and to obey them: "Wenn sie anfahren, 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.⁴⁰ But Luther saw long beforehand that the existing dissension, no longer reined in by him, would lead to an open rupture after his death.⁴¹

§ 37.

CONTROVERSY OF THE PHILIPPISTS AND THE STRICT LUTHERANS, TO THE DEATH OF MELANCTHON, 1560.

The unfortunate results of the Smalcald 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,¹ received great applause for their violent opposition to the Interim. When Melancthon, on the other hand, in his despondency,² allowed himself to be used by the Elector Maurice, who was generally considered as an apostate, in drawing up a second Interim,³ his friends complained of him,⁴ and his enemies began at once a most bitter warfare against him and his followers in Electoral Saxony (the Phil-

⁴⁰ Chaneellor Brück reported to the Elector, Jan. 9, 1546 (C. Ref., vi. 10), that Luther advised not to send Melancthon to Ratisbon, 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 Seckendorf reports (Comm. de Lutherismo, iii. 165) that Luther, in his severe illness at Smalcald, 1537, had said to the Elector, fore, ut post mortem suam discordia in Academia Wittenbergensi oriretur, et doctrinae suae mutatio fieret.

¹ Postilla Melanthoniana, i. 319: (Polypragmosyne) nonnunquam oritur ex κακοζηλία seu imitatione prava alieni exempli, ut multi nunc volunt similes esse Luthero: praetexunt zelum, qui est sine scientia, tumultuantur de rebus incognitis, non inquirunt fontes negotiorum. De talibus inquit Polybius: *Multi volentes videri similes magnis viris, cum opera imitari non possint, imitantur πάρεργα et producunt in theatrum stultitiam suam.*—Calvini Secunda Defensio contra Westphalum, 1556 (Opp., viii. 679): O Luthere, quam paucos tuae praestantiae 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.

⁴ Brentius ad Mel. ineunte anno 1549, C. R., vii. 289. Ant. Corvinus ad Mel., 25. Sept., 1549, in Illgen's Zeitschr. f. d. Hist. Theol., ii. ii. 226. Calvin. ad Mel., 1550 (Calv. Epistt., ed. Genev., p. 89).

ippists).⁵ When as yet there were only reports in circulation about the new Interim, Matthias Flacius Illyricus,⁶ Professor of the Hebrew language in Wittenberg, assailed it as designed to restore the Papacy.⁷ Then from Magdeburg, to which city he had fled from Wittenberg in April, 1549, he began to fight against the Leipsic Interim,⁸ 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 Mansfeld, 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

⁵ Planck, iv. 184. Schriftenverzeichniss in Salig's Hist. d. Augsb. Conf., i. 631.

⁶ M. Flacii Ill. Leben u. Tod, by J. B. Ritter, Frankf. u. Leipzig, 1725. E. A. II. Heimbürgius de Matth. Flacio Ill., Jenae, 1839. M. Flac. Ill., a lecture by Dr. A. Twisten, with appendices, and an essay on Melancthon's relation to the Interim, by H. Rossel, Berlin, 1844. [Comp. W. Preger, M. Flacius Illyricus und Seine Zeit. Erste Hälfte. Erlang., 1859. W. Gess, Gesch. d. Prot. Dogmatik, i. 56 sq.]

⁷ Thus he had also described it to the Hamburg preachers, Hamburgenses ad Melancthon., 16. Apr., 1549, C. R., vii. 367. And Agricola had written that the Saxon divines had wholly agreed to the Augsburg Interim; and Melancthon had written to a friend: Ego non recuso ferre servitutem in adiaphoris salva doctrina; and in the Jüterbock Recess (Div. I., § 9, Note 17) adopted the words: "Und in Mitteldingen soll man alles halten, wie es die alten heil. Väter gehalten haben, und jenes Theil jetziger Zeit auch noch hält." The consequence of this, said the Hamburgers, would be, ut sub adiaphororum appellatione Ecclesiae omnes impios usus, profanationes et corruptelas rursus obtrudant, atque hae astutia nostram doctrinam et religionem ex fundamento evertant, et Papismi impietates omnes restituant; utque hoc astute efficiant, adiaphororum commento fascinant pios animos.

⁸ Flacii Narratio Actionum et Certaminum, drawn up by him for the Strasburg divines, 1568 (in Cour. Schlüsselburgii Catalogus Haereticorum, lib. xiii., Francof., 1599, p. 802), gives the chief corruptions thus: Fuit abjecta diserte formula *sola fides*, sicut ea Philippus inde a comitiis Augustanis non libenter usus est, qui eam ibi teste Cochlaeo illis cesserat, et contra accepta, principally. Fuit comprobata papistica doctrina liberi arbitrii in Interim.—Fuit renovatum Pseudoapostolorum dogma de operum necessitate ad salutem, seu causa sine qua non,—olim anno 1536, gravissime anathematizatum a Luthero reliquisque theologis in publica disputatione, postquam per integrum annum ea controversia illic agitata et examinata esset (comp. § 36, Notes 22-25). In the Interim it stands only, that good works are necessary, but not that they are necessary for salvation). Non abfuit etiam fides formata, ut ex Jüterbaecensi diplomate patet. Fuit consensus, ut redderetur jurisdictio Episcopis ordinariis et etiam supremo (as in the Wittenberg Plan of Reform, subscribed by Luther, § 36, Note 39). Fuit corrupta doctrina de poenitentia, addita confessione et satisfactione, exclusaque fide, quae etiam a sacramentis separatur. Fuit restituta confirmatio (as in the Wittenberg Reformation) et extrema unctio. Usus quoque carnum tempore jejunii et duobus illis diebus vetitus. Vulgares cautiones ecclesiasticae Lutheri et aliorum sublatae, et in earum locum Gregorianus boatus cum latina lingua restitutus. Missa tanquam quiddam diversum a communione instaurata (false), in qua etiam expresse *Confiteor*. Decretum fuit, ut crederetur et doceretur quicquid Ecclesia statuisset, confirmandi videlicet concilii et potestatis papalis gratia. Et alia hujus generis innumera portenta.

Adiaphoristic Controversy)⁹ to be forced upon it by a hostile power. At the same time, in this controversy the milder form-

⁹ Conr. Schlüsselburgii Catal. Haereticorum lib. xiii. de Adiaphoristis et Interimistis. Planck, iv. 174. Melancthon's excuses, ad Francofurtenses, 29. Jan., 1549, C. R., vii. 321: Omnes sani intelligunt, naturae hominis convenire ordinis elegantiam in publicis congressibus.—Volo et deinceps semper eandem vocem verae doctrinae servari, et nullos recepi impios cultus. In caeteris autem rebus ostendamus modestiam et tolerantiam in servitute.—Practerea majus est scandalum deserere Ecclesias propter causas non maximas, aut praebere causam judicii populi, qui diceret, nos propter parvas res pertinacia nostra attrahere bella; quam praebere adversariis qualemcunque occasionem calumniandi nostram moderationem.—Nec propterea amittitur libertas christiana, si recte doceamus. Nam corda scient, tales ritus non esse cultus Dei, sed alia majora opera, veram fidem, etc. Sine hac doctrina, et sine his virtutibus libertas externa in cibis, vestitu et similibus adiaphoris non est libertas christiana, sed nova politia, gratior fortasse populo, quia pauciora vincula habet.—In hac nostra infirmitate cum primum veteres ritus aboliti sunt, magna fuit et docentium, et opinionum et locorum dissimilitudo. Aliqui privatam absolutionem prorsus aboleverant, quod cum non sit recte factum, etiam ante hoc tempus restitui eam optavi.—Nec restitutio aliorum rituum mediorem praevaricatio est, cum doctrinae puritas retinetur. Comp. Paul Eber, by Chr. H. Sixt, Heidelberg, 1843, s. 183, and Eber's Narrative, s. 237. In reply, Calvinus ad Mel., 1550 (Epist. ed. Genev., p. 90): Tu si ad cedendum fuisti mollior, id tibi vitio a multis verti, non est quod mireris. Adde, quod eorum, quae tu media facis, quaedam cum Dei verbo manifeste pugnant. Nimiis praeciso fortassis quaedam alii urgent, atque ut in contentionibus fieri solet, odiose quaedam exagitant, quibus non inest tantum mali. Verum si quid in rebus divinis intelligo, tam multa Papistis abs te concedi non oportuit, partim quia laxasti, quae verbo suo Dominus adstringit, partim quia proterve Evangelio insultandi materiam dedisti. Cum circumcisio adhuc licita esset, annon vides, Paulum, quia vestiti ac maliiosi aucupes insidias piorum libertati tendebant, illis profectam a Deo ceremoniam pertinaciter negare? Itaque ne ad momentum quidem se illis cessisse gloriatur, quo Evangelii veritas integra maneret apud gentes.—Alia, ut nosti, tua est, quam multorum conditio. Plus enim ignominiae ducis vel antesignani trepidatio, quam gregiarum militum fuga sustinet.—Itaque plures tu unus paululum cedendo querimonias et gemitus excitasti, quam centum mediores aperta defectione. Mel. ad Flacium, 5. Sept., 1556, C. R., viii. 841: Cum doctrina retineretur integra, malui nostros hanc servitutum subire, quam deserere ministerium Evangelii; et idem consilium me Francis dedisse fateor. Hoc feci; doctrinam confessionis nunquam mutavi. Ego etiam de ritibus his mediis minus pugnavi, quia jam antea in plerisque Ecclesiis harum regionum renti erant. Postea vos contradicere coepistis. Cessi, nihil pugnavi. Ajax apud Homerum proclians cum Heectore contentus est cum cedit Heector, et fatetur, ipsum victorem esse. Vos finem nullum facitis eriminandi. Quis hoc hostis facit, ut cedentes et arma abjicientes feriat? Vincite, cedo, nihil pugno de ritibus illis, et maxime opto, ut dulcis sit Ecclesiarum concordia. Fateor etiam hac in re a me peccatum esse, et a Deo veniam peto, quod non procul fugi insidiosas illas deliberationes. The Formula Concordiae gives the point of controversy precisely and correctly: X. De Ceremoniis Ecclesiasticis: Una pars sensit, quod persecutionis tempore (quando confessio fidei edenda est), etiamsi adversarii Evangelii in doctrina nobiscum non consentiant, tamen sana et salva conscientia liceat quasdam dudum abrogatas ceremonias (quae per se adiaphorae, et a Deo neque praeceptae neque prohibitae sunt) postulantis id et urgentibus adversariis restituere, et hoc modo cum iis in rebus illis per se adiaphoris conformem quandam rationem instituire posse. Altera vero pars contendit, quod persecutionis tempore (quando confessio fidei requiritur) adversariis, illaesa conscientia et sine jactura veritatis coelestis, restitutione rerum adiaphorarum gratificari non possimus: praesertim quando adversarii hoc agunt, ut aut vi manifesta aut occultis machinationibus sinceram doctrinam opprimant, et paulatim falsa dogmata in Ecclesias nostras reducant.

ulas of the Melancthonian 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.¹⁰ Thereupon the Majoristic controversy broke out with great violence,¹¹ in which Justus Menius, Superintendent of Gotha, was also involved.¹² The Wittenbergers conceded that that phrase might easily be misunderstood, but not that it was absolutely false,¹³ 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 angericht," Magdeburg, 1551. 4., appeared the reply: "Auf des ehrenwürdigen Herrn Niclas v. Amsdorf's Schrift Antwort G. Majors." Wittenberg, 1552. 4. Major then writes, C. 1, verso: "Das bekenne ich aber, dass ich also vormals gelehret, und noch lehre, und förder alle mein Lebtag also lehren will, dass gute Werk zur Seligkeit nöthig sind, und sage öffentlichen und mit klaren und dentlichen Worten, dass niemand durch böse Werk selig werde, und dass auch niemand ohne gute Werk selig werde, und sage mehr, dass wer anders lehret, auch ein Engel vom Himmel, der sey 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 Seelen Seligkeit von nöthen, dass dennoch solche gute Werk das nicht wirken oder verdienen können oder mögen, dass uns die Sünde vergeben, die Gerechtigkeit zugerechnet, der h. Geist und das ewige Leben gegeben werden: denn solche herrliche himmlische Güter sind uns allein durch den Tod unsers einigen Mittlers und Heilands Jesu Christi erworben, und müssen allein durch den Glauben empfangen werden: dennoch müssen auch gute Werk, nicht als Verdienst, sonder als schuldiger Gehorsam gegen Gott vorhanden seyn." In his sermon, delivered soon after, on "Paul's Conversion," Leipz., 1553, 4, D. 3, 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."

¹¹ C. Schlüsselburgii Catal. Haeret., lib. vii. de Majoristicis. Salig, i. 638. Planck, iv. 469. G. Thomasius, das Bekenntniß der Evangel. Luth. Kirche in der Consequenz seines Principis, Nürnberg, 1848, s. 100.

¹² Planck, iv. 512.

¹³ Melancthon's Sententia, 1553. C. R., viii. 194: Cum dicitur, nova obedientia est necessaria ad salutem, Papistae intelligunt bona opera esse meritum salutis. Haec propositio falsa est; ideo illum modum loquendi mitto. Et tamen dici usitatum est: nova obedientia est necessaria, non ut meritum, sed necessitate causae formalis; ut eum 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. Melancthon's Memorial to the Senate of Nordhausen, Jan. 13, 1555, 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 Joachim Westphal, preacher in Hamburg, renewed the sacramental controversy against Calvin and Peter Martyr,¹⁴ 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 alsbald diese Deutung angehängt wird, als sollten gute Werke Verdienst seyn der Seligkeit; zum Andern, dass sie auch Doctoris Majoris Person und Sach nicht auf den Predigtstuhl bringen, sondern stellen dieses zu seiner selbst Erklärung. Und ist diese Disputation aus vielen vorigen freveln Reden von zwanzig Jahren her verursacht. Etliche 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) derselbigen Zeit, und spielt mit dem Wort muss: 'das Muss ist versalzen;' verstund necessarium und debitum für erzwungen durch Furcht der Strafe, extortum coactione, und redete hohe Wort, wie gute Werke ohne Gesetz kämen. So doch necessarium und debitum nicht erstlich heisset extortum coactione, sondern die ewige und unwandelbare 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 Jaekel (Agricola) und Naogeorgius (Thom. Kirchmaier, 1544, C. R., v. 290), die rissen das Loeh noch weiter auf, und verstunden die Proposition: sola fide justificamur also: es behielte ein Mensch den Glauben und heil. Geist, wenn er gleich wider Gottes Gesetz wissentlich thäte, als da David den Ehebruch und Todschlag 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 ausgesessen würden.—Wahrhaftiger Glaub ist nicht ohne Werk im Herzen, ob sie gleich nicht Verdienst seyn, causae justificationis, sondern folgen dem Glauben. Und ist eine grobe Rede, so man spricht von dem bekehrten Morder am Krenz, er habe nach der Bekehrung nicht gute Werke gehabt. Denn Werke heissen nicht allein äusserliche Thaten, sondern auch im Herzen Reu, Anrufung, guter Vorsatz, Danksagung, Geduld, welche Tugenden sind Früchte des heil. Geistes." Comp. the Responsum de Controversia Schweinfurtiana, 13. Nov., 1559, on the same subject, C. R., ix. 969. Major, in his "Bekennniss 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 necessary 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 demanded 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 bonorum Operum Necessitate inter Musculum et Praetorium agitata, Diss., 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 became a frivolous *oxymoron*.

¹⁴ First against the Consensus Tigurinus, 1549, see § 35, Note 51, and against Petri Martyris Vermilii Florentini de Sacramento Eucharistiae in celeberrima Angliae Schola Oxoniensi Tractatio, Tiguri, 1552. In the preface of Jo. Wolphius to the latter, after a characterizing of the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, it is added: hujus quidem opinionis Martinum Lutherum auctorem et patronum fuisse ferunt:—eum errorem Petrus Martyr omnem diligentissime refutavit. Thus was the attack opened. Westphal now wrote: Farrago Confusaneorum 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*).¹⁵ The Swiss at first kept silence; but when John a Lasko,¹⁶ 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,¹⁷ Calvin and Bullinger, incensed by this fanaticism, came forward in defense of their doctrine.¹⁸ Calvin claimed to agree with the Augsburg Confession,

mini ex Sacramentarium Libris congesta, Magdeb., 1552; also, *Recta Fides de Coena Domini ex Verbis Apostoli Pauli et Evangelistarum demonstrata*, Magdeb., 1553.

¹⁵ Planck, v. ii. 1. Ebrard's *Dogma v. heil. Abendmale u. s. Gesch.*, ii. 525.

¹⁶ Excellent statements on the matter in controversy in Jo. a Lasco Ep. ad Alb. Hardenberg, Emdae, 1546 (*Gerdessii Scrinium Antiquarium*, ii. 629): Ego enim tanti non facio dissidium hoc de elementis Sacramentorum, posteaquam de mysteriis convenit, ut propter elementa scindi velim societatem et caritatem christianam. Mysterium porro omnium summum in Coena esse puto communionem corporis et sanguinis Christi: in hoc vero nullum usque dissidium video: omnes enim ingenue fatemur, nos in Coena vero Christi corpori et sanguini vere etiam communicare, quicumque verbo illius credimus. Quid jam attinet, quo modo id fiat anxie et curiose disquirere, atque hoc nomine turbas in Ecclesia non necessarias excitare, quam alioqui satis affligi et perturbari ab hostibus nostris videmus? Excitent eas, qui volent, me illarum socium non habebunt. Mihi ea corporis et sanguinis Christi manducatio satis est, quam Dominus ipse ore suo nobis ad salutem nostram satis esse testatur, dum illi addit vitae aeternae promissionem, non facta interim mentione ullius alterius manducationis.—Quare hanc ipsam et non aliam manducationem Coenae usi in animo meo renovo, fidemque illius in animo meo ex Christi institutione obsigno, ne mihi excidat unquam. [Bartels, in *Z. f. d. Theol.*, 1860.]

¹⁷ Joh. Uienhovii (one of their preachers) *Simplex et Fidelis Narratio de instituta ac demum dissipata Belgarum aliorumque peregrinorum in Anglia Ecclesia, ac potissimum de susceptis postea illius Nomine Itineribus*, Basil., 1560, is the chief source, but not without exaggerations; see Pontoppidan's *Kirchenhist. v. Dänemark*, iii. 317; *Neue Beitr. von alten und neuen Theol. Sachen*, 1756, s. 596, 750; Gittermann, in *Vater's Kirchenhist. Archiv*, 1825, ii. 150.—Planck, v. ii. 36. [Bartels, in *Zeitschr. f. deutsche Theol.*, 1860.]

¹⁸ Jo. Calvini *Defensio Sanae et Orthodoxae Doctrinae de Sacramentis, quam ministri Tigurinae Ecclesiae et Genevensis ante aliquot annos brevi Consensionis Formula complexi fuerunt*, Nov. 28, 1554 (in the *Opp. Calvini*, ed. Amstel., T. viii. p. 648, under the titles *Consensio Mutua* and *Consensionis Caputum Expositio*).—*Westphali Collectanea Sententiarum D. Aur. Augustini de Coena Domini*, Ratisp., 1555.—*Lasco Purgatio Ecclesiae peregrinorum Francofurtensis*, 1555. *Calvini Secunda Defensio contra Westphalum*, Jan., 1556, dedicated to the Ministri et sinceris Dei cultoribus in Saxonis Ecclesiis et Germania inferiore (*Opp.*, viii. 659). Bullingeri *Apologetica Defensio, qua ostenditur, Tigur. Eccl. ministros nullum sequi dogma haereticum in Coena Domini*, Febr., 1556.—*Confessio Fidei de Eucharistiae Sacramento par ministros Ecclesiarum Saxoniarum* (Magdeburg, Eisleben, Bremen, Hildesheim, and Lübeck), Magdeb., 1557. Further works by Brenz, Erhard Schnepf, Eram. Alber, Paul v. Eitzen, Westphal.—*Calv. Ultima Admonitio ad Joach. Westphalum, cui nisi obtemperet, eo loco posthac habendus erit, quo pertinaces haereticos haberi jubet Paulus*, 1557 (*Opp.*, viii. 685).—*Westphali Justa Defensio adv. insignia Mendacia Jo. a Lasco*, 1637, ejusd. *Apologia confessionis de Coena Domini contra corruptelas et calumnias Jo. Calvini scripta*, Ursellis, 1558.—*Th. Bezae de Coena Domini Plana et Perspicua Tractatio, in qua Jo. Westphali Calumniae refelluntur*, 1559 (*Tract. Theol.*, i. 211; *comp. Theod. Beza, by Baum*, ii. 48). *Calvin's Leben*, by Henry, iii. i. 308. *Bullinger's Leben*, by Hess, ii. 213.

and appealed to the authority of Melancthon as its author.¹⁹ 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.²⁰ In spite of all these charges Melancthon kept silence.²¹ Then the Philip-pists, scattered through the north of Germany, began to be stigmatized as Crypto-Calvinists.²² 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,²³ 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.²⁴ In the violence of the strife

¹⁹ Calvini Sec. Defensio, 1556 (Opp., viii. 675): *repeto, — in confessione, qualis Ratisbonae (at the colloquy in Ratisbon, 1541, the *Variata*) edita fuit, verbum non extare doctrinae nostrae contrarium. Si qua in sensu ambiguitas incidat, nullum magis idoneum esse interpretem, quam auctorem ipsum, cui etiam id honoris pro suo merito facile pii omnes et eruditi deferent. Ejusd. Ultima Admonitio, 1557 (l. c., p. 687): Ego si temere comperiar Philippi nomine abusus, nullas ignominiae notas recuso.—Solum quod dixi et quidem centies si opus sit, confirmo, non magis a me Philippum quam a propriis visceribus in hac causa posse divelli. Letters of Calvin to Melancthon, asking him to break his silence, dd. 6. Cal. Sept., 1554 (Epist., ed. Gen., p. 133), 3. Non. Mart., 1555 (p. 157), 10. Cal. Sept., 1555 (p. 162), 3. Non. Aug., 1557 (p. 185).*

²⁰ A new edition of Phil. Mel. Sententiae Vett. aliquot Scriptorum de Coena Domini (§ 36, Note 15) eum praef. Nic. Galli, quae secundae hujus editionis causam ostendit et alia continet lectu utilia, Ratisbonae, 1554. In the preface it is said: *Cumque reperiantur, qui etiam Philippi auctoritate errorem hunc molliant et insinuent, etsi causa haec non nititur hominum suffragiis, operae pretium tamen me facturum arbitrabar (ac quod nec auctori recte improbari possit), si hanc olim editam ab ipso confessionem darem recudendam.—Quoquo modo suspicentur aut opinentur aliqui de sententia Philippi 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.*

²¹ Mel. ad. Calvinum, 14. Oct., 1554, C. R., viii. 362: *Quod—me hortaris, ut reprimam increditos clamores illorum, qui renovant certamen *περί ἀρτολατρείας*, scito, quosdam praecipue odio mei eam disputationem movere, ut habeant plausibilem causam ad me opprimendum. Ad U. Mordeisen, 15. Nov., 1557, C. R., ix. 374: Si mihi concedatis, ut in alio loco vivam, respondebo illis indoctis sycophantis et vere et graviter, et dicam utilia Ecclesiae.*

²² Thus, in Schwerin, the jurist Justus Jonas; in Rostock, the magister Rudolph Münchhausen; Wigger's Kirchengesch. Mecklenburgs, s. 144.

²³ Farrago Sententiarum Consentientium in Vera et Catholica Doctrina de Coena Domini—contra Sacramentariorum dissidentes inter se Opiniones—collecta per Jo. Timannum Amsterodanum, Francof., 1555. A sketch of this work in Dan. Gerdes Hist. Motuum Ecclesiasticorum in civitate Bremensi ab a. 1547–61 (in *Scrinium 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 Hardenbergii Positiones adv. Ubiquitatem Corporis Christi in Farragine Jo. Amsterodami, in Gerdes, p. 96: § 13. Quare juxta formas loquendi tam Scripturae sacrae quam veteris Ecclesiae concludo adversus imaginariam et admodum nuper istam reper-

many zealots were brought to the outskirts of transubstantiation.²⁵ 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 any thing upon the peculiarities of the Lutheran doctrine, in order to get rid of a disagreeable controversy.²⁶

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.²⁷ 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.²⁸

tam pantipopian, quam ubiqtatem vocant: Christum hominem ubique esse propter personae unitatem, non autem ejus carnem vel humanitatem.

²⁵ Melancthon's Memorial to the Palatine Elector, 1. Nov., 1559, C. R., ix. 962: Acerrime pugnant Papistae, et eorum similes, ut dicatur corpus Christi extra sumtionem inclusum esse speciebus panis, aut pani, et postulant adorationem, sicut Morlinus Brunsvigae dixit: Thou must not say, "Mum, mum," but thou must say, "What is this which the priest has in his hand?" (a phrase imitated from one in a letter of Luther to the council and congregation of Frankfort-on-the-Maine, 1533 (Waleh, xvii. 2435); but there the concluding words are, "what bread and wine are in the sacrament?") Sacerius jubet delapsas particulas colligi, et crasa terra comburi. So, too, in Salig, iii. 528.

²⁶ Ebrard's Dogma v. h. Abendmale, ii. 464.

²⁷ Brentius ad Mel., 6. Nov., 1552, C. R., vii. 1129: Te latere nolui, utut alii de me judicent, me inter hyperboreas illas rixas non solum veterem nostram amicitiam, sed etiam veterem sententiam *περὶ δικαιοσύνης*, quam divina clementia a vobis praeceptoribus didici, retinere. Coepi te semel animo meo, ut *σκεῦος* Christi, complecti, et doctrinam Ecclesiae a vobis traditam ut consentaneam sacrae Scripturae agnoscere.—Mihi in hac rerum perturbatione non aliud relictum videtur, quam ut optem tibi animum excelsum, qui ista contemnat, ac non defatigetur sua officia Ecclesiae probare.

²⁸ On all these attempts at compromise, see Planck, vi. 25. In the C. R., ix. 23, are the acts in the negotiations at Wittenberg, January, 1557, with the divines of Lower Saxony (particularly Mörlin, Superintendent in Brunswick, V. Curtius, Superintendent in Lübeck, Paul von Eitzen, Superintendent in Hamburg). On the conditions proposed to Melancthon, p. 36: 2. Rejiciantur omnes contrarii errores Papistarum, Interimistarum, Anabaptistarum, Sacramentariorum. 3. Ex articulo de justificatione tollantur omnes corruptelae, pugnantes cum sincera doctrina apostolica, et Augustana confessione, praecipue corruptelae de necessitate operum ad salutem. 5. Ne fiat conciliatio cum Papistis de ceremoniis, nisi prius convenerit de doctrina, et ipsi desierint esse perse-

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

cutores doctrinae. 6. Tempore persecutionis edatur ingenua confessio, et non admittatur 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 (Raynaldus, 1557, No. 32): Cum maxima cura et sollicitudine afficeremur ex impiorum consiliis, quos WORMATIAM confluisse audiebamus;—ipse misericordiarum pater et Deus totius consolationis animum nostrum erexit, et hujusmodi inter eos, ut audivimus, dissidia excitavit, ut non acrius cum catholicis quam inter se certare et dissidere, alii alia dogmata defendentes, coeperint; qua quidem tam idonea occasione allata, cum in manu tua, carissime fili, sit, impia eorum consilia dissipare, nonne pro tua perpetua in Deum pietate et catholicae religionis studio enteris, ut ea peste Germaniam liberes? praesertim cum in eo non solum Ecclesiae paci, sed regnis tuis et Romano imperio consulturus sis, noli per Deum immortalem tantae apud homines gloriae, noli tanti apud Deum meriti tempus amittere!

³⁰ Oeffentliche Bekenntniß der reinen Lehre des Evangelii u. Confutatio der jetzigen Schwärmer durch Nic. v. Amsdorf, Jena, 1558. 4.

³¹ M. Jo. Stolsii (court preacher to the Duke of Saxony), Refutatio Propositionum Pfeffingeri de Libero Arbitrio, cum praef. M. Jo. Aurifabri. M. Flacii Illyrici de eadem Controversia, October, 1558. Flacius de Originali Peccato et Libero Arbitrio, two disputations, 1558, and November, 1559, also appended to the Disp. Vinariensis, p. 243. 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 mœrore propter suos lapsus, disputabant: quomodo sperem me recipi, cum non sentiam, in me transfundi novam lucem et novas virtutes? Praeterea si nihil agit liberum arbitrium: interea, donec sensero, fieri illam regenerationem de qua dicitis, indulgebo diffidentiae et aliis vitiosis affectibus. Haec Manichæa imaginatio horribile mendacium est, et ab hoc errore mentes abducendæ sunt et docendæ, *agere aliquid liberum arbitrium*.—Nec admittendi sunt Manichæorum furores, qui fingunt, aliquem esse numerum hominum, quos vocant *ὀλοκοὺς καὶ χοϊκοὺς*, qui converti non possint. Nec fit conversio in Davide, ut si lapis in ficum verteretur. Sed agit aliquid liberum arbitrium in Davide, cum audivit objurgationem et promissionem, volens jam et libere fatetur delictum. Et agit aliquid ejus voluntas, cum se sustentat hac voce: *Domínus abstulit peccatum tuum*. Cumque conatur se hac voce sustentare, jam adjuvatur a Spiritu S. juxta illud Pauli: *Evangelium est potentia*

opposition to it, unconditional predestination (the *Synergistic Controversy*).³² 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*,³³ of March

Dei ad salutem non repugnanti, i. e., non contemnenti promissionem, sed assentienti et credenti.—Si tantum expectanda esset illa infusio qualitatum sine ulla nostra actione, sicut Enthusiastae et Manichaei finxerunt: nihil opus esset ministerio evangelico, nulla etiam lucta in animis esset. Sed instituit Deus ministerium, ut vox accipiatur, ut promissionem mens cogitet et amplectatur, et, dum repugnamus diffidentiae, Spiritus S. simul in nobis sit efficax. Sic igitur illis, qui cessationem suam excusant, qui putant, nihil agere liberum arbitrium, respondeo: immo, mandatum Dei aeternum et immotum est, ut voci Evangelii obtemperes, ut filium Dei audias, ut agnoscas mediatorem. Quam tetra sunt haec peccata, nolle adspicere donatum generi humano mediatorem, Filium Dei? Non possum, inquires. *Immo aliquo modo potes.* Et cum te voce Evangelii sustentas, adjuvari te a Deo petito, et scito, Spiritum S. efficacem esse in ea consolatione. Scito, velle Deum hoc ipso modo nos convertere, cum promissione excitati luctamur nobiscum, invocamus et repugnamus diffidentiae nostrae et aliis vitiosis affectibus. Ideo veteres aliqui sic dixerunt, *liberum arbitrium in homine facultatem esse applicandi se ad gratiam*, i. e., audit promissionem, et assentiri conatur, et abjicit peccata contra conscientiam. Talia non fiunt in diabolis: discrimen igitur inter diabolos et genus humanum consideretur. Fiunt autem haec illustriora, considerata promissione. Cum promissio sit universalis, nec sint in Deo contrariae voluntates, necesse est, *in nobis esse aliquam discriminis causam, cur Saul abjiciatur, David recipiatur*, i. e., necesse est, aliquam esse actionem dissimilem in his duobus. Haec dextre intellecta vera sunt; et usus in exercitiis fidei et in vera consolatione, cum acquiescunt animi in Filio Dei monstrato in promissione, illustrabit *hanc copulationem causarum, verbi Dei, Spiritus S. et voluntatis*. Many of the friends of Melancthon took exceptions 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, 31.

³² *Conr. Schlüsselburgii Catal. Haer. lib. v. de Synergistis*. Planck, iv. 567; the controversial works enumerated by Ed. Schmid, in *Niedner's Zeitschr. f. Hist. Theol.*, 1849, i. 15.

³³ *C. R.*, ix. 489. *Historie des Sacramentsstreits*, 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; see Melancthon's letter to the Council of Nuremberg, May 14, 1558, *C. R.*, ix. 548. Besides this an essay of Brenz was used, presented to Duke Christopher of Würtemberg, which, with exception of the Osiander question, agrees wholly with Melancthon's (*Sattler's Würtemb. Geschichte*, iv. 125. *Schnurrer's Erläut. der Würtemb. Kirchen-Reformations- 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 immotus est, ut creatura rationalis Deo obediatur*.—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,³⁴ 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 obedientia est necessaria*, is to be retained, yet we will not append the clause *ad salutem*, because this is understood of *meritum* 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." 3. *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] "dass in dieser, des Herrn Christi, Ordnung seines Abendmals er wahrhaftig, lebendig, wesentlich und gegenwärtig 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 gnädige Verheissung, und wirkt in uns. *Hilarius* also says: *Hæc sumta et hausta faciunt, ut Christus sit in nobis et nos in ipso; i. e.,* so man dies niesset u. trinkt, ist damit Christus in uns und wir in ihm. Diese Worte reden klar von der Niessung, wie auch ausdrücklich von der Niessung Paulus redet: das Brod ist die Gemeinschaft mit dem Leib Christi; das kann nicht ausser der Niessung 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.] "Von den *Adiaphoris*, 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. Evangelions verunreinigt oder verfolgt würde, da sind nicht allein die mittelmässigen, 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 1558, dogmatico eridos pomo, Tubing., 1796. 4. Planck, vi. 174.*

³⁴ *Illustrissimi Principis ac Domini, Dom. Jo. Friderici secundi, suo ac fratrum D. Jo. Wilhelmi, et D. J. Friderici natu junioris nomine solida et ex verbo Dei sumpta confutatio et condemnatio præcipuarum corruptelarum, sectarum et errorum, hoc tempore—ingrumentum et grassantium,—ad suæ Cels. et fratrum suorum subditos cujuscunque ordinis scripta et edita. Jenæ, 1559. 4. Contents: 1. *Confutatio erroris Serveti*; 2. *Schuenckfeldii*; 3. *Antinomorum*; 4. *Anabaptistarum*; 5. *Zuinglii*, f. 20: *Summa sententiæ nostræ, sicut et in Augustana Confessione et Apologia, et Schmale. articulis proponitur, hæc est, videlicet: quod in Coena Domini Christus re vera corpus et sanguinem suum sumentibus impertiat, idque non imaginarie, sed vere et substantialiter; non absentia in coelo, sed præsentia in terra; nec tantum dignis, sed etiam indignis; non fide tantum spiritualiter, sed etiam ore corporaliter usurpanda; ac quod credenti-**

Philippists, that thus he might forever establish pure Lutheranism 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 erectus est, et nunc considet ad dextram aeterni Patris definito et conscripto loco: ergo impossibile est, in sacramento Coenae corpus et sanguinem Christi vere et substantialiter exhiberi, wird behauptet, ascensionem Christi non esse localem quandam disjunctionem aut secessionem ab Ecclesia, sed patefactionem illustrem et conspicuam divinitatis, quam habuit Christus ab aeterno 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 circumscriptum, ut est dextra alienius regis: sed ut Deus nullo corporali loco concludi et apprehendi potest, ita dextera ejus omnia implet, excedit et superat, et nusquam non praesto adest.—Haec vero majestas Christi, ut modo nullo impedimento est praesentiae corporis ipsius in Coena, ita multo magis eam comprobatur et confirmatur, et quia humanitas Christi ad dexteram Dei collocata est, et cum divinitate perpetuo et indissolubili foedere copulata unione hypostatica. 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 judicio rationis plausibilior haec est: hominem lapsu Adae vitiatum, et de suo statu et integritate miserabiliter quidem dejectum esse ita, ut natura ad peccatum propensus et proclivis sit, sed tamen vires humanas non ita prorsus prostratas, extinctas et deletas esse, quin gratiae Dei excitanti et adjuvanti libere in conversione hominis cooperari possit. Hinc acceptionem vel rejectionem gratiae Dei in libero hominis arbitrio collocant: et mentem ac voluntatem hominis *σύνεργου* seu causam cum verbo et Spiritu Dei cooperantem statuunt nostrae ad Deum conversionis seu regenerationis. In opposition the doctrine is set forth, naturam humanam lapsu Adae non modo infirmatam, sed prorsus a Deo aversam eique inimicam et tyrannidi peccati ac Satanae subjectam esse, ita ut non tantum propensa ad peccandum inclinet et feratur, sed peccato prorsus obnoxia et mancipata sit. Etsi enim lapsus Adae non sustulit ipsam voluntatem, tamen ex libera servam, et ex bona malam fecit. Deinde profiteamur, utrumque homini non renato impossibile esse, intelligere aut apprehendere voluntatem Dei in verbo patefactam, aut sua ipsius voluntate ad Deum se convertere, boni aliquid velle aut perficere. F. 35 verso: Paulus totum Deo vendicat, quod scilicet non tantum voluntatem nostram adjuvet, sed ipsum velle et perficere efficiat. F. 36 verso: Quod autem post regenerationem homo, per Spiritum sanctum nova luce et voluntate donatus, jam ut templum et organum Spiritus sancti Deo obtemperet, ut tunc *σύνεργος* Dei appelletur, non refragamur. 7. *Confutatio errorum Osiandri et Stanckari in articulo justificationis.* 8. *Contra errorem Majoris, quod bona opera necessaria sint ad salutem.* 9. *Confutatio Adiaphorismi*, f. 55: His et aliis gravissimis causis inducti hactenus Adiaphorismo contradiximus, et nos ab ipsis auctoribus tantisper segregamus, donec solenni aliqua et perspicua refutatione ab ipsis condemnentur, et ex Ecclesia Christi explodantur ac profligentur. *Conclusio*, f. 59: Mandamus primum omnibus et singulis nostrae ditionis Praelatis, et imprimis Academiae Jenensis Professoribus,—ut quae schola ab ill. Principe Electore amatissimo parente nostro, et a nobis dilectissimisque fratribus nostris ad tuendum coeleste salutaris veritatis Evangelii depositum, oppugnandosque errores ac sectas praecipue instituta fundataque est, item Superintendentibus, Pastoribus,—Ludirectoribus,—ut et puram Evangelii doctrinam—hisc quoque confutationibus congruentem—doceant, nec ulla ratione corruptelis illis, quarum confutatio hic suscepta est, aut ullis aliis patrocinium aut sophisticam defensionem accommodent. From that doctrine, de libero arbitrio, unconditional predestination necessarily follows. This was not, indeed, acknowledged in plain terms by Flacius (see Planck, iv. 704), but it was by others of his party, e. g., Wigand, in his *Solutiones ad Paralogrammas Synergistarum* (Schlüsselburg, Catal. Haeret., v. 228): Alia sunt arcana Dei, quae ut non possumus, ita nec debemus scrutari; alia sunt patefacta, quae toto pectore amplectenda

the divines of Jena, since Victorinus Strigel³⁵ 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.³⁶

Other disturbances sprung up at the same time in Heidelberg.³⁷ 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 Kriebitz 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 Confutation, given to the Elector August, March 9, 1559, he declared against the Flacian excrecences³⁸ in a concise manner;

et mordicus retinenda sunt. Patefacta sunt, quod tantum credentes in Christum Deus velit salvos facere, item incredulitas sit ex nobis. Sed recondita Dei judicia sunt, quare Paulum convertat, Caipham non convertat, Petrum labentem recipiat, Judam relinquat in desperatione. Til. Hesshusii Confutatio Synergistarum (l. c., p. 320): Hoc respectu Deus non vult, ut omnes salventur: non enim omnes elegit. Nic. Ambsdorffii Sententia de Declaratione Victorini, 1562 (l. c., p. 547): Non est nisi unus modus agendi Dei cum omnibus creaturis.—Quare eodem modo cum homine volente et intelligente agit Deus, quemadmodum cum omnibus creaturis reliquis, lapide et trunco, per solum suum velle et dicere.—When God speaks, stone and wood are borne, fashioned, and laid, as, when and whither he will, quia non cadit passer in terram sine voluntate patris, qui in coelis est. Thus, when God speaks and wills, man is converted, per ministerium verbi, becomes pious and holy. When God wills and speaks, man believes the Gospel, and is saved: quia Deus miseretur ejus vult, et spiritus spirat ubi et quando vult.—Sicut lapides et trunci sunt in potestate Dei, ita et eodem modo voluntas et intellectus hominis sunt in voluntate Dei, ut homo nihil prorsus velle et eligere possit, nisi id quod vult et dicit Deus, sive ex gratia, sive ex ira. Comp. Philipps, L. v. Hessen, condemnatory Memorial on the Confutation, in a letter to Duke Joh. Friedrich, 7th March, 1559, C. R., ix. 752.

³⁵ Briefwechsel der berühmtesten Gelehrten mit Herzog Albrecht von Preussen, by Joh. Voigt (Königsberg, 1811), s. 575. J. C. Th. Otto de Vict. Strigelio liberioris Mentis in Eccl. Luther. Vindice, Jenae, 1813. Schenkel, ii. 453.

³⁶ Planck, iv. 598.

³⁷ Henr. Altlingii (professor of theology in Heidelberg and Groningen, † 1644) *Historia Ecclesiae Palatinae* (ed. L. Chr. Mieg, in the *Monumenta Pietatis et Literaria*, Francof. ad M., 1701, 4., p. 129). B. G. Struve (professor jur. in Jena) *Pfaltzische Kirchenhist.*, Frankf., 1721, 4., s. 66. Salig, iii. 439. Planck, v. ii. 329. L. Hausser's *Gesch. d. rhein. Pfalz*, ii. 7. D. Seisen's *Gesch. d. Reform. in Heidelberg*, Heid., 1846, s. 76. Ebrard, ii. 585.

³⁸ Corp. Ref., ix. 763. [In substance: they use the term Zwinglians by way of reproach, and make a distinction between old and new Zwinglians, not defining the latter.

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.] “5. Von Zwinglianern haben sie einen verdächtigen Titel gemacht, alte und neue Zwingliane, und sagen doch nicht, was sie neue Zwingliane nennen. Nun wollen sie gehalten, seyn die allerfreudigsten Papstfresser, und dürfen nicht ein Wort sagen von dieser allergrößten Abgöttere, nämlich dass ausser dem eingesetzten Brauch nicht Sacrament seyn kann, sondern stärken papistische Abgöttere, und setzen dennoch etliche propositiones, welche niemand in der Kirche von Anfang, auch die Päpstischen nicht, gesetzt haben, nämlich: dass der Leib Christi an allen Orten sey, in Steyn und Holz. So nun dieses also wäre, was würde Unterscheid seyn zwischen diesem Sacrament und andern Dingen?”—“6. Vom freien Willen ist öffentlich, dass sie mich, Philippum, farnehmlich anfechten. Davon thue ich diesen Bericht. Ich hab bei Leben Lutheri und hernach diese Stoica und Manichaea deliria verworfen, dass Luther und andre geschrieben haben: alle Werk, gut und böss, in allen Menschen, guten und bössen, müssten also geschehen. Nun ist öffentlich, dass diese Rede wider Gottes Wort ist, und ist schädlich wider alle Zucht, und lästerlich wider Gott. Darum habe ich mit fleissiger Nachtrachtung Unterscheid gesetzt, wiefern der Mensch freien Willen hat, äusserliche Zucht zu halten, auch vor der Wiedergeburt.” [In substance: he, Philip, had been particularly attacked about free-will. But even in Luther's life he had rejected the Stoica and Manichaea 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 Worum Conference, 1557; see Balthasar's Hist. des torgischen Buchs, St. 5, s. 32: Cum Pontificii a nostris flagitarent, ut damnarent Illyricum in doctrina de libero arbitrio, Osiandrum in doctrina de justificatione, et Calvinum in doctrina de Coena Domini, et Brentius cum plerisque aliis a condemnando Illyrico non alienus esset; respondit D. Philippus, non esse in eo obsequendum Papisticis, qui sub nomine Illyrici Lutheri condemnationem vafre a nostris flagitarent. Sibi Lutheri mentem et sententiam in doctrina liberi arbitrii esse notam, damnare igitur eam nec posse, nec velle.)—Wie wir nun lehren von der Bekehrung oder Wiedergeburt,—referiren wir uns auf unsre Schriften.—Nun sagen wir, es soll der Mensch beide Predigt betrachten, Gesetz und Evangelium; und so er sich troestet mit dem Evangelio und Trost in rechtem Schmerzen fühlet, ist gewiss, dass Gott den heil. Geist in das Herz gibt, der alsdann wirket.—Und ist also der heil. Geist arrabo und das Pfand im Trost, und bleibet die Regel: *precedente gratia comitante voluntate*. Denn beides ist wahr: Wenn der Mensch wäre wie ein Block, so ware kein Streit. Item, so sich der Wille vom Trost abwenden mag, so ist dagegen zu verstehen, dass er etwas wirket, und folget dem heil. Geist, so er den Trost annimmt. Et *reiciens rejicit sua voluntate, nec Deus est causa, quod voluntas rejicit*. Item, *donec voluntas omnino repugnat, nulla est conversio*.—Wir sprechen, der Gefallene soll in der Reue und Angst die Verheissung der Gnade betrachten; dadurch wirket Gott,—gibt ein Fünklein des Glaubens, dass Trost u. Streit anfahet. Ilie schreiet Illyricus, Stolz und sein Bruder Gallus von der Erwählung: was hilft diese Verheissung diesen, die nicht erwählet sind?—So sind dergleichen Trostschriften, durch Lutherum gestellt, noch in seinen epistolis zu finden, und haben ich und Andere oft in Gegenwärtigkeit gehöret, dass er selbst Andere also getröstet 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—*precedente gratia, 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-

but more fully against all the old and new errors of the times³⁹ 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 Melancthon; 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. scripseram ante bis, sed chartae sunt interceptae. Volo tamen confessionem meam esse responsiones de Bavaricis articulis contra Pontificios, Anabaptistas, Flacianos et similes. The Responsiones appeared in Viteb., 1559. 8.; reprinted in Opp. Mel., i. 360, and in Corp. Doctrinae Misnicum, 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 possit, dici de externis gestibus, et ut disputationes quasdam obscuras praeteream, nomino eam libertatem regendae locomotivae.—Haec rectio locomotivae, quae est facere opera externa legi Dei congruentia, nominatur usitate externa disciplina, quam severe praecipit a Deo manifestum est.—Simul autem sciendum est, hanc libertatem regendae locomotivae etiam horribiliter impediri duabus rebus, praesertim in impiis, videlicet humana infirmitate et impulsione diabolorum.—Palam etiam rejeicio et detestor Stoicos et Manichaeos furores, qui affirmant, omnia necessario fieri, bonas et malas actiones, de quibus omitto hic longiores disputationes. Tantum oro juniores, ut fugiant has monstrosas opiniones, quae sunt contumeliosae contra Deum, et perniciosae moribus.—Recitata vera sententia de hoc gradu libertatis in non renatis profiteri et hoc necesse est contra Pelagianos et Monachos, hanc disciplinam nequaquam esse impletionem legis Dei, quae concionatur de perfecta conformitate cum Deo, et interiore et exteriori obedientia, nec esse inchoationem interioris obedientiae, nec esse justitiam coram Deo, nec tollere peccata, nec mereri remissionem peccatorum.—Non possunt tolli peccatum et mors libero arbitrio hominum, nec potest voluntas humana inchoare interiorem obedientiam sine Filio Dei, sine Evangelio, et sine Spiritu sancto. Talis non est libertas humanae voluntatis. Sed tamen in renatis qualis sit libertas, considerandum est, quia non est minor libertas in Joseph, quam in Scipione. Simul etiam considerandum est, quid intersit inter castitatem Joseph et castitatem Scipionis.—Etiam si foris haec opera videntur similia, tamen intus causae dissimiles sunt, Filius Dei accendens cogitationem in mente per doctrinam, et Spiritus sanctus excitans motus in corde, qualis ipse est, et voluntas obtemperat volens, non coacta.—Persona justa est sola fide propter Mediatorem: deinde placet obedientia, quae est justitia bonae conscientiae, quae regitur invocationem Dei et Spiritu sancto, et est fructus Spiritus sancti, et cultus Dei, quia petitur, sentitur et praedicatur auxilium Dei, et ostenditur, quod Deo hic honos tribuatur, qui in credente propter Filium placet.—Manifestum est et varie oppugnari fidem in illis ipsis quoque, qui ad Deum conversi, renati et sancti sunt, cum aut adspiciunt suam infirmitatem, aut disputant de electione. His certe opus est labore quaerente dicta, quae Deus consolationis causa proposuit.—Sicut igitur etiam conversi postea consolatione erigendi sunt, ita in ipsa conversione dicendum est iis, qui jam habent dolores, ne maneant in dubitatione, donec vi cogantur credere, sed audiant et cogitent Evangelium, quo Deus est efficax et trahit corda, et sciant se tunc esse illos auditores, ad quos dictum est: *venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos.*—Sed dicunt illi disputationes, Evangelium tantum ad electos pertinere. Ad id respondeo: etsi non omnes accipiunt consolationem,—tamen promissio est universalis, et certum est pertinere eam ad omnes, qui eam accipiunt.—Donec enim omnino repugnat voluntas, nulla facta est conversio. Ideo inquit Chrysostomus: *ἔλκει μὲν ὁ θεός, βουλόμενον εἰ ἔλκει.*—Alii non volunt videri tollere doctrinam, et tamen removenot consolationem, quae inchoatur verbo, cum disputant promissionem particularem esse, et ponunt contradictorias voluntates in Deo. His oppono dictum: *fides ex 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 alii saepe repentem hoc dictum: *conclisit omnes sub peccatum, ut omnium misereatur.*—Et tamen simul fateor, plurima Deum in omnibus sanctis ita agere, ut voluntas tantum

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, 1559,⁴⁰ he counseled that

sit subjectum patiens. Interea tamen regula tenenda est: *fides ex auditu est*; cogitatione promissionis nos sustentemus, repugnemus diffidentiae, et inter veros gemitus dicamus: *credo, Domine, opem fer imbecillitati meae. Art. XXIII. An sola fide homo justificetur.*—Etsi verum est, cum in conversione 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 haereditatem vitae aeternae sola fide, i. e., fiducia Mediatoris; ut, quanquam in Paulo nato habitat Deus, et sunt excellentes virtutes, tamen quia adhuc in eo peccatum est in hac vita, persona habet remissionem peccatorum,—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 docendi causa his tribus admonitionibus in hac re:—1. Necessae est in conversione statuere, quod persona placeat Deo propter Filium gratis sola fide. 2. Agnoscamus, nos nequaquam legi satisfacere, sed haerere in nobis adhuc multa peccata, et has sordes vero dolore deploremus. 3. Sciamus tamen inchoandam esse obedientiam, et oportere in nobis esse bonum propositum non faciendi contra conscientiam. Et hanc inchoatam obedientiam, quanquam languidam, tamen etiam placere propter Mediatorem in conversis, qui et repugnant infirmitati suae, et credunt, eam sibi remitti propter Mediatorem. Haec exercitia fidei in quotidiana invocatione considerentur. Et quanquam haec obedientia nequaquam meretur vitam aeternam, tamen juxta promissiones de operibus: *dote et dabitur vobis*, et similes habet in hac vita praemia spiritualia et corporalia, juxta consilium Dei, mitigationem multarum publicarum et privatarum calamitatum. *Refutatio Serveti* on the two natures in Christ: Caste et reverenter usitatae formae loquendi in Ecclesia retinendae sunt.—Nequaquam dicitur in abstracto: natura divina est humana; sed in concreto dicitur: 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 praedicatio, in qua proprietates unius naturae dicitur de persona in concreto, et significatur, in Christo duas esse naturas, non tantum ita, ut altera sit sociata et separabilis, sicut in Elia et aliis Sanctis adest Deus societate ut auxiliator et separabiliter, sed sic, quod *λόγος* assumerit humanam naturam miranda unione inseparabili et personali.—Haec breviter adjeci, ut pii commoneant de veteribus Ecclesiae certaminibus et judiciis, et cogitent de fontibus. Supra recitavi dictum Petri, qui ait, Christum passum carne, et addidi alia quaedam vetera dicta, quae sint in conspectu, et opponantur Stenckfeldii (Schwenckfeld) et aliorum clamoribus, qui audaacter similia spargunt Eutychanis, et delent doctrinam de communicatione idiomatum. In his quorundam tanta est petulantia, ut fingant duplicem communicationem idiomatum, aliam dialecticam, aliam physicam, quae est confusio naturarum.

⁴⁰ Responsio Ph. Mel. ad Quaestionem de Controversia Heidelbergensi, C. R., ix. 961: Non difficile, sed periculosum est respondere. Dicam tamen, quae nunc de controversia illius loci monere possum: et oro Filium Dei, ut et consilia, et eventus gubernet. Non dubium est, de controversia Coenae ingentia certamina et bella in toto orbe terrarum secutura esse, quia mundus dat poenas idololatriae et aliorum peccatorum. Ideo petamus, ut Filius Dei nos doceat et gubernet. Cum autem ubique multi sint infirmi, et nondum instituti in doctrina Ecclesiae, imo confirmati in erroribus; necesse est initio habere rationem infirmorum. Probo igitur consilium Illustrissimi Electoris, quod rixantibus utrinque mandavit silentium, ne distractio fiat in tenera Ecclesia, et infirmi turbentur in illo loco, et vicinia: et optarim, rixatores in utraque parte abesse. Secundo, remotis contentiosis prodest reliquos de una forma verborum convenire. Et in hac controversia optimum esset retinere verba Pauli: panis, quem frangimus, *κοινωνία ἰσπί*

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, 1560.⁴¹ 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 Würtemberg was so roused up by these events, that John Brenz, the leader of its clergy, who had hitherto been so circumspect in the midst of the controversies,⁴² at a synod in Stuttgart, December 19, 1559, procured the adop-

τοῦ σώματος. Et copiose de fructu Coenae dicendum est, ut invitentur homines ad amorem hujus pignoris, et crebrum usum. Et vocabulum *κοινωνία* declarandum est. Non dicit, mutari naturam panis, ut Papistae dicunt; non dicit, ut Bremenses, panem esse substantiale corpus Christi; non dicit, ut Hesusius, panem esse verum corpus Christi: sed esse *κοινωνίαν*, i. e., hoc, quo fit consociatio cum corpore Christi, quae fit in usu, et quidem non sine cogitatione, ut cum mures panem rodunt.—Adest Filius Dei in ministerio Evangelii, et ibi certo est efficax in credentibus, ac adest non propter panem, sed propter hominem, sicut inquit: *manete in me, et ego in vobis*; item: *ego sum in patre meo, et vos in me, et ego in vobis*. Et in his veris consolationibus facit nos sibi membra, et testatur, se corpora nostra vivificaturum esse. Sic declarant veteres Coenam Domini. Sed hanc veram et simplicem doctrinam de fructu nominant quidam cothurnos, et postulant dici, an sit corpus in pane, aut speciebus panis? Quasi vero Sacramentum propter panem, et illam papisticam adorationem institutum sit. Postea fingunt, quomodo includant panem; alii conversionem, alii transsubstantiationem, alii ubi-quitatem excogitarunt. Haec portentosa omnia ignorata sunt eruditae vetustati.—Quae si nova sunt in Ecclesia, cogitandum est, an recentioribus licuerit novum dogma invchere in Ecclesiam. Nec ego ignoro, multa citari notha sub veterum titulis (comp. § 36, Notes 15, 19, § 37, Note 20), de quibus eruditi judicent. Nec vero jam institui longam disputationem, nec cum contentiosis, qui idola et parricidia stabiliunt, disputare volo, quorum saevitiam et ego experior. Sed tantum pro meo iudicio significare volui, quid in illo loco pro infirmitate tenerae Ecclesiae faciendum esse existimem. Ac maneo in hac sententia, contentiones utrinque prohibendas esse, et forma verborum una et simili utendum esse. Si quibus haec non placent, nec volunt ad communionem accedere, his permittatur, ut suo iudicio utantur, modo non fiant distractiones in populo.

⁴¹ Literatur, see Note 37. Heppe, Charakter 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. Veessenmeyer, 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.⁴³ Thereupon, too, he gave the first precise development of this doctrinal point, and a wholly new shape to the doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum*.⁴⁴ Melancthon uttered

⁴³ *Confessio et Doctrina Theologorum et Ministrorum Verbi Dei in Ducatu Wirtembergensi de vera Praesentia Corporis et Sanguinis J. Chr. in Coena Dominica*, German and Latin in Pfaffii 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 accipiuntur.*—Dum vero hanc veri corporis et sanguinis Christi veram praesentiam statuimus, nullam corporis et sanguinis ejus cum pane et vino commixtionem, nullam in pane localem inclusionem asserimus, 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 de ascensu Christi in coelum, et sessione ejus ad dexteram Dei Patris opponitur, ut, quoniam in coelo est, in Coena praesens esse negetur: nos hunc fidei articulum non nostris, sed Apostoli verbis quam simplicissime explicamus, ubi scribit: *qui descendit, idem ille est, qui etiam ascendit supra omnes caelos, ut implet omnia* (Eph. iv. 10). Non enim sic in editorem aliquem locum aeris vel firmamenti ascendit, ut ibi haereret, sed etiam in eam majestatem et gloriam ingressus est, quae teste Apostolo est (Eph. i. 21) *super omnem principatum, et potestatem, et virtutem, et dominationem, et omne nomen, quod nominatur, non solum in hoc saeculo, sed etiam in futuro*. Itaque nullam humanae naturae diffusionem aut membrorum Christi distractionem imaginamur, sed hominis Christi majestatem explicamus, qua ad dexteram Dei collocatus, non solum divinitate sua, sed homo Christus quoque implet omnia modo coelesti et humanae rationi imperscrutabili, qua majestate praesentia ejus in Coena non tollitur sed confirmatur. In the passage, Eph. iv. 10, the apostle is speaking, not—de vaticiniumum impletione, sed de majestate Christi, qua nunc in gloria Patris omnibus rebus praesens est, et res omnes illi praesentes. 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 duarum Naturarum in Christo*, which, however, was not published till 1561. 4. (see J. Brenz by Hartmann and Jäger, ii. 380), reprinted in Brentii Opp., viii. 831. Cf. p. 834: *Quamquam divina substantia non mutetur in humanam, et unaquaeque suas habet proprietates, tamen hae duae substantiae ita sunt in unam personam in Christo conjunctae, ut altera ab altera reipsa nunquam dividatur*. P. 835: *Ut ubicunque est Deitas, ibi etiam sit humanitas Christi*. P. 836: *Quid obsecro prohibet, quo minus id, quod convenit uni substantiae per se, hoc conveniat alteri per accidens, ut Dialectici loquuntur? Vetus et verus sermo est de Christo, quod quicquid convenit Filio Dei per naturam, hoc conveniat filio hominis per gratiam*. P. 837: *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 proprietatum seu accidentium mutatio non mutat rei substantiam, quomodo non posset etiam immutata manere substantia corporis, etiamsi alicubi non esset localiter in loco, cum in loco esse non sit corporis substantia, sed tantum proprietates substantiae accidentariae?* P. 838: *Etsi humanam naturam extra Christum, et juxta physicas rationes in uno tantum loco esse oportet,—et Christus suscepit tempore ministerii et conversationis suae in hoc mundo humanas (propter peccatum) imbecillitates, 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-*

in vain his warnings to the Duke Christopher of Würtemberg,⁴⁵ and soon greeted with joy the summons which released him from

cum haberet etiam humanitatem suam, idque non localiter, sed—repletive.—Non tribuimus Christo multa et varia corpora, nec tribuimus corpori ejus localem extensionem aut diffusionem, sed evelimus 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 saeculo dissimulavit, seu ea sese, ut Paulus loquitur, exinanivit, tamen nunquam ea caruit.—Porro ex hac admiranda et ineffabili unione oritur celebris illa in ecclesiasticis scriptoribus communicatio idiomatum.—Existimant multi, quod, cum dicitur, inter divinam et humanam naturam Christi esse communicationem idiomatum, intelligendum sit, esse tantum communicationem proprietatum vocabulorum, et non proprietatum rerum. Ac veteres recte quidem docuerunt, quantum ego hactenus judicare possum, de communicatione idiomatum. Scholastici autem et recentiores nonnulli, cum dicunt personam Christi non habere ubique secum unitam humanitatem, videntur affirmare, in Christo esse tantum communicationem verbalem, non realem.—His fiet 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 communicationem idiomatum de Christo dicimus, Deum esse passum et mortuum, non sit sententia, quod Deus Verbum dicitur tantum sermone vocabuli pati et mori, res autem ipsa nihil prorsus ad Deum pertineat, sed quod Deus, etsi natura sua nec patitur, nec moritur, tamen passionem et mortem Christi ita sibi communem faciat, ut propter hypostaticam unionem passioni et morti personaliter adsit, et non aliter, ut sic dicam, afficiatur, quam si ipse pateretur et moreretur.—Sic etiam idiomata *τῶ λόγῳ*—praedicantur non verbis tantum inanibus, sed etiam vere 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 inseparabilis persona, certe negari non potest, quin, cum Filius Dei assumpsit in utero matris filium hominis in unitate personae, continuo exverit et collocaverit eum in ea majestate et gloria, in qua ipse ab aeterno apud patrem suum fuit.—Itaque et tum ascendit Filius hominis in coelum, et est deinceps in coelo, etiamsi in terra omni contumeliarum genere afficiatur. P. 848: Vere passus est humanos dolores, vere mortuus est: interea tamen retinuit suam majestatem auctoritative,—quam suo tempore patefecit executive. Accedit et illud, quod etsi tempore humilitatis suae non ostentavit summam suam, quam habuit, majestatem, tamen non omnino eam sic dissimulavit, ut non aliquoties praesentiam ejus manifestis argumentis testificaretur. Nam et XL diebus ac noctibus jejunavit, et super aquas ambulavit, et invisibilem se reddidit, et tactu mortuos suscitavit, et se coram discipulis suis coelesti gloria transformavit. P. 849: Dices autem: si hypostatica unio duarum naturarum in Christo tantum valet, ut ubicunque est deitas, ibi etiam sit humanitas, non quidem—loali diffusionem,—sed mirando et coelesti modo, quid opus erit, 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 liceat mihi singulis diebus, imo et horis ea sumere? Sed audi vicissim. Etsi Christus sua majestate una cum corpore et sanguine suo a tuo domestico pane et vino minime absit, 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 Responsio, qua ostenditur, Sententiam de coelo et dextra Dei firmiter adhuc perstare, 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 Dreieinigkeits, iii. 410.

⁴⁵ The Duke of Würtemberg, probably stimulated by Mel. Resp. ad Impios Art.

these entangling controversies,⁴⁶ 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 Sattler's Würtemb. Gesch., iv. 140), and asked for a synod. Melancthon now sent to him his Enarratio Epistolae ad Coloss. praelecta anno 1556, Viteb., 1559. 8. (Opp., iv. 324). Here it is said (Opp., iv. 358): Ascendit, scil. corporali et physica locatione, in coelum; i. e., in locum coelestem, ubicunque est, quia hic non sunt fingendae allegoriae. Ascensio fuit visibilis et corporalis, et saepe ita scriptis tota antiquitas, Christum corporali locatione in aliquo loco esse, ubicunque vult. Corpus localiter alicubi est secundum veri corporis modum, ut Augustinus inquit. Mel. ad Hardenberg, 12. Jan., 1560, C. R., ix. 1029: Dux Wirtenbergensis me atrociter accusat, quod naturalis in Christo dirimam. Petivi non solum, ut me prius audiat quam condemnet, sed ut simul veterem et puriorem Ecclesiam audiat: ad G. Cracovium, 3. Febr., 1560, p. 1036: Legi decretum Abbatum Wirtebergensium, nec possum quale sit venustius significare, quam si dicam esse Hechingense Latinum, cum oppidum Hechingen in vicinia illorum Abbatum situm sit.—Illustr. Principi respondi breviter.—Si longior a me responsio *περι μυστηρίων* petitur, significabitur. Tempore enim opus est ad describenda vetera testimonia, et profecto invitus *περι τοῦ πανταχοῦ* disputo, quia multa *βέβηλα* turbant mentes in vera cogitatione. Ad Hardenb., 9. Febr., 1560, p. 1046: Dux Wirtebergensis misit formulam *περι μυστηρίων* ad nostrum Principem, in qua retinet et pingit *τὸ πανταχοῦ*. Petivit, ut exhiberetur his Academiis, sed non est exhibitum.

⁴⁶ Causae cur minus abhorreas a morte, written by Melancthon (Corp. Ref., ix. 1098) a few days before his death, on the left side of the leaf: Discedes a peccatis. Liberaberis ab aerumnis, et a rabie theologorum. On the right, Venies in lucem. Videbis Deum. Intueberis Filium Dei. Disces illa mira arcana, quae in hac vita intelligere non potuisti. Cur sic simus conditi. Qualis sit copulatio duarum naturarum in Christo.—How the Catholics judged about these controversies may be seen in a very full account by the Cardinal Bishop Von Culm, Stanislaus Hosius ad Henricum Brunsvicensensem Ducem dd. Tridenti, 24. Mart., 1562, in le Plat. Monum. ad Hist. Conc. Tridentini spectant., v. 124.

¹ See § 37, Note 44. Gespräch zwischen Wirtenberger und Pfälzer Theologen im Kloster Maulbronn, 1561. Ebrard, ii. 666.

² Special excitement was caused by the refusal to allow the jurist, Matth. Wesenbecius, to take the place of a godfather, in July, 1560 (the acts in J. J. Müller's *entdeck-*

tween Flacius and Striegel, in Weimar, August, 1560,³ the former, in his violence, was led to make the assertion that original sin is the very substance of human nature;⁴ 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.⁵ 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.

tes Staatscabinet, Erste Eröffnung, Jena, 1714, s. 38). The clergy demanded of him (p. 43), ut categorice respondeam, utrum per omnia approbem, an non, librum (Confutationis),—et eorum conciones quotidianas, quibus ejusmodi liber explicaretur, and refused him the place of godfather because he hesitated to make this declaration; Salig, iii. 579. Planck, iv. 612.

³ Disputatio de Originali Peccato et Libero Arbitrio inter Matthiam Flacium Illyr. et Vict. Strigelium publice Vinariae anno 1560 habita (written out by Wigand) ed. Sim. Musaeus, 1562, ed. 2, 1563. 4. (See Ed. Schmid, in Niedner's Zeitschr. für hist. Theol., 1849, i. 7). Here precede Flacii and Strigelii propositiones de libero arbitrio: in the short Relatio de Disputatione Vinariensi (fortges. Sammlung v. alten u. neuen theol. Sachen, 1740, s. 383) the positions of both parties were given; de definitione Evangelii, de Majorismo, de Adiaphorismo, de academica epocha; in all which Striegel inclines to Melancthon, and often makes use of just his positions. In Flacii Prop. de Libero Arbitrio: 3. Homo spirituali hac lepra (ut Lutherus loqui solet) penitus corruptus non tantum amisit omnes bonas vires,—sed et insuper contrarias et deterrimas acquisivit,—seu est ad imaginem Satanae transformatus, ejusque characterem signatus, ac veneno penitus infectus, ita ut necessario seu inevitabiliter Deo ac verae pietati semper et vehementer adversetur. 4. Solus Deus immensa misericordia per Verbum, Sacramenta et Spiritum S. convertit hominem, trahit, illuminat, donat fidem, justificat, renovat, et ad bona opera condit: seu labefactata et mortificata illa foeda Satanae imagine suam denuo in nobis condit ac reformat, cor lapideum ac adamantinum exeidit, ac novum, inscripta ei sua lege aut imagine condit, non solum non cooperante ex se naturali aut Adamico libero arbitrio, sed etiam contra furente ac fremente. *Gratia Dei sum quicquid sum*, 1 Cor., xv. In reply, Striegel: 3. Vere igitur affirmo, hominem viribus naturalibus sine Filio Dei, sanante nostra vulnera per Evangelium, et dante Spiritum Sanctum, ne quidem inchoare posse veram et salutarem conversionem ad Deum.—4.—tamen non ita in nobis efficax est, ut invitum hominem subigat, sed ut subjectionis cupidum faciat: nec ut ignorantem trahat, sed ut intelligentem sequentemque praecedat. Donec enim omnino repugnant voluntas, nulla potest fieri conversio. 5. Concurrent igitur in conversione haec tria: *Spiritus sanctus*, movens corda per vocem divinam; et ipsa *vox Dei* cogitata, sive inter audiendum, sive in lectione, sive in pia meditatione, et *voluntas hominis*, quae voci divinae inter trepidationem utcumque assentitur, simul petens auxilium ab eo, qui ait: *venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos*. Salig, iii. 587. Planck, iv. 606. Ed. Schmid a. a. O. s. 26.

⁴ Disputatio, p. 26, 44. Ed. Schmid, in Niedner's Zeitschr., 1849, i. 60.

⁵ Salig, iii. 632. Planck, vi. 213. Der Naumburgische Fürstentag, oder wichtige Urkunden und Acten denselben betr., edited by J. H. Gelbke, Leipzig, 1793.

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.⁶ 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.⁷ The theological faculty was filled with Wittenberg divines.⁸

The controversies at Bremen produced no less disquietude.⁹ Hardenberg was banished in 1560 from the district of Lower Saxony; the strict Lutheran magistracy now called Simon Müslius, 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.¹⁰ Meanwhile the new burgo-master, 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.¹¹

⁶ Salig, iii. 652. Planck, iv. 621. Jo. Schmidt's Weimar. Gesetzsammlung. (Jena, 1801), ii. 310.

⁷ Salig, iii. 843. Planck, iv. 636. Striegel published a Declaration about his opinions, and mediating Würtemberg 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, Selnecker, Freyhub, and Salmuth. Salig, iii. 914.

⁹ On them, see work of Gerdes, cited § 37, Note 23. Also Salig, iii. 716. Planck, v. ii. 138 (Elard Wagner's Ref. preacher in Bremen), Dr. A. Hardenbergs im Dom zu Bremen geführtes Lehramt, Bremen, 1779, 4. Die Brem. Bürgermeister Dan. v. Büren d. alt., und Dan. v. Büren d. jüngere by Dr. A. G. Deneken, Bremen, 1836.

¹⁰ Salig, iii. 783. Wagner, s. 361. J. H. Duntze's Gesch. d. freien Stadt Bremen. Bd. 3. (Bremen, 1848), s. 294.

¹¹ Treaty of Verden, 3d March, 1568, in Lünig's Reichsarchiv, Part. special. Cont., iv. f. 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. 356.

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,¹² 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;¹³ 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 oecumenical 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 Ordinandum*, and *Responsiones ad impios art. Inquisit. Bavar.* This *Corpus Doctrinae Misnicum* or *Philippicum* was introduced into the churches by the Elector, on the motion of the Leipsic Consistory (Lüscher's *Historia Motuum*, iii. 197). Comp. Balthasar's *Historie des Torgischen Buchs*, ii. 39; on the editions: Strobel's *Literargesch. v. Mel. Loci 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. Peuceri manibus parentatum est, Servestae, 1603. 4.*, p. 23, says, of the Wittenbergers and their subsequent fall: *Nihil magis, ut ego puto, offendit Electorem magnanimum, quam quod non discrete opinionem sacramentariam vulgo vocatam Peucerus vel probaret vel improbaret, sed involucris quibusdam et ambiguis responsis dubium quaerentis animum relinqueret, magis εὐλάβειαν soceri imitans, quam suae naturae morem gerens. Quae prudens, ut tum existimabatur, temporisque multorum opinione conveniens tergiversatio etiam in aliis deprehendebatur. Memini ab Esromo (Rüdinger, Professor of Natural Science in Wittenberg) aliquando non leviter objurgari, quod nimis libere sententiam orthodoxam defenderem. Opus esse circumspectione politica, ne intempestiva παρόρησια rebus communibus noceat. Respondi ego simplici animo, me natura abhorretere a simulandi studio, ac in veritatis divinae professione nihil loci esse ejusmodi artibus. Addidi autem quasi vates aliquis et hoc: vos dabit is aliquando poenas hujus politicae cautionis; vestrum erat, veritatem publice et aperte profiteri. Jam vultis a nobis in scholis frangi glaciem, ut facilius exitus vobis pateat, et tamen indignamini, si quid aperit 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.¹⁴ 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;¹⁵ 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).¹⁶ A conference, set on foot by the Elector and their Duke, between their divines, in Altenburg¹⁷ (October, 1568 to March, 1569), was made the occasion, by the Jena theologians, of uttering the most intemperate accusations against the Philippists,¹⁸ 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 Schlüsselburg, 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; Mohrke's *Kirchen- u. Literarhist. Studien u. Mittheilungen*, Bd. 1, Heft 2 (Stralsund, 1825), s. 239.

¹⁵ K. A. Menzel's *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, iv. 342. Joh. Voigt's *Wilh. v. Grumbach u. s. Händel*, in Raumer's *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1847, s. 145.

¹⁶ E. Schmid, in *Niedner's Zeitschr.*, 1849, i. 58. 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, funfte Eröffnung*, s. 43.

¹⁷ Collection of the Acts: *Colloquium zu Altenburg in Meissen, Jena, 1569. fol.*; *Colloquium Altenburgense de Articulo Justificationis, Jenae, 1570. 4.* In reply: *Ganze und unverfälschte Acta des Colloquii zu Altenburg, Wittenberg, 1570. fol.*; *Acta Colloquii Aldeburgensis, Lips., 1570. fol.*; G. F. Loeberi *ad Hist. Colloquii Aldeburg. Anmadversiones ex Documentis genuinis partim nunc primum editis erutae, Aldeburgi, 1776. 4.*; Planck, vi. 334.

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 *imputatione* and *inchoatione* at once. 2. We are *chiefly* justified by faith. 3. That good works are neces-

Electeur 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 Doctrinae Misnicum* 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 (Melanethon) 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 get in; and Papists, too, may take advantage of this.] "1. Dass die Exemplar und Bucher des ersten Drucks die wahre alte Confession, so anno 30 zu Augspurg Kaiser Karl ubergeben, nicht haben, sondern an derselben Statt eine solche Confession, die zu Augspurg weder geschrieben noch ubergeben, oder von den Ständen Augspurgiseher Confession approbirt und unterschrieben worden. Im andern Druck aber beruhrtes *Corporis doctrinae* werden zwei Exemplar der wahren, rechten und unrechten Augspurgischen Confession in einander gemenet. Nu hat aber der Autor oder Schreiber desselben Buchs nicht Macht gehabt, dasselbe als sein eigen Buch, darum seines Gefallens, zu corrigiren.—Uber das so hat Philippus so oft gedachte Augspurgische Confession geändert, dass er auch endlich den Sacramentirern und Calvinisten ein Fenster aufgethan in dieselbe einzuschleichen. Man mag traun zusehen, dass nicht etwan 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 Doctrinae*, they go on to say about Melanethon 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 nu soleshes recht, rein und treulich thut, ist er warlich aller Ehren und Danks werth: so oft er sich aber die Philosophiam, menschliche Vernunft und fleischliche Weisheit, lässt anderswohin verleiten, da ists offenbar, dass er nicht gerade zugehe, sondern irre und strauchle." They then refer to Melanethon's indecision about Carlstadt's vagaries, and also in Augsburg. "Es bezeuget auch guugsam die einige Disputation, darinnen Latherus die päpstische Proposition von Nothwendigkeit guter Werk zur Seligkeit aus der Kirchen verworfen und verdammt, und die Aenderung und Unterdrückung derselben Dictaten Philippi durch Lutherum erlangt, wie oft Philippus hab aus der Bahn springen wollen, und doch vom Luthero zurückgezogen und gehalten worden. (Comp. above, § 36, Note 25.) Wie auch Philippus die Sacramentirer in ihrer Schwärmerei gestärkt, bezeuget nicht allein Calvinus in öffentlichen ausgegangenen Schriften, sondern auch der Brief an den Churfürsten Pfalzgrafen, und etliche andere an Hardenbergium.—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 37), welcher Kaiserlicher Majestät selbst zu lesen gegeben, und schier durch ganz Europam ausgesprenget worden, sondern auch seine Schriften und Rathschlage den *Actis synodicis* einverleibet. Letzlich so werfen uns die Papisten selbst, und nicht ohne Ursach für, dass Philippus seine Bücher, sonderlich da Luthers alt worden, und aus diesem Leben abgeschieden, so oft geändert, 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 Melanethon was kept straight only by Luther. And then, too, Philip strengthened the sacramentarians (Calvinists), as is seen in several of his writings. He also yielded to the papists in the matter of the Interim, as is seen in his letter to Carolovicus, which went the rounds of Europe, etc. And the papists, too, reproach us with the fact that Philip 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.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.²⁰ And thus he at last com-

¹⁹ They were obliged to sign a declaration (given in Löscher's *Hist. Motuum*, iii. 21) accepting the *Corpus Doctrinae*, and also to declare: "Ich bin auch den Flacianischen Illyrischen fährlichen Irrthum, zänkischen Geschmeiss, giftigen Gebeiss und Schwärmerey, damit dieser Lande Schulen und Kirchen von dem erlichteten und angegebenen Adiaphorismo, Synergismo, und Majorismo, und andern falschen Auflagen beschweret, nicht anhängig, hab auch nicht Gefallen darob, und will auch hinfortan mit Gottes gnädiger Hülff mich desselben gänzlich enthalten, dampiren, flichen und meiden, und nach Vermögen auch verhüten" [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. alten u. neuen theol. Sachen*, 1734, s. 164, 375.

²⁰ In *M. Flacii Clavis Scripturae* (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 uberiorem, quod praecipuum peccatum originale sit quiddam substantiale in homine, forte non parum profuerit distinguere substantiam materialem et formalem. Potest enim considerari substantia alicujus testacei aut vitrei aut argentei vasis, tum quatenus ex tali materia est, tum quatenus vas illud sic formatum est pulchre aut turpiter.—Sic igitur in hac disputatione de corruptione hominis non nego, illam viliozem materiam, aut massam hominis initio conditam adhuc utunque remansisse, tametsi valde vitiatam, sicut si in vino aut aromatibus, expirante aerea et ignea substantia, remaneret tantum terrena et aenea; sed formam substantialem, aut substantiam formalem deperiisse, imo in contrariam esse mutatam sentio. Loquor autem non de ista externa et crassa forma, quam considerat in adolescente puella, aut etiam in toto homine philosophia;—sed loquor de ea nobilissima substantiali forma, ad quam praecipue ipsum cor, aut potius anima rationalis formata erat, ita ut ipsa sua essentia esset Dei imago, eumque repraesentaret, utque suae substantiales potentiae, intellectus ac voluntas affectusque, ad Dei proprietates essent conformatae, cumque tum repraesentarent, tum vere agnoscerent, et promptissime amplecterentur.—Hanc ergo formam substantialem dico non tantum deperiisse homini, sed etiam prorsus in contrariam esse inversam: ita ut, cum antea homo, praesertim quod attinet ad animam rationalem, esset viventis Dei viva imago, nunc sit sua essentia in eadem summa ac nobilissima parte vera imago Satanae. Hanc substantialem immutationem animae Scriptura (comp. Ps. li. 12; Ezech. xi. 19) exprimit per cor lapideum aut adamantinum, aut contra per cor spirituale: quod ideo pro anima rationali ponitur, quod ibi anima rationalis habitare censetur.—Hanc igitur inversam substantiam formalem, aut formam substantialem summi gradus,—quae jam cum, ut causa formalis, facit imaginem et filium Diaboli,—statuo esse verum et quasi unicum fontem omnis peccati, sive habitualis, sive actualis, et id ipsum quod vocamus originale peccatum: quod non tantum ideo sic vocatur, quia nobiscum oritur, sed etiam*

pelled the Jena divines (after 1570) to combat this new Manichæism (the *Flacian Controversy*).²¹ Flacius persuaded a part of his adherents to adopt his error;²² but every body else was opposed to him.

quia oriuntur inde omnigena peccata: quæ ratio etymologiæ aut appellationis hujus, hæcenus a multis neglecta, diligenter observanda est. Hoc igitur modo sentio et assero, primum peccatum originale esse substantiam, quia anima rationalis, et præsertim ejus nobilissimæ substantialesque potentia, nempe intellectus et voluntas, quæ antea erant ita præclare formatae, ut essent vera imago Dei,—nunc sunt fraude Satanae adeo prorsus inversæ, ut sint vera ac viva imago Satanae. P. 654: Ita eadem res potest habere duos auctores ac causas, alium ratione primæ creationis, et alium ratione secundariæ metamorphoseos. Sic multa aliter sunt a natura ratione primæ originis, aliter ab arte ratione secundæ transformationis, ut vitrum, lateres, testæ, caseus, butyrum. P. 655: Opponunt alioqui, oportere tamen distingui creaturam Dei a peccato, quod non est a Deo. Respondeo: separato tu mihi jam Diabolum a sua inhaerente malitia. Non ergo aliter possumus ista distinguere, quam dicendo, hominem ratione primæ creationis et præsentis etiam conservationis esse a Deo, sicut et ipsum Diabolum; sed ratione istius horrendæ metamorphoseos esse a Diabolo, qui nos vigore efficacis sententiæ ac poenæ irati Dei: *morte morieris*, non solum sibi in vilissima mancipia rapuit, sed etiam refundit, recoxit, et commutavit, aut (ut ita dicam) metamorphizavit in virum alium (ut Scriptura loquitur), sicut ipsemet inversus est. It is clear that Flacius did not deviate from the common notion of original sin, but from the notions about *substantia* and *accidens*; and that he was here wavering, confounding the phrases *substantia*, *forma substantialis*, and *substantia formalis*. Cf. Schenkel, ii. 44. It is worthy of note, that the Tübingen physician, Leonhard Fuchs, whom Flacius knew as a student at Tübingen in 1540, and of whom he says (in Schlüsselburg, xiii. 806): Qui mihi usque ad mortem ob commune puritatis Evangelii studium odiumque corruptelarum fuit longe amicissimus, had taught, *morbum esse substantiam* (Ritter's Flacius, s. 15). Flacius cited several passages from Luther on his side, in which it is declared—humanam naturam seu substantiam peccato esse corruptam. His chief passage was Luth. in Gen. iii.: *Sed vide quid sequatur ex illa sententia, si statuas justitiam originalem non fuisse naturæ, sed donum quoddam superfluum, superadditum. Annon sicut ponis, justitiam non fuisse de essentia hominis, ita etiam sequatur, peccatum quod successit non esse de essentia hominis*: but Luther is here speaking only against the scholastic doctrine of a *justitia superaddita*, the removal of which, according to Scotus, was the only basis of original sin. On the paradoxes of Flacius and his love of strife, see Joach. Mörlin's Erklärung in Braunschweig, 1567, in Rehtmeyer's Braunsch. Kirchenhist., Beilagen d. 3. Th. s. 114.

²¹ Jo. Wigand, De Manichæismo renovato, Lips. et Jen., 1587. 4. Conr. Schlüsselburgii Catal. Haereticorum, lib. ii. (Francof., 1597), de Secta recentium Manichæorum et Substantialistarum. Planck, v. ii. 293. Ed. Schmid des Flacius Erbsündestreit, historisch-literarisch dargestellt, in Niedner's Zeitschr. f. hist. Theol., 1849, i. 3, ii. 218. The principal work against Flacius was: Til. Heshusii Antidoton contra impium et blasphemum Dogma M. Fl. III., quo adserit, quod Peccatum Originis sit Substantia: Jenæ, 1572; ed. 2, 1576; ed. 3, 1579. 4. The chief point made against him was (Antidoton, fol. 38): Si substantia animæ est peccatum originis, alterum e duobus necesse est poni, videlicet aut Satanam esse conditorem substantiarum, aut Deum esse peccati creatorem et sustentatorem. Flacius died 11th March, 1575, in Frankfort-on-the-Main.

²² Particularly Cyriacus Spangenberg, dean in Mansfeld, at the head of several Mansfeld preachers (Ed. Schmid, i. 71; ii. 118, 242), and Christopher Irenæus, court preacher in Weimar, with several Thuringian preachers (ii. 233). Both continued the controversy after the death of Flacius, although Irenæus was dismissed for it in 1572, and Spangenberg in 1574 (ii. 271). Irenæus, 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, 1568.²³ 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 Chemnitz²⁴ and Nicholas Selnecker, had many advocates.²⁵

Raupach's Erläutertes Evangel. Oesterreich., 2te Fortsetz., s. 43, and in several other passages.

²³ Der Saligersehe Abendmalsstreit, dargestellt von Dr. J. Wiggers, in Niedner's Zeitschr. f. hist. Theol., 1848, iv. 613. Saliger (Beatus) and Fredeland, when preachers in Lübeck, already taught that by virtue of the consecration, and *ante usum*, 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 etliche nennen, oder die Erzählung der Worte der Einsetzung Christi, wo nicht die ganze Action des Abendmals, wie die von Christo geordnet, 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, austheile, empfahe, esse, trinke und des Herrn Tod dabei verkündige, zusammenfasst, unzertrennt und unverrückt gehalten 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. Chemnitii De Duabus Naturis in Christo, de Hypostatica eorum Unione, de Communicatione Idiomatum et aliis 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 sufficiens et idonea ad omnia officia regni, sacerdotii et dominii Christi, ad quae assumpta est, ex illa unione cum λόγῳ accepit non tantum incomprehensibilia et ineffabilia dona et ornamenta creata et finita, formaliter ipsi inhaerentia; sed quia tota plenitudo Deitatis, Filii Dei, personaliter in assumpta natura habitat, plenitudo illa luget in ea tota, ita ut caro illa, hoc quasi lumine accensa, ipsa etiam luceat, atque ita ditata sit divinis virtutibus et operationibus, non per physicam effusionem et essentialem inhaesionem, sed per oeconomiam unionis, ut λόγος omnipotentiae suae opera in illa, cum illa et per illam assumptam naturam pro beneplacito suo exerat et perficiat, sicut anima corpori, et ignis ferro ignito potentias et operationes suas communicant. Quam majestatem in ipso primo momento unionis, quando tota plenitudo Deitatis in Christo habitare coepit corporaliter, humana natura

accepit ac habuit; sed ratione exinanitionis, tempore humiliationis, illam non semper exeruit et usurpavit. Deposita autem in resurrectione et ascensione servi forma in plenariam ac manifestam 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 naturarum et proprietatum essentialium, certum ac verum est, assumptam humanam naturam per hypostaticam unionem non amisisse essentielles suas proprietates, nec factam essentialiter—infinitam aut immensam;—sed in ipsa unione est ac manet ratione essentiae finita.—Sicut eo modo in terris conversatus fuit, Paulo in castris adstitit, et jam in coelis juxta veri glorificati corporis modum ita adest, ac Stephano ita se ostendit, et tali etiam forma in nubibus ad judicium veniet. Quia vero praeterea habemus certum verbum et peculiarem ac specialem in testamentaria institutione Filii Dei promissionem et asseverationem de praesentia corporis et sanguinis sui in coena,—sicut et mox de promissione praesentiae totius Christi in Ecclesia dicemus: certe propter physicas proprietates non est ex humana ratione decretum faciendum, Christum cum assumpta sua natura non posse, praeter et ultra quam essentielles seu physicae assumptae naturae proprietates ferant et efficiant, alio, Deo possibili ac noto, nobis vero incomprehensibili modo, per et juxta hypostaticae unionis oeconomiam praesentem adesse, ubicunque verbo suo tradidit, promisit ac asseveravit, se corpore suo adesse velle.—Toti plenitudini Deitatis Filii personaliter unita est assumpta natura, ut *λόγος* intra arcanum, arcissimum—complexum non alicubi particulae alicujus, sed totius plenitudinis divinae suae naturae, quae supra et extra omnem locum est, secum, intra se, apud se, et pene se, personaliter unitam atque praesentissimam semper habeat, et in illa plenitudine Deitatis assumpta natura suam—inseparabilem et indistantem, seu locorum intervallo indijunctam habeat immanentiam.—Praesentia haec assumptae naturae in 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 humana sua natura adesse velle certo verbo tradidit, promisit et asseveravit.—Doctrina haec de hypostatica unione ostendit, Filio Dei non possibile tantum, sed facile esse, praesentiam illam corporis sui, verbo promissam,—ratione ac virtute hypostaticae cum Divinitate unionis, praestare et efficere velle ac posse.—*Retineamus illud quod verissimum est, Christum suo corpore esse posse, ubicunque, quandocunque, et quomodocunque vult: de voluntate vero ejus ex patefacto certo verbo judicemus.* Atque illud consilium, ut omnium simplicissimum et tutissimum Lutherus ipse simplicioribus subjicit. Cum enim multis argumentis de generali ubi-quitate disputasset, postea cum animadverteret, in quos labyrinthos disputationum controversia Sacramentaria ita abriperetur, et a verbis institutionis, quibus praesentia corporis et sanguinis Christi in Coena traditur et promittitur, abduceretur, tandem in *majori sua de Coena Domini confessione* inquit (T. ii., Wittenb., p. 178; see above, § 35, Note 19): licet argumenta illa de ubi-quitate refutari non possint, se tamen cum nemine velle contendere, an per modum ubi-quitatis corpus Christi in coena adsit, cum divina sapientia et potentia possit alio nobis ignoto et ineffabili modo illud, quod certo verbo et expressa promissione tradidit, efficere. Ac rationem addit, quod adversarii inde arripiant occasionem digrediendi in alias inexplicabiles disputationes, ut interim ferias habeant, ne ad verum controversiae statum, qui in verbis institutionis propositus est, respondere cogantur.—Et Tomo Jenensi 8, fol. 375, inter Lutheri sententias extat una, quae dicit, simplicioribus sufficere 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 “Wohlgegründetes 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 disputation about ubi-quitat—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, iii. 428.

²⁵ Selnecker’s writings on the Lord’s Supper, in Fortges. Sammlung v. alten u. neuen theol. Sachen, 1744, s. 356. 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

neceri v. d. Majestat, Auffahrt, Sitzen zur Rechten Gottes und vom Abendmale unsers 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 every where, 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 aufgehoben, gen Himmel gefahren, oder in Himmel aufgenommen, u. durch die Rechte Gottes erhöht. Dieses Auffahren heisst nicht über sich hinaufsteigen, als wann einer an einer Leiter oder Treppen auf ein Soller über sich steigt; sondern—zu den höchsten 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 Creatura 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 unbeschränkten 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 allzeit 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 geschieht wider und über alle natürliche Eigenschaft eines menschlichen Leibs.”—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 ullis locorum terminis inclusus, aut locorum angustiis necessario circumscriptus*; see these, with criticisms, in Lamb. Danaei *Opusc. Theol.*, Genevae, 1583, 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, 1737, s. 395) [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 Chur- und Fürstenthüchern mehr aus christl. guten Rath in die Kirchen verordnet worden.”

²⁷ Joh. Brenz, by Hartmann and Jäger, ii. 403.

1569, to labor for the restoration of ecclesiastical harmony,²⁸ he was very much in favor of the Wittenbergers, hoping to effect a union²⁹ 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;³⁰ 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.³¹ Accused (1570) by Duke Julius to the Elector of rejecting ubiquity, they easily vindicated themselves before him;³² but yet much excitement was aroused when they now proceeded to expound their doctrine of the Lord's Supper, decidedly rejecting ubiquity.³³

²⁸ Leonh. Hutteri Concordia Concord, Vitemb., 1614, fol. Fama Andreana reforescens—curante Jo. Val. Andreae, 1630. 12. J. N. Anton's Gesch. d. Concordienformel (2 Th., Leipzig, 1779), i. 108; Planck, vi. 371.

²⁹ His articles in Hutter, f. 29; more full in the Unschuldige Nachrichten, 1718, s. 188.

³⁰ Der Theologen zu Jena Bedenken und Erinnerung auf einen Vorschlag einer Conciliation in den streitigen Religionssachen, Jena, 1569. 4. Der Theologen zu Jena Bekännntniss von fünf streitigen Religions-Artikeln, Jena, 1570. 4.

³¹ Planck, v. ii. 544.

³² The complaint referred to the Propositiones de praecipuis 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. 37.

³³ Catechesis continens Explicationem simplicem et brevem Decalogi, Symb. Apost., orat. dominicae, doctrinae de poenitentia et Sacramentis, contexta ex corpore doctrinae christianae, quod amplectuntur ac tuentur Ecclesiae regionum Saxoniarum et Misnicarum, quae sunt subjectae ditioni Ducis Electoris Saxoniae, edita in Academia Wittenbergensi, et accommodata ad usum scholarum puerilium, 1571. The particularly objectionable passages were, p. 77, on the ascension: *Actorum primo* describitur historia ascensionis: *videntibus illis elevatus est, et nubes suscepit eum ab oculis eorum*; et Actorum 3: *Oportet Christum coelo capi usque ad tempora restitutionis omnium*. Intelligatur autem ascensio, ut sonat litera, et de corpore et de corporali locatione. Ascensio fuit visibilis et corporalis, et semper ita scripsit tota antiquitas, Christum corporali locatione in aliquo loco esse, ubicunque vult, et ascensio corporalis facta est sursum. P. 123: *Quid est Coena Domini?* Est communicatio corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, sicut in verbis Evangelii instituta est: in qua sumptione Filius Dei vere et substantialiter adest: et testatur se applicare credentibus sua beneficia. Testatur etiam, se ideo assumisisse humanam naturam, ut nos sibi fide insertos membra sua faciat. Denique testatur, se velle in credentibus esse, et eos docere, vivificare ac regere. Violent warnings against this Calvinistic Catechism were at once published by the divines of Brunswick, Lüneburg, Mansfeld, Jena, and Halle, as also by Chemnitz, Morlin, etc., collected and printed in the History: "Einhellige Bekenntnis vieler hochgelarten Theologen und fürnemer Kirchen von dem 1. Newen Catechismo der neuen Wittenberger, und von ihrer 2. Newen Grundfeste, auch von ihrem darauf beschlossenen 3. Newen Bekenntnis, Jena, 1572. 4." Planck, v. ii. 571. The alleged falsification of Scripture was particularly urged, viz., that Beza translated Acts, iii. 21, *quem oportet coelo capi*, instead of *quem oportet coelos excipere*, who must receive the heavens.

To the violent attacks upon them they replied by a no less violent defense,³⁴ and even succeeded in quieting the discontented Elector by the Consensus Dresdensis,³⁵ in October, 1571. When, after

³⁴ "Von der Person und Menschwerdung unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, der wahren christl. Kirchen Grundfest, wider die newen Marcioniten, Samosatener, Sabellianer, Arianer, Nestorianer, Eutychianer und Monotheleten unter dem Flacianischen Haufen. Durch die Theologen zu Wittenberg—gestellt. Neben wahrhafter Verantwortung auf die giftigen und boshaftigen Verläumdungen, so von den Propositionibus und Catechismo zu Wittenberg ausgangen von vielen dieser Zeit ausgesprenget werden, Wittenberg, 1571. 4.," the so-called Wittenberg basis. Also: "Endlicher Bericht u. Erklärung der Theologen beider Universitäten Leipzig und Wittenberg, auch der Superintendenten der Kirchen in des Churf. zu Sachsen Landen, belangend die Lehre, so gemeelte Universitäten und Kirchen—geführt haben. Mit—christlicher Erinnerung—von den streitigen Artikeln, so Flacius Hlyricus mit seinem Anhang—muthwillig—erregt, und dadurch die Kirchen Gottes in Deutschland—zerrüttet hat. Wittenberg, 1571. 4."

³⁵ "Kurze christl. u. einfaltige Wiederholung der Bekenntniß der Kirchen Gottes in des Churf. zu Sachsen Landen v. d. heil. Nachtmal des Herrn Christi sammt den zu dieser Zeit in Streit gezogenen Artikeln v. d. Person u. Menschwerdung Christi, seiner Majestät, Himmelfahrt und Sitzen zur Rechten Gottes, in der christl. Versammlung zu Dresden gestellt d. 10. Oct. mit einhelligem Consens der Univ. Leipzig u. Wittenberg, der dreien geistl. Consistorien, u. aller Superintendenten der Kirchen dieser Lande, Dresden, 1571. 4. (published also in Wittenberg in Latin and Low German). [The substance of this Consensus: The human nature of Christ was, indeed, purified and transfigured after the resurrection and ascension, and endowed with high properties; but it remained a real human nature, with its essential properties, and was not deified, or endowed with infinitude, eternity, etc., but is still flesh of our flesh.—The ascension of Christ is to be understood literally, and was not a mere spectacle; and in heaven Christ retains the form and shape of his true body, and will thence come to judgment.—Sitting at the right hand of God implies a difference between Christ and all others; it means the raising of both natures, in their integrity, to the royal and priestly office. Christ alone is so in heaven as to know perfectly the Father's will.—In the Lord's Supper the Lord Jesus Christ is truly present, and gives to us his body and blood, offered for us, and so testifies that he accepts us as members of his body, and gives forgiveness, and truly and powerfully dwells in us.—We also avoid the strange strife, which Luther, too, tried to guard against, as when he often says that we must not dispute about "every where." These new questions disturb the peace, and would alter the doctrine of the land, as the invention about the *physica communicatio*, etc.; and all the old, long since condemned heresies are hatched out anew.] "Wiewol aber die menschl. Natur nach der Auferstehung u. Himmelfahrt verkläret, und alle Schwachheiten, denen sie zuvor unterworfen gewesen, abgelegt, und mit höhern Gaben als alle Engel u. Menschen gezieret worden; so ist sie dennoch wahrhafte menschl. Natur geblieben, und hat die wesentlichen Eigenschaften derselben an sich behalten, und ist vor sich weder vergöttert, noch der göttl. Natur an Ewigkeit, oder Unendlichkeit des Wesens, oder andern göttlichen Eigenschaften gleich worden; sondern ist gewisslich und wahrhaftig noch ein Fleisch von unserm Fleisch, und ein Bein von unserm Bein.—Und verstehen wir die Beschreibung und Historien der Auffart Christi gen Himmel nach dem Buchstaben,—halten demnach, dass die Auffart nicht ein blosser Schein, und nur ein sichtbar Spectakel gewesen sey, sondern dass unser Herr J. Chr. mit seinem wahrhaften Leibe von der Erde sich in die Höhe erhaben, und die sichtbaren Himmel durchdrungen, und die himmlische Wohnung eingenommen habe, do er in der Glori und Herrlichkeit das Wesen, Eigenschaft, Form und Gestalt seines wahren Leibes behält, und von dannen am jüngsten Tage zum Gericht in grosser Herrlichkeit sichtbarlich wird wieder kommen.—Dass aber die Schrift saget, Christus sitze—zur Rechten Gottes verstehen wir, dass hiemit geweisert werde ein Unterschied zwischen Christo der gen Himmel gefahren ist, und zwischen Elia und

the death of Duke John William, the Elector, as guardian and regent of the Thuringian principalities (1573), banished Heshsius

andern Heiligen und auserwählten Engeln, die auch im Himmel seind, erklären es auch fürnehmlich von der Erhöhung nach beiden Naturen zum königlichen und priest-erlichen Amt, welches doch den Unterschied beider Naturen nicht aufhebet. Dann allein Christus also im Himmel ist, dass er für und für in des Vaters allergeheimsten 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 giebt, und hiemit bezeuget, dass er uns annehme, zu Gliedmassen seines Leibes mache, und uns mit seinem Blut reinige, und Vergebung der Sünden schenke, und wahrhaftig in uns wohnen und kräftig in uns seyn wolle.—Wir vermeiden auch die fremde und zur Einsetzung dieses Nachtmals nicht gehörende Streite, welche Herr Lutherus selber mit Vleis vorhüten und abschneiden wollen. Als do er viehmals 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 seit 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 gedeutet und verfälscht worden ist; in deme haben dieser Lande Kirchen u. Schulen, so stets bei einerlei Form der Lehre geblieben, solche unruhige Leut für jedermänniglich 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 argerliche Disputationes erregen, und die einfältige gewisse Lehre mit ungegründeten und fremden Getieten aufs scheusslichste verderben. Denn dass durch die ertichte realem oder physicam communicationem, daraus sich etliche bemühen fundamenta und Gründe der Lehr vom Abendmal zu suchen, der hohe Artikel von beiden Naturen in Christo verfälschet, und hiergegen alle alte verdammte Ketzerei der Marcioniten, Valentinianer, Manichier, Samosatener, Sabellianer, Arianer, 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 every where 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 sonsten an allen Orten, in Steinen und Holz, gleich als wie man sonsten von der praesentia universali, 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 gehöret in die besondere Gegenwart des Herrn Christi, damit und dardurch er im heil. Ministerio in der glaubigen Menschen Herzen kräftig seyn wil.”—“Zum Vierten, dass vor wenig Jahren Caspar Schwenckfeld die ertichte Allenthalbenheit des Leibs Christi gleicher Gestalt gestritten, und damit seine irrige Meinung von einer neuen, fremden, und zuvor unerhorten Gegenwart des Leibs und Bluts 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,³⁶ 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*.³⁷ 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.³⁸ The leaders of the party were arrested, and kept a long time in strict imprisonment;³⁹ the theologians and suspected clergy were obliged to subscribe articles in Torgau;⁴⁰ the four

barliche implicatio contradictionis ist, welche mit der göttlichen, ewigen Wahrheit streitet, dass Christus im heil. Abendmal uns seinen wahrhaftigen Leib giebt, und dass er doch keinen wahren 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 eingeführet werden soll."

³⁶ Löscher's *Historia Motuum*, iii. 154.

³⁷ According to Löscher, iii. 162, Pezel and Peucer had a leading part in it, but it was drawn up by Esrom 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*, f. 50. Löscher, iii. 160. Anton's *Gesch. d. Concordienformel*, s. 120. Planck, v. ii. 616.

³⁹ Privy-councilor Dr. Georg Craeau (his life in the *Sammlung vermischter Nachrichten zur sachs. Geschichte*, Bd. 8, Chemnitz, 1773, s. 1) and the Church-councilor Joh. Stössel died in prison; but the physician Casp. Peucer was liberated in 1586 (Casp. Peucer's *Historia Carcerum 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. Leipzig u. Wittenberg, und sonst in allen Kirchen und Schulen des Churfürsten zu Sachsen bisher öffentlich gelehret, geglaubt und bekant worden. Auch was man für sacramentirische Irrthum und Schwärmerei gestraft hat, und noch strafet. Uebergeben und gehandelt im jüngsten Landtag zu Torgau. Wittenberg, Sept., 1574. 4." Also at the same time, in Latin, *Confessio paucis Articulis complectens Summam Doctrinae de vera Praesentia Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Coena dominica*, etc., Viteberg., 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 Melancthon 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 specialities; 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 Heidelbergenses* (Art. negat. VII., and frequently) were specially denounced. On the other

Wittenberg divines, who hesitated, were banished.⁴¹ And thus was Philippism conquered in its strong-hold by strict Lutheranism.⁴²

§ 39.

OSIANDRIC CONTROVERSY.

Jo. Wigandus de Osiandrismo, 1586. 4. Conr. Schlüsselburgii Catal. Haereticorum, lib. vi. Chr. Hartknoch's Preuss. Kirchenhistoria, Frankf. a. M. u. Leipzig, 1686. 4., s. 309. Salig's Hist. d. Augsb. Confession, ii. 915. Planck, iv. 249. [Die Rechtfertigungslehre des Osiander, von A. Ritschl, in the Jahrb. f. deutsche Theologie, 1857. Baur, Brevis Disquis. in Andr. Osiand. de Justif. Doctrinam, 1831. Lehnerdt, De And. Osiand. Vita et Doctrina, Berol, 1835. Wilken, Osiand. Leben, i. 1844. Heberle, in Stud. u. Krit., 1844. Gess, Gesch. d. Prot. Dogmatik, 1854, i., s. 61 sq. C. F. G. Held, De Opere Jesu Christi salutari, quid M. Lutherus senserit demonstratur, Gotting., 1860. F. H. R. Frank, Ad eccles. de Satisf. Christi doctrinam, quid redundaverit ex lite Osiandrica, Erlang., 1858. R. F. Grau, De Andr. Osiandri Doctrina Commentatio, 1860.]

Andreas Osiander, the highly endowed reformer of Nuremberg,¹ 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 ubi-quitatem, aut quicquam quod vel veritatem corporis Christi tollat, vel ulli fidei articulo repugnet, propter praesentiam in Coena fingimus aut probamus. Denique de modo et possibilitate praesentiae corporis et sanguinis Domini plane nihil disputamus. Nam omnia haec imperscrutabilia—statuimus.

⁴¹ Friedr. Widebram and Christoph Petzel went to Nassau, Heinr. Moller to Hamburg, Caspar Cruciger to Hessen.

⁴² The Torgau 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 (Andreae, Chemnitz, Selnecker, 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, 1734, 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,² and Osiander 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.³ This representa-

² See § 34, Note 4. Comp. Etliche schöne Sprüche von der Rechtfertigung des Glaubens des Ehrw. Hochgelehrten Dr. M. Luther, welche—verdolmetscht hat A. Osiander, Königsberg, 1551. 4. Excerpta quaedam dilucide et perspicue dictorum de Justificatione fidei in Comm. super Epist. Pauli ad Galatas Rev. Patris Dom. M. Lutheri (ed. Osiander), Regiom., 1551. 4.

³ Ein gut Unterricht und getreuer Rathschlag aus heil. göttlicher Schrift, wess man sich in diesen Zwietrachten, unsern heil. Glauben und christl. Lehr betreffend, halten soll (by Osiander), 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 Erkantnis ist ein Wort, und das Wort ist Gott selbs, dasselbig Wort lasst er uns eröffnen u. predigen im heil. Evangelio. 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 gläubt, 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 worden, 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 fleischlichen Sinn, sondern der Sinn und Geist Christi ist und lebt in uns: der kann je nicht anderst dann gerecht seyn, und Gerechtigkeit in uns würken. Darum spricht er Joh. xv.: 'Ohn mich konnt ihr nichts thun;' und Esaias am xxvi.: 'Herr, du wirst uns Fried geben, dann alle unsere Werk hastu in uns gewürkt.' 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 Unflat wollten 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 gegossen wird, wie Paulus zu den Röm. am 5. sagt. Also sieht und versteht man, dass wir durch Gottes Wort Gott erkennen, und also im Glauben, d. i. in Gottes Wort leben. Dann der Glaub empfähet und fasset Gottes Wort, das Gott selbs ist: das bringt denn auch den heil. Geist mit ihm, der die Lieb in das Herz geusst, und wird durch den Glauben der Tod, durch die Lieb aber die Sund vertrieben. Und das ist das neu Verbündnus, das uns Gott durch Jeremiam am 31. Cap. zusagt und spricht: 'Ich will mein Gesetz in ihr Inwendigsts 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 Ehrsamem weisen Raths zu Nürnberg mit ihren Pradicanten, 1525; reprinted, Königsberg, 1553, in 4to. Osiander to Art. 3 [Only one simple righteousness avails with 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,⁴ and though, too, he was not wanting in readiness to engage in controversy,⁵ yet he was unassailed so long as Luther's magnanimous spirit was able to restrain in the new church all con-

faltige 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 sey 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 genennet werden: es ist auch der Glaub, der nicht wirkt, kein Glaub, sonder 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 Gaug hat gethan,—das andere, dass er uns von Sünden hat gereinigt und rechtfertigt uns, so er in uns wohnet." Heberle, A. Osiander's Lehre in ihrer frühesten Gestalt, in the Theol. Studien u. Krit., 1841, ii. 371. C. H. Wilken, A. Osiander's Leben, Lehre und Schriften, Erste Abth. v. 1498-1530 (Stralsund, 1844. 4.), s. 13.

⁴ Schlüsselburg, Cat. Haeret., vi. 243, and Melch. Adam, in the Vita Osiandri, relate that Osiander, in Marburg, 1529 (Div. L., § 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 Melancthon ad Camerar., 5th Oct., 1529 (C. R., i. 1098): Osiander—mirifice delectavit 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, 1530, in opposition to Melancthon, 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. I, v.; and "Widerlegung der ungegründeten, undienstlichen Antwort Ph. Melancthon's, Königsberg, 1552," 4. O. I, P. 3. In fine, Osiander says, in his "Bericht u. Trostschrift 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 1537, from 1 John, iv. 2, 3, 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 alchemistische Theologie A. Osiandri, 1552," 4.; he adds that Amsdorf then prophesied "that if this spirit should at any time get time and space, the phantasies of all other enthusiasts would be esteemed as only child's play in comparison with him."

⁵ 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, 1533. 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, 1533 (Leben Spengler's, by Hansdorf, s. 312): "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 Dietrich's, 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. Staphylus,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-

⁶ How correctly Luther judged the man is seen in the letters he wrote about the first dispute on the formula for confession, October 8, 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 agnoscere, et hoc cogitare, non quomodo publice confundatur et damnetur, ne ex scintilla ista fiat incendium, sed potius, quanta fieri potest adhuc modestia et prudentia et simul patientia vestra, liberetur et sanetur.*—*Non credidissim ego (hoc neque jactabis, neque disseninabis in publicum), istum hominem tot cogitationibus occupatum, et ut ex suo scripto intelligo, tam procul a sinceritate nostrae doctrinae positum: sed, ut dixi, si magis irritaretur, effunderentur majora scandala, per quae, etiamsi non vinceret, tamen turbas moveret, et negotia faceret, quae melius esset praecaveri. Si igitur vobis nostrum consilium placuerit, speramus, cum tempore rem istam in se quieturam esse, et illum interim propius ad nos accessurum esse.* [Comp. J. C. Lehnardt, *Aneodota ad hist. Andr. Osiandri pertinentia*. 3 Part. Regiom., 1841-44.]

⁷ A. Osiandri, *theologiae in schola Regiom. Professoris primarii, Disputationes duae: una de Lege et Evangelio habita Non. Aprilis, 1549, altera de Justificatione habita ix. Kal., November, 1550, Regiom., 1550. 4.*

⁸ A narrative favorable to Osiander's is: *Joh. Funcken's wahrhaftiger u. gründl. Bericht, wie die ärgerliche Spaltung von der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens sich anfänglich im Lande Preussen erhoben, Königsberg, 1553.* On the other side: *Joach. Mörlin's Historia, welchergestalt sich die Osiandrische Schwärmerei im Lande zu Preussen erhoben, und wie dieselbe verhandelt ist, mit allen Actis beschrieben, s. 1, et a. 4; and by Staphylus: Historia Acti Negotii inter Frid. Staphylum et A. Osiandrum in Prussia contra Calumnias Jo. Funceii in Strobel's Miscellaneen literar. Inhalts, i. 219; ii. 224.* In addition: "*Herzog's Alberti I. Ausschreiben—, darin gründlich und ordentlich, wie sich die ärgerliche Swiespalt über dem Articul von unser armen Sünder Rechtfertigung—erhaben, und was wir uns mit grossen Sorgen, Einigkeit zu machen, bemühet, dargethan, und was wir ferner durch freundl. Beförderung—Herrn Christofs, Herzogen zu Wirtenberg, durch S. L. Theologos—vorgeschlagenen Mitteln—erlernet, u. zu Fortstellung der Einigkeit unserer Kirchen gehalten wollen haben, Königsberg, 1553,*" 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 Königsberg; Königsb., 1844, s. 188.*

⁹ He again became (1552) Catholic in Breslau, was a counselor of the Emperor Ferdinand, was made superintendent of the University of Ingolstadt in 1561, and died in 1564. *Leben u. Schriften Friedr. Staphyli, in Strobel's Miscellaneen, i. 1.* *Dr. M. Töppen's Gründung der Univ. zu Königsberg, s. 178.*

¹⁰ See note 7.

¹¹ *Von dem einigen Mittler J. Chr. u. Rechtfertigung Bekenntnuss A. Osiander; Kc-*

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-

nigsberg, September, 1551. 4. De unico Mediatore J. Chr. et justificatione fidei Confessio A. Osiandri, Regiom., October, 1551. 4. On the contents, see Salig, ii. 951.

¹² Disp. de Justificatione hab. ix. Kal., November, 1550, thes. 3: Justificare propria et primaria institutione significat ex impio justum facere, h. e. mortuum ad vitam revocare. 4. Quod proprium est omnipotentiae divinae non minus, quam creare. 10. Fides autem, qua homo justificatur, est motus spiritualis, quem Deus per verbum praedicatum 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 vinum 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 revera 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 confertur cuiquam, nisi prius ei remissa fuerint peccata per sanguinem Christi. 30. Unde justificationis duae sunt partes, remissio 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 inhabitantis justitia justos censer. 32 et 33. Christus enim est sponsus noster, cum quo sumus caro una, membra scil. corporis ejus, caro de carne ejus, et os ex ossibus ejus. 36. Hinc divinae naturae consortes efficimur: qui enim Deo adhaeret, fit unus Spiritus cum eo. 38 ss. Habitat igitur Christus per fidem in nobis, et per consequens etiam Pater et Spiritus S. qui in Christo sunt, Jo. xvii. 11, 12; Jo. vi. 56, caet. 53. Hinc justitia ejus essentiali justus sumus, juxta illud, Jerem. xxiii.: *Dominus justitia nostra*. 56. Hinc vita ejus essentiali vivimus et vivemus juxta Johannem illud, c. 6, v. 57: *sicut misit me vivens Pater*, etc. 57. Ac illud Johannis 6, v. 53: *nisi manducaverimus carnem*, etc. 58. Manducare carnem hic est credere, ipsum peccata nostra pertulisse in corpore suo, et sanguinem suum effudisse in remissionem peccatorum, ita ut hac fide cum illo una caro fiamus. 64 ss. Hinc gloria ejus essentiali glorificati sumus, quia nobis *cam claritatem, quam habuit apud Patrem*, dedit nobis, Jo. xvii. 5; cf. Rom. viii. 30; 2 Cor. iii. ult.; 2 Jo. iii. 2. Hinc etiam essentiali caritate ejus inflammamur: *caritas enim Dei diffusa 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 confitetur, Christum ad hunc modum venisse in carnem nostram, ex Deo non est. Et hic est Spiritus Antichristi. 70 ss. Zwinglianus est in corde qui hoc non credit: impossibile enim est, ut credat verum corpus Christi in pane et veram sanguinem in calice, qui non credit, Christum revera habitare in christiano homine. 73. Glacie frigidiora docent, nos tantum propter remissionem peccatorum reputari justos, et non etiam propter justitiam Christi per fidem in nobis inhabitantis. 74. Non enim tam iniquus est Deus, ut eum pro justo habeat, in quo verae justitiae prorsus nil sit. 76. Justitia quidem Christi nobis imputatur, sed non nisi cum in nobis est. 78. Tum opera bona fiunt a justificatis, vivificatis, glorificatis; non vero justificati, neque vivificati, neque glorificati. 79. Et quanquam qui justificatus est, justificari debeat adhuc, hoc tamen non fit operibus nostris, sed cognitione Filii Dei per fidem, per quam ei de die in diem magis unimur. Cf. De unico Mediatore Confessio Osiandri A. 4: Manifestum est, quod quidquid Christus, ut fidelis mediator nostri causa impletionem legis ac passione morteque sua cum Deo, patre suo coelesti, egit, factum id esse ante mille quingentos et eo amplius annos, cum nos nondum esse-

ment on the points in dispute; October 5, 1551.¹³ Osiander, by his attacks upon the ordinary doctrine of justification,¹⁴ laid him-

mus nati. Quare si proprie loqui volumus, non potuit illud nostra justificatio neque esse neque nominari, sed tantum nostra redemptio et satisfactio pro nobis ac peccatis nostris. So, too, it is the—altera pars officii Domini nostri,—ut sese jam ad nos convertat, ac miseris nobiscum peccatoribus tanquam cum parte rea itidem agat, ut tantam gratiam agnoscamus et per fidem cum gratiarum actione recipiamus, ut nos per fidem a morte peccati vivos et justos restituat, et peccatum jam condonatum, adhuc tamen in carne nostra habitans, et tenaciter inhaerens—in nobis prorsus mortificetur et extinguatur. Et hoc demum est negotium nostrae justificationis, quod Dominus et servator noster J. Chr. perficit. The divine righteousness is that which God himself has, yea, that which God is. This united itself with the humanity of Christ, and made it righteous. Thus human righteousness has its ground in the divine, and the latter too is the ground of our justification. M. 3: Diserte et clare respondeo, quod secundum divinam suam naturam (J. Chr.) sit nostra justitia et non secundum humanam naturam, quamvis hanc divinam justitiam extra ejus humanam naturam non possumus invenire, consequi aut apprehendere: verum cum ipse per fidem in nobis habitat, tum affert suam justitiam, quae est ejus divina natura, secum in nos, quae deinde nobis etiam imputatur, ac si esset nostra propria, immo et donatur nobis manatque ex ipsius humana natura, tanquam ex capite, etiam in nos, tanquam ipsius membra. To this was added the view, that Christ in his human nature is the image of God, after which man was created; comp. Osiander's work: An filius Dei fuerit incarnandus, si peccatum non introivisset in mundum? Item de imagine Dei quid sit? ex certis et evidentibus S. S. testimoniis—deprompta explicatio, Monteregio Prussiae, 1550. 4. C. 3: Non debet imago Dei intelligi nisi de Verbo incarnato. E. 3: Dicit Deus, se hominem facturum ad similitudinem suam,—ut scilicet homo talis fieret, qualis Christus secundum humanam naturam in mente Dei praedestinatus esset. Among the leading positions of this work, the following are also noteworthy: 6. Si Filius Dei non fuisset incarnandus, nisi peccatum introivisset in mundum, nos atque totum regnum Dei carere cogemur rege nostro, idque in omnem aeternitatem. 9. Nisi Deus voluisset Filium suum incarnari, nunquam de mundo condendo quicquam cogitasset. Sed Deus ante alia omnia Filium suum incarnandum decrevit, ac propter ipsum reliquas creaturas universas fecit, nullam prorsus conditurus, nisi Filius ejus esset incarnandus. Hereby he boasts, E. 2, sese rem tantam haecenus a nemine post Apostolos recte explicatam in lucem produxisse, und setzt hinzu, Luthern quidem vidisse aliquid, sed non serio intendisse animum, ut uberius explicaret. However, he declared that he did not want to dispute about this opinion. Planck, iv. 267. D. F. Chr. Baur Epist. gratul. ad D. Th. J. Planck, disquisitio in A. Osiandri de justificatione doctrinam, ex recentiore potissimum theologia illustrandam; Tübing., 1831. 4. Baur's christl. Lehre v. d. Versöhnung in ihrer geschichtl. Entwicklung; Tübing., 1838, s. 316. Dorner's Lehre v. d. Person Christi, s. 200. G. Thomasius, das Bekenntniß der evang. Lutherischen Kirche in der Consequenz seines Princip; Nürnberg, 1848, s. 71. Schenkel, ii. 355.

¹³ The writing is in the declaration of the Duke (E. 1, v.), 1553, 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. Osiandri Confessio, F. 2: Horribiliter errant, qui verbum justificare tantum intelligunt pro justum reputare et pronuciare, et non pro eo, quod est in veritate et re ipsa, justum efficere.—Ubi de justificatione fidei agitur, ibi verbum justificare non humano, forensi et sophisticato more est intelligendum, sed divino modo. Deus enim non pronunciat nos solum justos, sed efficit etiam re ipsa. Itaque est philosophicus, carnalis et impraemeditatus sermo, justificare esse verbum forense, ac significare, reum judicio absolutum pronuciare. Osiander maintained that he agreed with Luther; see above, Note 2. On the other hand, he said that Melancthon 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.¹⁵ Only the Würtemberg judgment, December 5, 1551, drawn up by Brenz,¹⁶ tried to vindicate the essential agree-

4), and that by the Wittenberg doctorate's oath (§ 31, Note 32) minds were ensnared; Planck, iv. 301, 336. In reply, Mel. Orat. de Calumnia Osiandri, 1553, C. R., xii. 6.

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., vii. 1151: Multa sunt in illis paradoxis vel aenigmata, vel sophistica, quae populo nihil prosunt, etiamsi leniantur interpretatione. Quale hoc est, quod contendit illa Gorgo, non recte dici: *Deus vivificat renaescentes*, sed vult dici: *Deus est ipsa renaescentium vita*. An non vult distingui inter creatorem et vitam creatam? aut vult Deum tantum esse Stoicam *ἰνδελύχεται*? Fac, hoc leniri posse comoda interpretatione (nam et ego ista pharmaca novi); sed quid prodest populo turbare res recte traditas? Sunt autem alia, quae ne possunt quidem leniri, quale hoc est: ante annos mille quingentos factam esse remissionem, sed nunc illabi justitiam. An Nero habet remissionem, sed perit, quia non illapsa est justitia?—Scis in nostris Ecclesiis fideliter inculcatam esse doctrinam, in vera conversione, cum corda fide per verbum eriguntur, habitare Deum in conversis.—Sed alia quaestio est: unde mens statuere debeat, placere se Deo, ut crasse loquar, et quomodo fiat inhabitatio. Ille dicimus, placere hominem fide propter mediatorem Deum et hominem, et niti fidem non his novis actionibus, sed ipso mediatore. Ac in infinitum anteferenda est obedientia mediatoris his actionibus, quae fiunt in nobis. Inde abducit homines Osiander, obruens remissionem, ita ut dicat factam esse ante annos MD.: et places, inquit, quia imputatur divinitas, non meritum mediatoris. Haec sunt enthusiastica, quae obscurant beneficia Filii Dei, et delent veram consolationem. Cf. Responsio Ministr. Eccl. Hamb. et Lunburg. J. 2: Scriptura loquitur de praesentia, de efficacia, operatione et gubernatione Dei, quando in hoc sermone versatur, quod Deus habitat in credentibus. Frequenter in Scripturis usurpatur haec metaphora, quae ab hominibus sermonem, ut fit in multis aliis, transfert ad Deum. Homines habent suam societatem, et coetus habent civitates et domos, in quibus cum civibus et familia sua conversantur: hinc Scriptura sumit habitandi verbum et ad Deum transfert, et significat Dei praesentiam, familiaritatem et conversationem cum hominibus, efficaciam et operationem in sanctis.—Deum habitare cum hominibus est, eum se hominibus associare, praesentem esse, ac quasi patremfamilias agere, providere, curare, respicere, juvare, regere et defendere. Deus ubique praesens est sua essentia, potentia et sapientia: gratia autem sua, favore, benevolentia et defensione peculiariter praesens est suis electis. Ibi Deus dicitur habitare, ubi adest sua gratia et benevolentia, ubi dat verbum gratiae suae, et promissiones suas de misericordia sua et remissione peccatorum patefecit, ubi agit suo spiritu, ubi colitur, invocatur et exaudit.—Asseruit Osiander in disputatione sua, Deum ita habitare in credentibus, ut in Christo habitat omnis plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter. Hoc si verum sit, nihil posset addi ad illam plenitudinem, nec peterent credentes repleti Spiritu sancto.—Inhabitatio Dei in nobis gratiae est, non naturae; donationis, non proprietatis; communicationis ac participationis, non personalis unionis; ut est in Christo.

¹⁶ Brenz had previously had a similar view to that of Osiander (see Mel. Ep. ad Brent. above, § 31, note 1), but was here, as on all other points, averse to controversy; compare the letters to Melancthon, 6th November, 1552, C. R., vii., 1129, and 29th September, 1555, in Riederer's Abhandlungen, iv. 432. (Non videtur mihi controversia potissimum de dogmate, sed magis de persona esse, utrumne Osiander hoc an aliud senserit.

ment of Osiander with the Lutheran doctrine, and recommended the contestants to come to an understanding with each other.¹⁷ The Duke, accordingly, kept back the other opinions, that he might effect an adjustment through the Württemberg divines. Their six theses,¹⁸ propounded for this purpose, were in fact declared by both

—Veritas igitur et rectitudo dogmatis ita illustretur, ut nullum de eo dubium inter nostros relinquatur. Maneat autem hoc, si quidem ita videbitur, in dubio, utrumne Osiander hoc an diversum senserit; to Camerarius, 13th December, 1552, in Strobel's *Beitrag zur Literatur*, ii. 123.

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. 335.

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; *ibid.* The Tübingen declaration (which the Duke had asked for), June 1, 1552, is in Herzog's *Alberti Ausschreiben*, ch. ii., and in Wigandus de Osiandrisimo, 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 justificare* to be taken as merely—*pro absolvere injustum*, or as being—*re ipsa justum facere*; and whether the obedience of Christ can be called a righteousness.] “Soviel den Gehorsam Christi belanget, halten unsers Verhoffens beide Parteien: 1. Dass der Gehorsam Christi, den er hie auf Erden Gott seim himlischen Vater im Thun und Leiden bewiesen hat, komme ursprünglich von seiner göttlichen Natur, und sey eine Frucht der göttlichen Gerechtigkeit in Christo; 2. Dass dieser Gehorsam Christi—sey eine Busse unserer Sünden, und eine Versöhnung Gottes Zorns,—eine Bezahlung für unser Erlösung von Sünden, Tod und Hölle, und ein Verdienst der ewigen göttlichen Gerechtigkeit und Seligkeit; 3. Dass wir diesen Gehorsam Christi, uns durch das Evangelium verkündigt, mit Glauben sollen annehmen, uns desselbigen in allen Anfechtungen der Sünden und des Todes vertrösten, und gewislich vertrauen, dass Gott der Vater uns von wegen des Gehorsams seines Sohns verzeihe alle Sünde, nehme uns auf an Kindes Statt, und erhalt uns zum ewigen Leben im Tod.

“So viel aber die göttliche Gerechtigkeit belanget, sind beide Parteien unsers Vertrauens einerlei Meinung in folgenden Artikeln: 1. Dass Gott in seinem göttlichen Wesen allein die rechte ewige Gerechtigkeit sey, Luc. xviii. *Nemo bonus nisi solus Deus*; 2. Dass durch den Glauben in Jesum Christum Gott der Vater, Sohn und heil. Geist sammt allen ihren Gütern in uns wahrhaftig wohnen, Jo. xiv. *Venimus ad eum, et mansionem apud eum faciemus*; 3. Dass durch den Glauben in Christum Gott, in uns wohnend, vergebe uns wohl die Sünde, so noch in uns hie auf Erden stecken, und rechne sie uns nicht zu aus Verdienst seines lieben Sohns, unsers Herrn Jesu Christi; aber er lasse uns nicht für und für unverneuert in der Sünde bleiben, sondern fahe an hie in diesem Leben die Sünde anzufegen, und uns mit der That fromm und gerecht zu machen,

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 Württemberg articles, banishing meanwhile, in 1553, the reckless opponent, Mörlin. Equally in vain was a Confession²⁰ of his own, offered as a means of coming to agreement (1554). Although these formulas tried to reduce Osiandristism 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-

bis wir im künftigen Leben der Sünden ganz ledig, und mit vollkommener Frömmigkeit und Gerechtigkeit, als rechte Glieder Christi und Kinder Gottes, gezieret werden.

“Dieweilen wir denn ganzlicher Zuversicht sind, die Parteien werden keinem der erzählten Hauptartikeln widersprechen, sonder dieselbigen mit der ganzen christlichen Kirchen gleicher Meinung halten; so könnten wir uns aus ihrer beiden Schreiben nicht anders berichten, denn dass ihr Zwiespalt sey nur ein bellum grammaticale, nämlich ob in etlichen Sprüchen Pauli als Rom. iii. Nunc vero absque lege justitia Dei manifestata est, dum comprobatur testimonio legis et Prophetarum. Justitia vero Dei per fidem J. Christi. Item justificamur gratis per illius gratiam. Item arbitramur fide justificari hominem, etc. Diese Wort justitia Dei für die wesentliche Gerechtigkeit Gottes, und das verbum justificare nicht pro absolvere injustum, sed re ipsa justum facere verstanden werden sollen, ob auch der Gehorsam Christi möge eine Gerechtigkeit genannt werden.”

¹⁹ See above, Note 8.

²⁰ In manuscript in Wolfenbüttel, see Salig, ii, 1027; extracts in Wigandus de Osiandristismo, 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 Moysse u. Christo v. d. Rechtfertigung des Glaubens, sammt s. Bedenken von der zugetragenen Zwiespalt über solchen Artikel, und einer Antwort auf Dr. J. Morlein 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. Sebald'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,²⁴ 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 Philippist doctrines.²⁵ Funck handed in a Confession of Faith to the divines of Leipsic and Wittenberg, and was declared by them to be orthodox (1561);²⁶ in 1563 he openly confessed, in four sermons, that he had previously given occasion for misunderstandings and mistrust.²⁷ And yet the reproach of Osiandristism 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 Philippism; 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. 26), 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 s. Leonh. Culmanni Vita et Fata*, Altorf, 1710. 4. It was afterward made a question whether Culmann should be admitted to communion; see Melancthon's *Opinion*, Corp. Ref., viii. 613.

²⁴ 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 Osiandristismo, p. 291; Salig, ii. 1055.

²⁵ 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 ber. Gelehrten 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, Melancthon 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. 395.

²⁶ Wigandus de Osiandristismo, p. 391.

²⁷ Wigandus, p. 396. 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,²⁸ and to which Funck at last fell a sacrifice on the scaffold, in 1566,²⁹ 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. msetis; in the Acta Borussica, Bd. 3 (Königsberg u. Leipzig, 1732), s. 217, 311, 471. Comp. the bill of complaint lodged against them, Sept. 7, 1566, p. 317. 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 counselors, 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.] "tanquam novatores et publicae pacis perturbatores perniciosissimi vorlangst vor diesem unterstanden haben, und noch unterstehen und Vorhabens seyn, alle christliche wohlhergebrachte löbliche, und mit gemeiner Landschaft Rath und Bewilligung vor Alters gestellte und aufgerichtete gute Kirchen- und Regiments-Ordnungen in diesem Lande zu turbiren, aufzuheben,—und ihres Gefallens zu reformiren. Und das es wahr sey, so ist offenbar u. notorium, dass M. Joh. Funck sich vor etlichen Jahren dem Hauptketzzer Osiander anhängig gemacht, seine ketzerische Lehre mit Gewalt helfen treiben und verfechten, darüber auch mit Rath u. That dahin gearbeitet, auch dasselbige helfen ins Werk richten, dass viel rechtschaffene fromme unschuldige Kirchendiener und Lehrer ihres Kirchenamts entsetzet und des Landes verwiesen seyn. Zudem hat er helfen rathen und thaten, dass die alte Kirchenordnung, die mit aller Stände gemeiner Landschaft Rath, Wissen und Belieben angenommen, zerrissen, [und eine andere] ohne der Landschaft Vorwissen aufgerichtet, darein eine neue hochärgerliche Ordnung des heil. Sacraments der Taufe gemeiner Landschaft und den Kirchendienern aufgedrungen, und die es nicht annehmen wollen, darüber verfolgt, mit Gefängniß gestraft, und auch des Landes verwiesen worden. Zudem ist notorium und offenbar, dass M. Funck dahin rathen und thaten helfen, dass hinter Wissen und Willen einer gemeinen Landschaft ein Samländischer Präsident ist eingesetzt (Johannes Aurifaber, 1554: see Hartknoch, s. 378), der die eingerissenen Neuerungen in der Kirchen hat helfen stärken, und dass auch kurz verwichener Zeit durch Matthiam Horst ein solcher Präsident ohne alle Vorwissen und Willen der Landschaft, oder anderer alten Rätthe gefordert (Matthäus Röseler, 1565, Präsident des Pomeranischen Bisthums; s. Hartknoch, s. 413), der so leichtfertig von einem studio auf das andere gesprungen, dass er erstlich ein Medicus gewest, darnach ein Jurist worden ist, und hat zu Rostock procuriret, letzlich aber, wie man sagt, quod desperatio facit Monachum, ein theologus worden, und allhier vor einen Bischof oder Präsidenten sich aufgeworfen. Zum andern ist notorium u. offenbar, dass gedachter M. Funck, Matth. Horst, Hans Schnell, und Steinbach sich dem Paulo Scalichio haben anhängig gemacht, mit und neben demselben helfen rathen und thaten, damit die gemeine Regimentsordnung dieses Landes gar invertiret u. zerstört würde," etc.

a decision of a Polish commission, which the estates had requested to institute proceedings. Osiandrism, 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 Osiandrism. On this account the estates, as early as 1556, had pressed for the reinstatement of bishops; see Töppen, in Raumer's *hist. Taschenb.*, 1847, s. 416, 434, 481.

³⁰ German, Königsb., 1567. Fol. Latin, *ibid.*, 1570, 8. 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.

³¹ Jo. Wigandus de Stancarismo, Lips., 1585. 4. Schlüsselburg Catal. Haereticorum, lib. ix. Planck, iv. 449. Comp. above, § 31, Note 19.

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): *Pacificati sumus per sanguinem crucis ejus per eundem; reconciliavit nos corpore 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. 305), the scholastics Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Richard St. Victor, Biel (p. 162, 310). 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; and this has remained the doctrine of the Catholic Church; see Baur's Lehre v. d. Versöhnung, s. 347.*

³³ Mel. *Responsio de Controversia Stancari scripta. Lips., 1553* (also in Schlüsselburg, ix. 163). *Calvini Responsum ad Fratres Polonos, quomodo Christus sit Mediator, ad refutandum Stancari Errorem. Genev., 1561* (also in his *Tractatus Theol., p. 587*). *Epistolae duae ad Ecclesias Polonicas, Evangelium J. Chr. amplexas scriptae a Tigurinae Ecclesiae ministris de negotio Stancariano, Tiguri, 1561* (Schlüsselburg, ix. 184).

But his doctrine still produced much disquietude. His death, in 1574, was also the death of his doctrine.

§ 40.

REDACTION OF THE FORMULA CONCORDIAE.

Rud. Hospiniani *Concordia Discors, de Origine et Progressu Formulae Concordiae Bergensis*, Tiguri, 1607, fol. Leonh. Hutteri *Concordia Concors, de Origine et Progressu Formulae Concordiae Ecclesiarum Confessionis Augustanae*, Witeberg., 1614, fol. J. N. Anton's *Gesch. der Concordienformel der Evang. Luth. Kirche*, 2 Th. Leipzig, 1779. Planck, vi. 403. [K. F. Goschel, *Die Concordienformel, Gesch., Lehre, etc.*, Leipzig, 1858. F. H. R. Frank, *Die Theologie der Concordienformel hist.-dogm. entwickelt*, i. 1858. H. Heppe, *Confessionelle Entwicklung*, 1854; *Geschichte d. Concordienformel*, i. 1857; *Gesch. des Deutschen Protestantismus*, 1551-81, 4 Bde., 1853-59; *Dogmatik des Deutschen Protestantismus*, 3 Bde., 1859.]

After the Crypto-Calvinists of Saxony had been set aside, and the pugnacious theologians of the opposite party had withdrawn,¹ the greatest hinderances 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 every where accept-

Chief work of Stancarus: *De Trinitate et Mediatore Domino nostro J. Chr. adv. H. Bullingerum, P. Martyrem et J. Calvinum et reliquos Tigurinae et Genevensis Ecclesiae ministros, Ecclesiae Dei perturbatores, ad magnificos—Dominos Polonos nobiles ac eorum ministros, Cracoviae*, 1562.

¹ Proposition of the Electorate of Saxony to the convention in Lichtenberg, Feb. 18, 1576, in Hutterus, f. 77: [They are moved to this because some of the disputatious divines are dead; others have used themselves up in the strife; and so many God-fearing divines desire peace.] "Zu diesem christl. Werk und Fürhaben hat uns und andere desto mehr bewogen, dieweil wir und Ihre Liebden wissen, dass etzliche zänkische Theologen, Illyricus u. Andere, so diesen Streit erreget, zum Theil mit Tode abgangen, die Uebrigen aber eines Theils mit Disputiren und Zanken dermassen abgemattet, dass sie verhoffentlich nunmehr in sich selbst gehen, und sich vielleicht besser weisen und bescheiden lassen werden. Zu dem sind gleichwol auch viel Gottfürchtige und Friedliebende Theologen jetziger Zeit am Leben, so zu solcher Einigkeit begierig und geneigt seyn, dieselbige von Herzen wünschen, und zu Gott dem Allmächtigen darumb seuffzen und beten." Wigand and Heshsius were still the most dangerous persons; but the former was far away as Bishop of Pomesania, and the latter as Bishop of Samland. The Landgrave, William of Hesse, in a letter to the Elector, expressed the hope that Chemnitz and Chytraeus would earnestly admonish them to peace and quiet; and that they would probably be able to accomplish it (Planck, vi. 447, from Selnecker's papers). [Comp. C. A. Wilkens, Tileman Heshsius, Leipzig, 1860.]

ed in its strict Lutheran form; but yet the *communicatio idiomatum realis*, taught in connection with it, was not every where accepted in the same form, and by many it was wholly rejected. So, too, the Melanethonian 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 Würtemberg 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 Melanethon. 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 Würtemberg 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

² Andreae had dedicated to Duke Julius "Sechs christl. Predigten von den Spaltungen, so sich zwischen den Theologen Angsb. 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 Kirchengeschichte*, iii. 439; O. F. Schützi *De Vita Dav. Chytraei Commentariorum*, libb. iv. (Hamburg, 1720-28), ii. 389; Planck, vi. 403. 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. Kirchengesch. 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* (Tubing., 1720. 4.), p. 381, they are given incorrectly: many corrections are found in Balthasar's *Hist. d. Torgauischen 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*.⁶ This convention, under the lead of Andreae, Chemnitz, and Chytraeus, soon finished their work—in the Torgau Book, May, 1576.⁷ The Suabian-Saxon Concordia was laid at the basis; but the honorable mention it made of Melanethon had to be obliterated,⁸ while many extracts from Luther were inserted, taken from the Maulbronn Formula.⁹

⁶ The doings are in Hutterus, f. 76 *b*. Their declaration, f. 78 *b*: “Auf dass nun—männiglich zu spüren habe, dass wir von Grund unserer Herzen zum christl. Fried und Einigkeit geneigt, so erklären wir uns dahin, dass wir keines Menschen Gewissen an obgemelt Buch, *Corpus doctrinae* genannt, binden sollen noch wollen, auch dasselbig niemande aufdringen als ein *Symbolum*, normam oder Richtschnur, sondern haltens für ein herrlichs guts nutzliches 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 erholen können. Und so etwas darin, so in Streit mag gezogen werden,—wollen wir dasselbig allezeit regulirt und verstanden haben nach Gottes ausdruecklichem 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 Cornerus, from Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and eleven theologians from electoral Saxony; at the head of them Crellius of Wittenberg, and Harder and Selnecker from Leipsic; 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 wollgefassten Schriften des Herrn Philippi, hiemit nicht verworfen, welche, sofern sie dem itzgemelten Fürbild der Lehre gemäss, als ordentliche nutzliche Auslegungen und Erklärungen billig commendiret, 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 Melanethon, “und sonderlich—Philippi,” 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 Väter und Praeceptores, als Lutherus an vielen Orten, und Philippus in libro visitationis Saxonicae diesen Spruch Pauli also erklären,” etc. In the Torgau Book, on the other hand [the name of Philip is here omitted]: “Derhalben auch unser lieber Vater und Vorfahren, als Lutherus und andere reine Lehrer Augsburgischer Confession, diesen Spruch,” etc. Without question, Musculus, the violent opponent of Melanethon (see § 37, Note 13), 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 besought 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.¹⁰ The theologians of Hesse,¹¹ Zweibrücken,¹² and Simmern¹³ held out the prospect of acceding to it, but they wished it drawn up more in the mild spirit of Melancthon. The divines of Pomcrania,¹⁴ Anhalt,¹⁵ and

¹⁰ The Gottorf Memorial, by the General Superintendent, Paul von Eitzen, reprinted in the Jena Christmas Programme, 1780: *Super Libro Torgensi Censura Holsato-Slesvicensis* (Sept. 21, 1576), *variis Observationibus illustrata* (a D. Danovio); see Planck, vi. 485; Johannsen, in *Niedner's Zeitschr. f. d. hist. Theol.*, 1850, s. 638. 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 Doctrinae*, 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 § 36, Note 15). Das Haderslebener Gutachten v. d. Propste Georg Peträus in the *Danische Bibliothek*, iv. 275; see Johannsen, in *Niedner's Zeitschr.*, 1850, s. 652.

¹¹ Proceedings of the General Synod in Cassel, Aug. 27 to Sept. 4, 1576, see in Dr. H. Heppé's *Gesch. der Hess. Generalsynoden von 1568-1582* (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 Saxon 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 stand-point, and rejected the doctrine of ubiquity; Landgrave Louis and the Upper Hessians, on the other hand, led by Dr. Aegidius Hunnius, recently called from Tübingen to Marburg, showed themselves inclined to the Formula Concordiae; Heppé, i. 220; Appendix, p. 54.

¹² Hospinianus, f. 70, v.

¹³ Hospinianus, f. 73, v.

¹⁴ Their critique is in J. II. 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. 33. Planck, vi. 507. Johannsen, 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 Melancthon—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 *barbaries*.] "Besorgen deswegen, die Autores werden sich des Verdachts nicht entledigen können, dass sie die zwei theure Helden, Lutherum u. Philippum,—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 nöthige Schriften Melancthon'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 uns

Magdeburg¹⁶ 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,¹⁷ and the cities of Lübeck, Hamburg, and Lüneburg,¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ The rest of the memorials declared themselves, upon the whole, satisfied with the Book, and criticised only some insignificant points.²⁰ 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;²¹ but yet he did not at first seem inclined to favor the Formula Concordiae.²²

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 Mölln, Recessus Moloniensis, of Nov. 2, 1576, in Bertram's Reformationen- und Kirchenhist. der Stadt Lüneburg, Beil., s. 321.

¹⁹ His criticism on the Torgau Book in his Epist. ad Chemnitium, in Hospinianus, f. 72: Existimamus, Ecclesiae necessitatem postulare, ut in hac formula auctores et patroni corruptelarum, Illyricus, Philippus, Pfeffingerus, Osiander, Major, Calvinus, Petrus Martyr, epistola Philippi ad Palatinum nominentur, ac Ecclesiae et posteritati saltem indicentur, ut juvenus in librorum lectione errores cum formula concordiae pugnantes cavere possit. [Comp. Wilkens's Hesshusius, Leipz., 1860.]

²⁰ Decisions of the churches in Goslar, Brunswick, Hildesheim, Göttingen, Hanover, Nordheim, Hameln, Einbeck, and Hoexter, at a synod in Brunswick, Nov. 14, 1576, in Rehtmeyer's Stadt Braunsch. Kirchenhist., Th. 3, Beil., s. 261. Opinion of the Mecklenburg clergy in a synod at Rostock, Oct. 16, 1576, in Schützi de Vita Chytraei, lib. ii., App., p. 48; Pfalz-Neuburger, in Hospinianus, f. 73, v.; electorate of Brandenburg, at a synod in Lebus, Aug. 4, 1576; see Semler's Preface to Torg. Buch, s. 8, 20.

²¹ Struve's Pfälz. Kirchenhistorie, s. 294. D. L. Wundt's Magazin f. d. Kirchen- u. Gelehrten-Gesch. d. Kurfürstenth. Pfalz, Bd. 2 (Heidelb., 1790), s. 31. L. Hauser's Gesch. d. Rheinischen Pfalz, ii. 85.

²² In a contemporary manuscript there is a communication, ex ore Schechzii (the court preacher of the Elector), given in Wundt, ii. 132, who says, "This Elector caused it to be proclaimed, per Stolzius, 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,²³ 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 Melancthonian teaching which had remained in the Lower Saxon parts of the Suabian-Saxon Concordia.²⁴ To satisfy the desire for a

²³ Chytraeus ad Jac. Monavium Non. Maji, 1581 (Epist., Hanov., 1614, p. 417) : *Torgensem librum Bergensi ego etiam multis modis praefero. Et me non adhibito ille primum mutatus est a triumviris Jacobo (Andrea), Selneccero et Kemnicio. Postea mense Junio alii etiam tres (Chytraeus, Musculus, und Cornerus) pro forma advocati sumus, cum omnia jam transacta essent.* [II. Heppe, *Der Text d. Bergischen Concordienformel* verglichen mit dem Texte d. Schwäbisch sachsisehen Concordie u. des Torgauen Buches. Marb., 1857.]

²⁴ 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 Controversiis quibusdam*, p. 55 ss.; *Examen Conc. Trid.*, p. i., loc. 7, Sect. 3, § 7; comp. Chytraeus, in his often-printed Catechesis, 1554, taken from Melancthon's *Loci*, and in his *Comm. in Genesin*, Viteberg., 1558, p. 364; and in the *Declaration der theol. Fac. in Rostock an den Herzog v. Mecklenburg über die streitigen Artikel*, 1570, in Bertram's *Lüneb. Reformationen*-u. *Kirchenhist.*, Beil., s. 100 f.; and Andrea, in his *Articles of 1569* (see above, § 38, Note 29), in the *Unschuld. 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 Melancthon'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 juvenus in scholis doctrina illa de tribus causis efficientibus, concurrentibus in conversione hominis non renati vehementer perturbata est:—denovo repetitum volumus ex supra posita explicatione, quod conversio ad Deum sit Spiritus sancti opus:—interim tamen praedicatione et auditu sancti verbi sui, tanquam ordinario et legitimo medio s. instrumento suo, utitur; comp. Balthazar, 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 esse. Chytraeus ad theol. Helmstadienses, 27. Nov., 1582. (Epist., p. 1199): *Utinam vero hic campus, adeo speciose contra ubiquitatem declamandi, adversariis insertione quorundam dictorum Lutheri in librum concordiae* (see Torgau Book, s. 236), non patefactus esset! Quae in Torgensi archetypo non extare ipsi meministis. 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;²⁵ 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,²⁶ and it did not solve the contradiction between its strict Au-

absent, afterward bitterly complained; see Schützius de Vita Chytraci, ii. 458; Chytracus 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, ideoque 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. Selneckeri Recitationes aliquot de Consilio scripti Libri Concordiae, Lips., 1581. 4. p. 63: nihil in conventu Bergensi in sententia, cum in ea conveniretur ut plurimum, in Torgensi libro mutatum, licet interdum voculas et utiliter monita adderent doctores.

²⁵ I. De peccato originis (where, among other things, the error of Flacius is repudiated); II. De libero arbitrio (against Synergism); III. De justitia fidei coram Deo (against Osiander); 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 Melancthon's doctrine, Evangelium esse concionem poenitentiae); VI. De tertio usu Legis (against Antinomianism); VII. De Coena Domini (against Calvin); VIII. De persona Christi; IX. De descensu Christi ad inferos; X. De ceremoniis ecclesiasticis, quae vulgo adiaphora vocantur (against Adiaphorism); XI. De aeterna praedestinatione et electione Dei; XII. De aliis haeresibus et sectis, quae nunquam Aug. Conf. sunt amplexae.

²⁶ 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 plenitudo in Christo habitet, non quemadmodum in sanctis hominibus et angelis, sed corporaliter, ut in proprio suo corpore, etiam omni sua majestate, virtute, gloria, operatione in assumta humana natura liberrime (quando et quomodo Christo visum fuerit) luceat, et in ea, cum ea, et per eam, divinam suam virtutem, majestatem et efficaciam exerceat, operetur, et perficiat. Idque ea, quodammodo, ratione, qua anima in corpore, et ignis in ferro candente agit (comp. Chemnitz, § 38, Note 24). P. 767: Eam vero majestatem statim in sua conceptione, etiam in utero matris habuit: sed ut Apostolus loquitur, seipsum exinanivit, eamque, ut Dr. Lutherus docet, in statu suae humiliationis secreto habuit, neque eam semper, sed quoties ipsi 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, praesens dominatur et regnat, a mari ad mare, et usque ad terminos terrae. P. 781: Ubique recte dixeris: hic est Deus: ibi fateri oportet et dicere: ergo etiam Christus homo adest. Et si locum aliquem monstres, in quo solus Deus, non autem homo esset, jam statim persona divideretur. (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 assumptam naturam, et cum ea, praesens esse possit, et quidem praesens sit, ubicunque velit (after Chemnitz): praesertim vero sentimus, eum Ecclesiae suae in terris, ut mediatorem, caput, regem et summum sacerdotem, praesentem esse.—Et sane in hujus rei confirmationem sacram suam Coenam instituit, ut testaretur, se etiam secundum eam naturam, qua carnem et sanguinem

gustinian 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 velle. Baur's Dreieinigkeit, 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 spiritualibus—ex propriis naturalibus viribus prorsus nihil intelligere, credere,—velle,—operari aut cooperari possint,—ita ut in hominis natura post lapsum ante regenerationem ne scintillula quidem spiritualium virium reliqua manserit, aut restet, quibus ille ex se ad gratiam Dei praeferare se, aut oblatam gratiam apprehendere,—aut se ad gratiam applicare aut accommodare—possit.* Thus, p. 680, it is taught, with Luther, *hominem in conversione sua pure passive sese habere.* On the other hand, in the eleventh article, the absolute predestination, which results necessarily from that doctrine, is rejected; and it is maintained, p. 804, *quod non tantum praedicatio poenitentiae, verum etiam promissio Evangelii sit universalis, h. e. ad omnes homines pertineat.* P. 808: *Ut Deus in aeterno suo consilio ordinavit, ut Spiritus sanctus electos per verbum vocet, illuminet atque convertat, atque omnes illos, qui Christum vera fide amplectuntur, justificet, atque in eos 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 efficaciter operari et efficax esse vult) resistunt, et obstinati in ea contumacia perseverant, indurare, reprobare, 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 se ad gratiam applicare non possit.* We here find contradictory positions, and not truths standing over against each other, as Thomasius maintains (*Bekenntniß d. evangel. Luther. Kirche, Nürnberg, 1848, s. 223*); nor can we concede that it does not belong to the formula Concordiae as a confession, but to theology, to reconcile them; for that formula throughout contains only too much of theology. But a Confession ought not to countenance any, even seeming, contradictions, for if it does it can not be received.

²⁸ The *Acta Conventus Francof. in D. Blondel Actes Authentiques des Eglises Reformées touchant la Paix, à Amsterdam, 1655. 4., p. 59.* Planck, vi. 591. *Des Churf. v. d. Pfalz Bedenken u. Erklärung an die Churf. von Sachsen u. Brandenburg v. 17. Oct., 1577, in Struve's Pfalz. Kirchenhist., s. 313.* He wishes, 1. That the appeal to the first, unaltered Augsburg Confession should be changed into the Augsburg Conf. simpliciter; 2. That the name of Synergists be excluded, and also that the Osianrists and Flacianists should not be named; and that the formulas—*Deus trahit, sed volentem, item hominis voluntas non est otiosa, item tres sunt causae conversionis*—should either be entirely

Meanwhile the formula was subscribed, in the year 1577, in Saxony,²⁹ Brandenburg,³⁰ 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, 1578,³¹ from considering the changes desired by the Elector of the Palatinate. At the convention held in Smalcald, October, 1578,³² 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,³³ entirely confirmed in the cloister of Bergen, February, 1580,³⁴ 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 *dammamus*, 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 Concordiæ altogether, out of regard to the common interests of all the Reformed churches, see in Hospiusianus, f. 92: from a Weimar MS. in Schneider's Biblioth. d. Kirchengesch., i. 207.

²⁹ See on this, Nic. Selneckeri Recitationes aliquot de Consilio scripti Libri Concordiæ, et modo agendi, qui in subscriptionibus servatus est; Lips., 1581. 4. Recit. iv. p. 59. Comp. the Unterschrift der Concordienformel in Sachsen, von Johannsen, in Niederer's Zeitschr., 1847, s. 1.

³⁰ See Christoph. Cornerus, General Superintendent of the Mark, Bericht an den Churf. zu Brandenburg über die Erianerungen der Pfarrherrn, so auf den Synodis zu Berlin, Prenzlau, Ruppin, und Nauen zu Verlesung und Unterschreibung des Berg. Buchs versammelt gewesen (1577, not 1571), in the Fortges. Sammlung von alten und neuen theol. Sachen, 1749, s. 824. Here there is a much more open exhibition of the doubts than in Selnecker.

³¹ Instructions of the Elector August for this synod, in Huttenus, c. 21, f. 165. Memorial of the theologians, *ibid.*, f. 168.

³² On this, see Heppe, in Niedner's Zeitschr., 1852, ii. 283. Schmalcaldischer Abschied in Struve's Pfälzischer Kirchenhist., s. 319.

³³ The strict Lutherans especially criticised it, because the Frankfort Recess of 1558 (§ 37, Note 33) is called a *Christian* judgment. Planck, vi. 665.

³⁴ The rulers, in whose name the preface is prepared, confess—solam primam illam Augustanum Confessionem, Imp. Carolo V.—exhibitam.—Quod ad alteram Aug. Conf. editionem—attinet, animadvertimus,—quosdam sub prætextu verborum posterioris illius editionis corruptelas in negotio Coenæ, et alios errores contegere et occultare voluisse.—Nos sane nunquam posteriorem editionem in ea sententia accepimus, quæ a priore illa, quæ exhibitâ fuit, ulla ex parte dissideret. Nec etiam alia scripta utilia D. Philippi Melanethonis, neque Brentii, Urbani Regii, Pomerani et similium repudianda ac damnanda esse judicamus, quatenus cum ea norma, quæ Concordiæ libro expressa est, per omnia consentiunt. Quanquam autem nonnulli theologi, et in his ipse Luthe-

Electo August was able to publish the *Concordia* in Dresden, June 25, 1580, on the fiftieth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession.³⁵

All attempts to induce Holstein,³⁶ Hesse,³⁷ Pomerania,³⁸ Anhalt,³⁹

rus, eum de Coena Domini agerent, inviti etiam ab adversariis ad disputationes de personali unione duarum in Christo naturarum pertracti sint; tamen theologi nostri in *Concordiæ* 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, cum illa assertio nostra, et simplex verborum testamenti Christi sensus ab adversariis impugnatur,—denique articulis Symboli apostolici, præsertim de Filii Dei incarnatione, ascensione in cœlum, et sessione ad dexteram Omnipotentis,—contrarius et proinde etiam falsus esse contenditur, vera solidaque articulorum illorum interpretatione demonstrandum est, nostram illam sententiam nec a verbis Christi, neque ab articulis illis dissidere.—Ad condemnationes—impiorum dogmatum, et ejus præsertim, quod de sacra Coena extitit, quod attinet,—non solum eam ob causam, ut universi sibi ab his damnatis dogmatibus caverent, omnino proponendæ fuerunt, sed ob alias etiam quasdam rationes nullo modo prætermitti potuerunt. Sic ut nequaquam consilium et institutum nostrum sit, eos homines, qui ex quadam animi simplicitate errant, nec tamen blasphemii in veritatem doctrinæ coelestis sunt, multo vero minus totas Ecclesias, quæ vel sub Romano Imperio nationis Germanicæ, vel alibi sunt, damnare.

³⁵ “*Concordia, christliche, wiederholte, einmüthige Bekenntniss nachbenannter Churfürsten und Stande augsburgischer Confession, etc.; Dresden, 1580.*” Fol., contains all the new Corpus Doctrinæ: the three œcumenical creeds, the unaltered Augsburg Confession, the two Catechisms of Luther (with Luther’s little book on Marriage and Baptism), and the Formula Concordiæ. 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. Schneckler, 1582, and still further improved in the edition of 1584: the text of the latter is retained in the later editions; see Balthasar, i. 57.

³⁶ Johannsen, in *Niedner’s Zeitschr.*, 1850, s. 656.

³⁷ The Upper Hessians, especially the theologians of Marburg, declared themselves ready to accept it unconditionally and at once; see Heppé’s *Gesch. d. Hess. Generalsynoden*, 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).

³⁸ 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. gehörigen Schriften* (Greifswald, 1723. 4.), s. 346. The Memorial, composed by the Superintendent Jac. Runge, and adopted by the Stettin synod, are in Balthasar’s *Andere Sammlung*, s. 116. The correspondence between Runge 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.

³⁹ Their judgment, Aug. 31, 1577, in Beckmann’s *Hist. d. Fürstenth.*, Append. vi. 110; see Johannsen, in *Niedner’s Zeitschr.*, 1846, s. 283.

and Zweibrücken⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ Several of the free cities, particularly Nuremberg,⁴² Strasburg,⁴³ Frankfort-on-the-Main, Spire, Worms, Magdeburg,⁴⁴ and Nordhausen,⁴⁵ declined to accede. And one of the most zealous promoters of the Formula, Duke Julius of Brunswick, abandoned it,⁴⁶ 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.⁴⁷ After this even the

⁴⁰ Hospinianus, f. 136, 138.

⁴¹ K. A. Menzel's *Neuere Gesch. d. Deutschen*, v. 199.

⁴² Nuremberg, together with the Margrave of Anspach and Baireuth, in 1573 adopted as the *norma doctrinae* twelve documents (viz., the three oecumenical symbols, the Catechisms of Luther, Augsb. Confession, Apology, Smalcald Articles, Conf. Saxon., Melancthon's *Loci Comm.*, Examen theol., Definitiones, Responiones ad impios art. Bavaricos, Responso 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. Loci 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 resented it, because the Bergen Book was sent to them by the Margrave of Baireuth, October, 1577, to be subscribed simpliciter, 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. 223); 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. Sturm, rector of the University, in which theologians of other places soon took part (Luc. Osiander, 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.

⁴⁵ *Declaratio Ministerii Nordhusani de Formula dieta Concordiae d. 9. Jan., 1581, in the Fortges. Sammlung v. alten u. neuen theol. Sachen, 1729, s. 192.*

⁴⁶ C. G. II. 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. Helmstadt im 16ten Jahrh. v. E. L. Th. Henke, Halle, 1833, 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 adiaphoris aus Gottes Wort erweist 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

Falle auch in äusserlichen Mitteldingen Nichts solle, noch mit gutem Gewissen könne nachgeben und eingewilligt werden, und werden diese wichtigen Ursachen angezeigt, warum die Papisten den Gebrauch der Ceremonien nennen die Religion." And so the Duke came into conflict with those enlisted in the work of the *Concordia*, and was not invited to the assembly at Jüterbock, 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. 358.

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 ditone Jo. Casimiri Palatini Admonitio Christ. de libro Concordiae, ibid., 1581. 4.* (also in German: *Christl. Erinnerung vom Concordi-Buch—der Theol. und Kirchendiener in der Fürstl. 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. Erbsünde, 1581. 4.* On this account the Electors of the Palatinate, of Saxony, and of Brandenburg called the theologians Tim. Kirehner, 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, 1583, fol.*; *Widerlegung der vermeinten Entschuldigung der Prediger zu Bremen, Heidelb., 1583, fol.*; *Refutatio Irenaei, gründlicher Bericht auf das Examen M. Christ. Irenäi, Heidelb., 1583, fol.* These three works were written by Kirehner, and the first two reprinted, with others, at Dresden, 1584, fol. To these were added the work written by Selnecker and Chemnitz: "*Grundliche, wahrhaftige Historie v. d. Augsb. Confession wider Ambrosii Wolfii gefälschte 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 *Hospinianns*, f. 243. 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 possit, ubique 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 vermuge des kundbaren vorsätzlichen und eigentlichen 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 Dantzic and Elbingen;⁵³ but it was decisively rejected by the King of Denmark.⁵⁴

§ 41.

GERMAN REFORMED CHURCHES.

[H. Heppe, *Deutsch-Reform. Kirche*, in *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1850; translated in *Mereersburg Quarterly Rev.*, 1853. F. Blaul, *Das Ref. werk in der Pfalz*; Speyer, 1846. Seisen, *Ref. in Heidelberg*, 1846. C. Olevianus and Z. Ursinus, *Leben u. ausgewählte Schriften*, von K. Sudhoff, in *Leben und Schriften d. Väter d. Ref. Kirche*, viii. Theil, 1857.]

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 praetextu ubi-quitatis, and also to entice them to do the same] (s. 289): "wie etliche E. F. G. Rätke, 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 praetextu ubi-quitatis mögen wendig u. abfällig machen, und hiezu 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*, Leipz., 1860.]

⁵¹ 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. Kirchenhist.*, iii. 337). This *Corpus doctrinae Julium* (to which was added *Urbani Regii Tract. de Formulis caute loquendi*) was printed anew in 1576 with the Church Service (Rehtmeyer, iii. 423), and alone remained valid (Lentz, in *Niedner's Zeitschr.*, 1848, s. 304). In this the ubiquity was set aside; see § 38, Note 24.—That this separation from the Concordia was chiefly the work of Hesshusius, see Henke's *Univ.*, Helmstädt, s. 43.

⁵² By all the clergy, but not by the Königsberg professors; Hartknoch's *Preuss. Kirchenhist.*, s. 487.

⁵³ On Dantzic, Hartknoch, s. 725; on Elbing, s. 1010.

⁵⁴ 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.¹ In Nassau, Melancthonianism was firmly established by the theologians Widebram and Pezel,² expelled from Wittenberg in 1574; and a decided Confession of Faith was set forth, in opposition to the Formula of Concord,³ in 1578. The alliance of the reigning family with

¹ B. G. Struven's *Pfälzische Kirchenhist.*, s. 382. Wundt's und Rheinwald's *Magazin f. d. Pfälz. Gesch.*, iii. 137. L. Haussler's *Gesch. d. Rhein. Pfalz*, ii. 142.

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 päpstliche Transubstantiation stehen geblieben (see § 36, Note 32)—so ist sie doch nachmals von allen Lehrern der Augsb. Confession verworfen, und vom Authore Confess. aus gutem Bedacht nicht allein verändert im 10ten Artikel, wo papstischer 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 colloquiis und Reichstagen von den Evangel. Standen 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; 3. 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 1586.⁴ The neighboring counties, Wittgenstein, Solms-Braunfels, Sayn, Isenburg, and Wied, united with them.⁵ 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 deposal of the strict Lutheran clergy, 1581.⁶ 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,⁷ became openly connected with the Calvinistic communion.⁸ 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 Recess, 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 Gesandten u. andern Gästen aus Frankreich und Niederlanden gewesen, so dass Evangelische sich an den noch hier übriggewesenen abergläubischen Ceremonien ärgerten.—und hat jede Kirche christliche Freiheit, die äusserlichen Satzungen nach Gelegenheit anzuordnen.—Diese christliche Freiheit wird auch im Frankfurtschen Abschied (§ 37, Note 33) den Evangelischen Ständen belassen, und schon haben sich ihrer Pfalz und Hessen bedient.—Derowegen 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 Herborn was founded by Count John the Elder, of Nassau-Dillenburg, in 1584.

⁴ Steubing, s. 155, 171, 189.

⁵ Steubing, s. 170. J. St. Reck, *Gesch. d. graf. u. fürstl. Häuser Isenburg, Runkel, Wied, Weimar*, 1825. 4, s. 187. On the other hand, Nassau-Weilburg, -Usingen, -Saarbrücken, -Idstein, and Solms-Lich and -Laubach remained Lutheran.

⁶ 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 deposed (J. II. Duntze's *Gesch. d. freien Stadt Bremen*, Bd. 3, Bremen, 1848, s. 359).—Jod, Glanaeus, pastor of St. Anshar, was zealous for the Formula of Concord; Pezel and Widebram were invited to oppose him; and he, with two preachers of kindred sentiments, was deposed (Duntze, iii. 412). Pezel became pastor of St. Anshar in 1589, 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 beständige Erzählung, was von dem heil. Nachtmal Jesu die Lehre derjenigen eigentlich sey, die man unbefugt Calvinisch nennet."

⁷ Duntze, iii. 491.

⁸ In 1614 the host was abolished (Duntze, iii. 500); 1618, delegates were sent to the Synod of Dort (p. 507).

theran were for a long time obliged to frequent the neighboring churches, until Archbishop Frederick, Prince of Denmark, reopened 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 successor 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 Altenburg.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 remained 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

⁹ Duntze, iii. 589.

¹⁰ J. R. Kiesling's *Fortsetzung of the Historia Motuum, Schwabach, 1770*, 4. Planck's *Gesch. d. Protest. Theol. von der Konkordienformel an*, Göttingen, 1831, s. 36. In 1588 it was forbidden to contend against the Reformed, in writing or the pulpit (Kiesling, s. 50); an edition of the Bible, with revised text, was begun (p. 59); exorcisms were abolished (p. 65); Philippists were invited to come; Urban Pierius became superintendent in Wittenberg; G. Schönfeld, and, after him, John Salmuth, the chief court preacher; Saxony made common cause with the Reformed states, particularly the Palatinate (p. 96).

¹¹ Kiesling, s. 126. To revive orthodoxy four Visitation Articles were drawn up, in 1592, by Aegid. Hunnius, Mart. Mirus, Georg Mylius, and Josua Lonnerus (*Neu vermehrtes und vollständiges Corpus Jur. Eccl. Saxonici*, Dresden, 1773. 4., s. 256: 1. Von d. heil. Nachtmal; 2. V. d. Person Christi; 3. V. d. heil. Taufe; 4. V. d. Gnadenwahl u. ewiger Vorsehung Gottes), which was to be subscribed by all the clergy. On the trial of Nic. Crell, ending with his execution, October 9, 1601, see Kiesling, p. 161. On the Lutheran side it has always been earnestly maintained that Crell was not condemned—*religionis causa*; see H. Chr. Engeleken *Hist. N. Crellii Capite plexi. variis Aberationibus liberata*, Rostoch., 1727. 4.

¹² There was published: "Kurze u. einfältige—Bekennniss, nach welcher—die Kirchen- u. Schuldiener in d. Markgrafschaft Baden sich—im Lehren zu verhalten haben, Staffort, 1599" (the so-called Staffort Book), wholly Calvinistic, with violent attacks on Lutheranism. In reply: "Beständiger u. gründlicher Bericht über das vermeinte christl. Bedenken, etc., durch die Würtemberg. hierzu verordneten Theologen, Tübingen, 1601." 4. Comp. Hamberger's *Forts. d. Geschichte der Chur- u. Fürstl. Häuser in Teutschland*, by A. B. Michaelis, iii. 197.

¹³ The *Repetitio Anhaltina*, the Philippistic Confession handed in by the Anhaltines in Cassel, 1579, see in Niemeyer, *Collect. Confessionum Reform.*, p. 612. Comp. J. Chr. Beckmann's *Historia des Fürstenthums Anhalt* (7 Th. Zerbst, 1710, fol.), vi. 121 ff. In 1589 exorcism was abolished, p. 128; even this was considered as a step toward

Hesse-Cassel the Landgrave Maurice, after the death of his uncle, Louis IV., obtained half of Upper Hussia, in addition to Lower Hussia; 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 Badeborn because he would not give up exorcism, considered himself as driven off by the Calvinists; Scharff, *Supplementum Historiæ Litisque Arndianæ*, Wittenb., 1727, p. 21. Joh. Arndt, ein biograph. Versuch von F. Arndt, Berlin, 1838, s. 28. In the "Taufbüchlein für die Kirchen im Fürstenth. Anhalt," 1590. 4., more proof of this was detected, and many works were issued against it, and against the Anlingites (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.

¹⁴ Dr. H. Heppe, *die Einführung der Verbesserungspuncte in Hessen von 1604-1610*, Kassel, 1849. The three points are there given, p. 15 [1. No disputation about the person of Christ; say, in concreto, "Christ is every where," and not, in abstracto, "the humanity of Christ is every where;" 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 concreto, als: "Christus ist allenthalben," und nicht in abstracto: "die Menschheit Christi ist allenthalben," gelehrt; 2. Dass die zehn Gebote Gottes, wie sie der Herr selbst geredet, mit seinen eigenen Fingern auf die steinernen Tafeln, und von Mose in der Bibel geschrieben, gelehrt und gelernt; und die noch vom Papstthum an etlichen Orten überbliebenen Bilder abgethan; 3. Dass in der Administration und Gebrauch des heil. Abendmals das gesegnete Brod 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 Buceci (Concordia Vitebergense, 1536, see Div. I., § 7, Note 28), 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 1608, 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 Giessen divines 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 bishero nichts so sehr aufgehalten, dann die von den Giessnern dem Volk tief eingebildecete Opinion, es stecke was Anders dahinter, nemlich der Heidelbergische Katechismus, u. werd also dann es bei diesen Verbesserungspuncten nicht bleiben. Dawider man gleichwol allzeit protestirt, und zu Ableinung dessen unsere Confession und Katechismus edirt hat. Sollte man nun den Heidelbergischen Katechismus allhier im Paedagogio einführen, würd dadurch unsere vielfältige Protestation und Ableinung geschwächt, u. der schwere und hinderliche Verdacht im Volk mächtig gestärkt." (See Heppe's *Beiträge zur Gesch. u. Statistik des Hess. Schulwesens im 17. Jahrh.*, Kassel, 1850, s. 193.)

Lower Hesse readily adopted the change; but in Upper Hesse and the other parts of the land Lutheranism could not be suppressed.¹⁵

The change of the Elector of Brandenburg, John Sigismund, to Calvinism, in 1614, was at first only a personal matter;¹⁶ but the example of the prince was not without its influence,¹⁷ and he endeavored to introduce his principles into the whole church of his land.¹⁸ Although he and his successors did not make any

¹⁵ The testament of the Landgrave of Upper Hesse, Louis IV., who died 1604, in Rommel's *Neuere Gesch. v. Hessen*, ii. 72, divided Upper Hesse 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, auferlegt und anbevohlen haben, dass sie Unsere gehorsame Unterthanen bei Unserer wahren Religion,—und dan Unsere Superintendenten, Pfarrer 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 11, 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 undisturbed, according to the principles declared in the Peace of Westphalia.

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. Constit. March.*, i. 353), 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 prophetic Scriptures, the five chief symbols, the *improved* Augsburg Confession, 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.

¹⁷ Comp. the letter of some of the nobles (who at once joined him) to the Elector, in Fortges. *Sammlung v. alten u. neuen theol. Sachen*, 1746, s. 326.

¹⁸ To the statutes of the theological faculty in Frankfort-on-the-Oder, he added, 1616 (Hering, s. 325): *Notum facimus, Nos, posteaquam Ubiquitatis dogmate Ecclesiae Dei misere imponi, et veteres revocari haereses, pridem in Synodis Chalcedonensi et Ephesina damnatas, inprimis pigmentis realis communicationis idiomatum divinarum carni assumptae factae, Arit, veterum et novorum Photinianorum foveri causam deprehendimus,—dogma illud toto pectore detestari. Officii itaque Nostri duximus, illud a Scholis et Ecclesiis Nostreis prohibere.—Mandamus vero severe, orthodoxam de Filio Dei doctrinam juxta oracula sacra et symbola, Patrumque scripta puriora, a Luthero puriore et orthodoxo, et a Phil. Melancthone nervose et solide traditam summo studio addisci, atque in scholis et Ecclesiis doceri: sentinam etiam Pontificiam de orali manducatione*

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.¹⁹ 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.²⁰

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.²¹ In

carnis Christi omni plane Scripturæ testimonio destitutam aversamur, atque ex scholis atque Ecclesiis Nostris eliminatam volumus una cum libro illo, quem vocant Concordiæ formulam, qui horribilia ista dogmata contra Scripturam sacram canonisare voluit, et Ecclesiis atque scholis obrusit. Sufficiat scholis atque Ecclesiis Nostris juxta Biblia sacra et Symbola, atque Confessionem Augustanam Corpus doctrinæ a Philippo traditum, ad ejus normam Ecclesiarum atque scholarum Professores et Ministri sese componant non sine fructu publico. The theological Faculty, then consisting only of the Philippiist, 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.

¹⁹ 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 nowise 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. Landern, i. 123). That the Reformed theologians had it in mind to make the Lutheran Church of the land like their own in 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.

²⁰ Franck's Altes u. Neues Mecklenburg, xii. 176, xiii. 183. J. Wigger's Kirchengesch. Mecklenburgs (Parchim u. Ludwigslust, 1840), s. 175, 180.

²¹ Comp. the Heidelberg Catechism on Election, § 35, Note 67. The Anhalt Confession of 1579 (see Note 13) adduces, after Melancthon, tres causae concurrentes in conversione, and emphatically maintains that "Christ did not come to save only some, but the whole human race, which was corrupt." The Cassel Confession, 1607 (Heppes 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 Verzweilung oder fleischlichen Sicherheit Anlass geben möchten." [We teach on election all that is in the Bible, and nothing else; and avoid all hard 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 hatred²² 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 Epistel an die Römer—gethan, und—welches also lautet: Am 9. 10. u. 11. Capitel lehrt er (Paulus) von der ewigen Vorsehung Gottes, daher es ursprünglich heisset, wer glauben oder nicht glauben soll, von Sünden los oder nicht los werden kann, damit es ja gar aus unsern Händen 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 Vorsehen 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 auserwählet hat alle so an Christum beständig gläuben, wisse auch und erkenne gar wohl die Seinen, und wie er sie von Ewigkeit geliebet, also schenkt er auch ihnen aus lauter Gnaden den rechtschaffenen wahren Glauben, u. kräftige Beständigkeit bis ans Ende.—So hab auch Gott nach seiner strengen Gerechtigkeit alle, die an Christum nicht gläuben, 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 Ungchorsams 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 Zeit Gott die Seinen kräftiglich berufe, wer künftig gläuben 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 auserwählet habe, welches Pelagianisch; dass er dem meisten Theil die Seligkeit nicht gönne, welchen er absolute, bloshin, ohne einige 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 decretum, ein freier lediger Rathschluss, zu achten." Among the Reformed of the Mark it was disputed, 1712 *sq.*, whether this Confession taught *gratia universalis* or *particularis* (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 works of the time (Hering, p. 93), 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', yea, than the devil's doctrine. Comp. the memorial of the divines of Electoral Saxony, 1594, Div. I., § 11, Note 39; Polycarpi Leyser's (court preacher in Dresden, † 1610) Calvinismus, d. i. eine Erklärung des Catechismi M. Lutheri in 8 Predigten also gefasset, dass darinnen einfältig geweisert wird, in welchen Stücken desselben die Calvinisten mit uns streitig seyn, und denselben verfälschen wollen, Leipzig, 1595. There

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: "Welchs gottseliges Herz kann doch mit einem solchen Lästermaul, das mit so vielfältiger falscher Lehr beschmitzt ist, wie wir bisher von den Calvinisten gehört haben, Fried und Freundschaft halten? Es ware noch ja so bald mit den Papisten eine Einigkeit zu treffen, als mit den Calvinisten, dann dieselben kaum mehr Irrthumb wider unsern Catechismum haben, als die Calvinisten, wie solches in ander Wege geweiset worden." Dav. Parei (professor in Heidelberg) *Irenicum*, Heidelb., 1614. 4., p. 136: Tanta est quorundam adversae partis Theologorum, nescio κακοήθεια dicam, an ἀρρώστια et ineogitantia hoc tempore, ut potius cum Papistis, capitalibus Evangelii hostibus, contra reformatas Ecclesias, quam cum his adversus Papistas syncretismum faciendum, familiariter conversandum, societatem colendam, plusque Papistis, quam Calvinistis, quos vocare solent, fidendum esse, 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 Frederiek of Würtemberg, 1586, in Mömpelgard, between Jac. Andrea and Theod. Beza, see Acta Colloquii Montisbelligartensis, Tubing., 1587, and Witteberg., 1613. 4. Here it was maintained by Andreae, p. 413: Quod Deus salvandos non modo praesceverit, sed etiam ab aeterno elegerit, et ad vitam aeternam praedestinaverit; and, quod salvandorum apud Deum certus sit numerus. 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 iudicium a Deo conditos esse. This is still the illogical stand-point of the Formula Concordiae, as is clearly shown by Beza ad Acta Colloquii Montisbelgardensis Tubingae edita Responsio (Partes ii., Genev., 1588), ii. 158. In the Electoral Visitation 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 Verdammnis geschaffen,—befehliget allen, dass sie seinen Sohn Christum in dem Evangelio hören sollen, und verheisset dadurch Kraft und Würkung des heil. Geistes zur Bekehrung u. Seligkeit; 3. Dass viel Menschen durch ihre eigene Schuld verdammet werden, die entweder das Evangelium von Christo nicht hören wollen, oder aus der Gnade wieder ausfallen durch Irrthum wider das Fundament, oder durch Sünde wider das Gewissen; 4. Dass alle Sünder, 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, 1592-94,² 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.³ 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.⁴

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 Verdammiss geschaffen, und wolle nicht haben, dass sie bekehrt und selig werden; 3. Dass die Auserwählten und Neugebohrnen nicht können den Glauben und heil. Geist verlieren und verdammt werden, wenn sie gleich allerlei grosse Sünde und Laster begehen; 4. Die, so nicht erwahlet sind, müssen verdammt werden, und können nicht zur Seligkeit kommen, wenn sie gleich tausendmal getauft werden, u. täglich zum Abendmal gingen, auch so heilig u. unsträflich lebten, als es immer möglich."

² Comp., on this controversy, J. A. Schmidii 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. 645. 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 Würtemberg, where he also aroused distrust, though he did not openly avow his opinions till he came to Wittenberg. After his deposal (1594) he lived in different places, and died in Osterwieck in 1624.

³ Beständige Bekandtnuss 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 bekenne ich,—dass Gott—durch diesen seinen Sohn—nicht nur einen Ausschluss anserlesen und erwählet habe, sondern wie Christus ein gemeiner Heiland ist,—also habe auch Gott alle Sünder, nämlich alle Menschen durch diesen seinen Sohn erwählet und verordnet zum Leben, Heil u. Seligkeit.—Derbei so glaube und bekenne ich,—dass wenn nun solches allgemein Gnadenwerk Gottes uber alle Menschen an den Menschen kommt, gelehret, verkündigt und geprediget wird,—dass sich allda die Menschen durch Glaube und Unglaube theilen in zwen Haufen. Der eine Haufen folget,—und bekommt also durch den Glauben dasjenig, darzu er erwählet ist in Christo.—Der ander Hauf, u. leider der grosste Haufe, will das Evangelium nicht hören, oder wenn er es gleich höret, so verachtet er es.—Derhalben dieser Haufe, darunter alle unbussfertige Sünder 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 Unglauben sterben, also werden sie auch ewiglich verdammt und verlohren." His error consisted in teaching universal election instead of universal grace. Comp. Bescheidentliche Antwort auf das kurze—Bekendtniss Dr. Sam. Huber's—gestellt durch die theol. Facultat zu Wittenberg, Frankf. a. M., 1595. 4.; Actorum Huberianorum P. i. ii., published by the Würtemberg divines, Tübingen, 1597. 4.

⁴ Aeg. Hunnii Tract. de Providentia Dei et aeterna Praedestinatione, s. Electione fili-

The theologians of Giessen⁵ adopted the view that there was in Christ, in his state of humiliation, and as to his human nature, a *κένωσις idiomatum divinorum* (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 potestate situs est, sed a Deo per exteriorum illum auditum in nobis exsuscitatur. Externus autem ille est adhuc in nostrarum virium arbitrio. Potest enim homo non renatus illam paedagogicam disciplinam seu ministerii obedientiam externam adhuc servare, i. e. accedere concionem verbi vel non accedere, audire vel non audire. Potest etiam eum quodam studio audire, meditari aliquo modo, potest ut contemnere ita etiam non contemnere, si actualem contentum respicias. P. 812: *Quis autem est hujus quaestionis—usus?* Ut apparet manifeste, etsi conversio, fides, agnitio veritatis, aeterna salus, etc., ne minima quidem ex parte in nostro sunt arbitrio posita,—esse tamen in aliquibus nondum conversis hominibus longe plura obstacula, quae fructificationem verbi validius impediunt, quam in aliis: esse quosdam etiam ex non conversis regno Dei propinquiores, sicut de scriba seu legisperito Christum pronunciantem audivimus (Marc. xii. 34. Other instances before adduced: Matth. xxi. 31, xix. 23, xi. 23, etc.): Non quod his quicquam insit facultatum aut virium applicandi se ad gratiam, aut in spiritualibus cooperandi Deo (haec enim omnia soli Deo et operationi ejus in solidum sunt adscribenda: *converte me Domine, et convertar*); sed quod in caeteris plura sint et fortiora impedimenta, quae aditum Spiritui sancto praecludunt, quo minus in eis perinde velit esse per praedicatum verbum efficax.—Ideo et Scriptura hortatur homines etiam non conversos, ut obstacula illa removeant, et viam complant, h. e. peccata et studia perversa, quorum pleraque etiam a non renatis (ut saniorum Ethnicorum exempla testantur) cavari aut abjici possunt, deponant et abjiciant; quae alias non submota obstant, quo minus Dominus apud illos ingrediatur. That they had come back to the Melanethonian 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): Seitis initio emendationis doctrinae ecclesiasticae in vestra illa Ecclesiarum et scholarum metropoli per Lutherum ante 70 annos institutae, dum liberum hominis arbitrium fortiter oppugnabatur, multa de hoc ipso doctrinae praedestinationis capite horribilius disputata et asserta fuisse, videlicet, praedestinationem divinam omni voluntati humanae, tum in externis operibus tum internis cogitationibus, libertatem admire, omnia necessario et quidem absoluta necessitate evenire.—Haec, inquam, et multa his similia horridiora (quae tunc in vestra cathedra velut oracula docebantur, nunc nusquam nisi in Calvinianorum scholis retinentur) Philippus, communis praeceptor noster, postea paulatim lenit ac sustulit, dum in omnibus libellis—has de necessitate Stoica et Manichaea, ut vocat, opiniones absurdas refutat, et de liberi arbitrii viribus quid possint solae, quid non possint nisi a Spiritu sancto conversae et adjectae, distinctius explicat, et Scripturae testimonia, pro divina praedestinatione seu necessitate Manichaea et Stoica stabilienda initio causae Lutheri allegata, longe aliter explicat, et argumenta praecipua ubique refutat, idque *vivo adhuc Luthero*, etc.

⁵ The Giessen theologians were Balth. Mentzer and Just. Feurborn; the Tübingen, Matthias Hafenreffer († 1619), Luc. Osiander, Melch. Nicolai, and Theod. Thummus. The history of the dispute is given by Mentzer in his *Necessaria et justa Defensio contra injustas Criminationes Luc. Osiandri*, etc., Giess., 1624. 4. (Opp., ii. 1233). In reply Theod. Thummii *Acta Mentzeriana*, Tübing., 1625. 4. The controversial works are in Walchii *Bibl. Theol.*, ii. 651. [Bodemeyer, *Die Lehre d. Kenosis*. Gotting., 1860.]

a hiding (*κρύψις*)⁶ of the divine attributes, and were called Kryp-

⁶ 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 *παρουσία* 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, seu pars essentialis, necessario requiratur? Ubi pars una (Giessen) affirmativam, altera (Tübingen) negativam magna contentione tuetur. 2. An praesentia Dei modificata apud creaturas, prout in sacris Bibliis describitur, a sola immensitate et infinitate Dei (Tübingen), an vero etiam a liberrima ejus voluntate (Giessen) oritur.—Postea de hoc etiam controvertitur, quod sit omnipraesentiae Christi Jesu juxta carnem fundamentum proprium et proximum? An voluntas et beneplacitum Dei (Giessen)? an personalis unio (Tübingen)? an ad dexteram Dei sessio? 3. An commode de Christo Jesu dici possit, quod secundum carnem, in ipso statu humiliationis, quin et in ipsa morte *semper et incessanter* coelum ac terram, ut Rex, gubernarit, et potenter quidem, *occulte tamen*, dominatus sit. Ubi quidam in affirmativam (Tüb.), quidam in negativam sententiam (Giess.) descenderunt. 4. An Christus Jesus secundum naturam naturam (Giess.) se exinaniverit? Adeoque an omne illud quod in statu exinanitionis fecit et sustinuit, juxta utramque naturam ille fecerit, et peressus fuerit? Ita quidem, ut et recte affirmari queat, divinitatem esse passam, et humanitatem coelum et terram gubernasse et conservasse (Tüb.)? Deinde acerrima quoque est disceptatio, quid sit proprie exinanitio? an per eam innatur, quod Christus Jesus secundum assumptam carnem, quoad plenarium et incessantem usum divinae majestatis, realiter et *ἄληθῶς*, voluntarie tamen et tantum usque ad statum exaltationis, se exinaniverit (Giess.)? vel an exinanitio illa hoc solum intendat, Christum in statu *κενώσεως* aequae ac jam ad dexteram Dei, qua homo fuit, inhabitantem suam plenitudinem totam Deitatis plenarie ac incessanter, sed tamen occulte et latenter in regimine totius universi usurpasse et exercuisse (Tüb.)? Mentzer, in his *Necessaria* et *justa Defensio* (Opp., ii. 1319), presents the question in controversy, thus: An J. Chr. *θεάνθρωπος* in statu exinanitionis juxta humanitatem fuerit omnipraesens creaturis, et totam universum gubernarit? Affirmat D. Osiander cum suis, nos negamus. *Affirmationis* suae rationem petit Osiander ex unione hypostatica. Quae cum semper eodem modo se habeat, et mutationem nullam admittat, putat, Christum, ut hominem, aequae in statu exinanitionis fuisse omnipraesentem creaturis, et coelum et terram gubernasse, uti jam in statu gloriae ad dextram Dei sedens est omnibus rebus praesens, et coelum et terram gubernat: hoc duntaxat discrimine, quod in statu exinanitionis omnipraesentiam illam et universalem gubernationem humanitas texitit et occultarit sub forma servili; nunc autem deposita servili illa conditione eandem gloriose et majestaticae declaret et manifestet. *Negationis* nostrae rationem nos petimus ex statu exinanitionis: in quo J. Chr. *θεάνθρωπος*, juxta naturam humanam, divinam omniscentiae, et omnipotentiae, et omnipraesentiae majestatem, per unionem personalem vere et realiter sibi communicatam, *semper habuit*, verum, ut peccatum protoplastorum atque adeo omnia nostra peccata expiaret, et pro nobis pati et mori posset, eam non semper et ubique, sed libere, *ubi et quando et quomodo voluit*, pro officii sui ratione, salva semper permanente unione personali, usurpavit. The Giessen divines maintained the constant *κτῆσις* (possession), but denied the uninterrupted *χρησις* (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 Meldeni (G. Calixti?) Paraenesis Votiva pro Pace Ecclesiae ad theologos Augustanae Confessionis* (also by F. Lücke, as a comment on the peaceful maxim: In necessariis unitas, etc., Göttingen, 1850, s. 87). See in Lücke, s. 103: Vides multos disputare de praesentia carnis Christi in profundissimo humilitatis statu, quos tamen ipsos Christum habere praesentem in cordibus suis per fidem habitantem, ego adduci vix possum ut credam, quia video illos de humilitate Christi multa garrere 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 Wittenbergs im 17ten Jahrh.* (Hamburg u. Gotha, 1852), s. 64.

tists. This controversy, carried on from 1619, led, according to the declaration of the Saxon theologians, 1624,⁷ to the general abandonment of the absolute *communicatio idiomatum realis*.

§ 43.

CALVINISM IN THE NETHERLANDS. ARMINIAN CONTROVERSY.

Jo. Uytenbogaert kerkelijcke Historie, vervatende verscheyden gedencquaerdige Saecten, in de Christenheyt voorgevallen, voornamentlijk in dese geunneerde Provincien (to 1619), Rotterdam, 1647, fol. Against this Remonstrant view of the history: Jac. Triglandius kerkelijcke geschiedenissen van de verenigde Nederlanden, Leyden, 1650, fol. The Remonstrant Gerh. Brand Historie der Reformatie (see Div. I., before § 24). Ypey en Dermout (ibid.), ii. 153.—Historie der Remonstranten door Jac. Regenboog (Remonstrant preacher in Amsterdam), Amsterd., 1774. 76. (German translation by H. M. A. Cramer, Lemgo, 1781. 84., 2 Th.). Ch. J. W. Mosche Hist. Sententiarum Remonstrantium de Rebus ad Religionem et Conscientiam pertinentibus spec. 1, Jenae, 1790.—Adr. a Cattenburgh Biblioth. Remonstrantium, Amstel., 1728. G. S. Franckius De Hist. Dogmatum Arminianorum, Kiliae, 1813.

[Brandt's History of the Reformation in Holland, 4 fol. 1720-23 and 1770; abridged, 2 vols. 8vo, 1725. Durell, History of the Reformed Countries beyond the Seas, 4to, 1662. Episcopus in Zeitschrift f. d. hist. Theologie, 1843. Articles of Synod of Dort, translated by Thos. Scott, 12mo. The Creed of Arminius, by Moses Stuart, in Bibl. Repos., 1831. Articles on Arminius in Meth. Quarterly, iv. 425, 556; ibid., 1857, by W. F. Warren; Christ. Examiner, 1860; Lit. and Theol. Review, vol. vi. Life of Arminius, by Caspar Brandt, translated by John Guthrie, Lond., 1855: life by N. Bangs, 1844. Works of Arminius translated, full edition, 3 vols. 8vo, Auburn, 1852.]

[Scripta Adversaria collationis Hagiensis habitae a. 1611, latine Berti, Lugd. Bat., 1617. Confessio Pastorum (by Episcopus), 1622. Acta et Scripta synodalia Dordracena, fol. 1620. Judicium Synodi Nationalis, 1619. Haales (John), Hist. Conc. Dordr., ed. Moshemius, Hamb., 1724. Graf, Beitrage zur Gesch. d. Synode von Dordrecht, Basel, 1825. Limboreh, Vita Episcopii, Amst., 1701. Life and Death of Arminius and Episcopus, Lond., 1672.]

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 Erasmus, or those of the Saxon or of the Swiss Reformers; but as

⁷ The Elector John George, in 1623, convened the Leipsic and Wittenberg divines in Dresden, under the presidency of the upper court preacher, Hoe von Hoeneegg; and the latter drew up, in accordance with the results of this assemblage, the *Solida Decisio quatuor nuperrime controversorum capitum*, which was published in Leipsic, 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 Thummius), Tübing., 1624, which was followed by the Saxons with their *Necessaria et inevitabilis Apologia, s. assertio decisionis solidae* (drawn up by Hoe v. Hoeneegg), Lips., 1625. 4. 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.¹ 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.² 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

¹ Ep. Ordinum Hollandiae ad Jac. Magnae Brit. Regem, 1618 (Praestantium ac eruditorum Virorum Epistolae ecclesiasticae et theol., ed. iii., Amstelod., 1704, fol. p. 499): Ab initio repurgatae apud nos religionis, cum inter Pastores, tum in fidelium plebe, de praedestinationis negotio, et quae huic cohaerent, variatum est sententiis. Aliis enim ea probata sunt dogmata, quae a Calvini, Bezae, aliorumque auctoritate non parum sibi dignitatis conciliarunt, eadem nimirum quae in Anglia defenderant viri docti Withakerus et Perkinsius: alii ab his dissidentes sententiae suae laudabant non spernendos auctores Erasmus, Melancthonem, Bullingerum atque alios. Quanquam vero in Gelria quoque et Frisia non defuisse Pastores, qui posteriorem hanc sententiam traerentur, editis libris apparet; tamen in Hollandia Westfrisiaque, et in Provincia Trajectina major semper fuit ita sentientium numerus: partimque vivunt adhuc, partim obierunt Professores et Pastores, qui ante annos XXX. et XL. hanc docendi rationem publice sunt secuti, nemine ipsis eam ob rem movente litem. Quod si quando in conventibus ecclesiasticis, ubi priorem illam sententiam plures tuebantur, quidam ecclesiasticas eo nomine censuras fratricum intenderent, nos ante annos XX. et amplius auctoritate nostra talibus censuris intercessimus, et ad concordiam fleximus Pastorum animos. Uytenbogaert, p. 142 ss. Ypey en Dermout, i. 427, ii. 171.

² Ep. Ord. Holl. (see Note 1), p. 498: Quo primum tempore hisce in regionibus Erasmi Lutherique scriptis accensa lux est,—Pastores, qui passim pios coetus collegerant, cum leges publicas sibi adversas haberent, atque ideo eorum praesidio uti non possent, necessitate compulsi, ad Galliae exemplum, regimen quoddam constituerunt ecclesiasticum, quod ex Pastoribus et delectis e fidelium multitudine Senioribus constans, e consensibus minoribus in majores, quasi per gradus quosdam, assurgeret. Postquam vero nos primi omnium cum Zelandiae Ordinibus—ad vindicandam—avitam libertatem, simul—ad sublevandam Ecclesiam animum adjecimus, templa, imaginibus purgata, emendationis doctrinae magistris tradidimus, eosdem liberalibus e publico aerario stipendiis sustentavimus; statim inter Pastores quosdam et Magistratum plerosque ortae contentiones: cum illi quidem id, quod persecutionum necessitate invaluerat, regimen sine ulla mutatione retentum vellet, sibiique ac Senioribus potestatem omnem ferendarum legum ecclesiasticarum, conferendique munera ecclesiastica vindicarent: hi contra, mutatis temporibus, manente functionum discrimine, mutandam nonnihil censerent formam gubernationis: quippe cum, ut ex verbo divino docet Belgica confessio, non id modo munus sit Magistratum, ut de civili politia conservanda sint solliciti; sed et ut operam dent tollendis adulterinis cultibus, praedicando Evangelio, propagando Christi regno: quod cum officium faciunt Magistratus, eosdem esse supremos et civilem 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. 353).

of doctrine by the adoption of the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism, the acceptance of the *Decretum absolutum*,³ and also to insist upon the independence of the Church in relation to the state. This led to several controversies,⁴ which at last came together in the great Arminian discussion.

James Arminius,⁵ preacher in Amsterdam, who had been led by his earnest studies to abandon strict Calvinism,⁶ 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-

³ Hugonis Grotii Annales et Historiae de Rebus Belgicis, Amstel., 1658, p. 552: Auxit sententiae (Calvini) rigorem Genevae Beza, per Germaniam Zanchius, Ursinus, Piscator, saepe eo usque provecti, ut, quod alii anxie vitaverant, apertius nonnunquam traderent, etiam peccandi necessitatem a prima causa pendere: quae ampla Lutheranis criminandi materia, et supra illud de Eucharistia nova certaminis seges. Apud Batavos initio motae religionis super his contendere haud vacuum fuit: facile, quamvis inter diversa sentientes, aequo jure agebatur. At ubi multa juvenus a Genevensibus, Palatinis, Nassoviis doctoribus veniens, instituendis praefecta Ecclesii, numerare se coepit, tempus rati quae ipsi didicerant in legem vertere, dissidendi manifestos certabant aut non admittere ad sacra munera, aut admissos excludere: unde crebri ad Ordines questus, Anastasium Velasum in Geldria, in Frisia Gellium Sneecanum, Trajecti Hubertum, apud Batavos Hiltamum, Clementem Martium, Hermannum Herberti et alios eadem palam et tuto docuisse testantium: donec duo, quos dixi, Gomarus inde, hinc Arminius, in ipsa Lugdunensi schola sua quisque firmare, aliena labefactare aggressi sunt. How the synods began to demand subscription to the Confessio Belgica and the Heidelberg Catechism is related by J. Borsius, in the *Archief voor Kerk. Geschiedenis*, ix. 285.

⁴ Dirik Volckaerts zoon Koornhert († 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 (Uytendogaert, 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. Coolbaas, 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. Ypey en Dermont, ii., Aant., p. 68).

⁵ Casp. Brantii (son of Gerhard, and also Remonstrant preacher in Amsterdam) *Hist. Vitae Jac. Arminii*, Amstelod., 1724 (praef. notasque addidit J. L. Moshemius, *Brunsvig.*, 1725).

⁶ The preachers in Delft, A. C. van der Linden and Reinier Donteelock, wrote, 1589: Responsio ad Argumenta quaedam Bezae et Calvinii ex tractatu de Praedestinatione 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. Brantii *Hist. Vitae J. Arminii* ed. Mosheim, p. 22.

plicity in doctrines, and a peaceful spirit in the Church,⁷ and also for the subjection of the Church to the state.⁸ 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 Episcopius,⁹ and John Uytenbogaert,¹⁰ 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),¹¹ addressed, in 1610, to the States

⁷ 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 (Præstantium ac erud. Virorum Epist. Eccl., p. 250): Quæsit (Casaubonus) de Arminio, anne et ille haberet aliquid de quo conquereretur. Respondi, habere, sed præcipuum esse, quod ageret, ut posset uniri Christianismus: modum autem hunc esse, ut discrimen fieret inter fundamentalia et non fundamentalia; ut de illis certi esse possemus, de his libere prophetare. Ad hæc ille: o sanctas 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: sollicitè admodum et curiose hoc cavens, ne quid proponerem aut docerem, quod non adhibita ante diligentia ex s. Scripturis disquirendis comperissem cum iisdem Scripturis ad amussim convenire: quæcumque ad propagationem amplificationemque veritatis, religionis christianæ, veri Dei cultus, communis pietatis, et sanctæ inter homines conversationis, denique ad convenientem christiano nomini tranquillitatem et pacem secundum verbum Dei possent conferre, excludens Papatum, cum quo nulla unitas fidei, nullum pietatis aut christianæ pacis vinculum servari potest.

⁸ Cf. J. Uytenbogaert tractaat van't Ampt en Auctoriteit eener hooger Christelijke Overheit in kerkelijke saken., 1610. 4. Hugonis Grotii Oratio in Senatu Amstel., ix. Cal. Maji, 1616, habita. Opp. Theol., iii. 177.

⁹ Hist. vitæ Sim. Episcopii scripta a Phil. a Limborch, Amstel., 1701.

¹⁰ J. Uytenbogaert leven, kerkelijke Bedieninge ende zedige verandwoording, 1646. 4. (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 *Remonstrantie* (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. Kirch- u. Schulenstaat, i. 635. Welch's Religionsstreit. ausser d. Luth. Kirche, iii. 540: I. Deum æterno immutabili decreto in Jesu Christo filio suo ante jactum mundi fundamentum statuisset, ex lapsò—humano genere, illos in Christo, propter Christum, et per Christum servare, qui Spiritus s. gratia in eundem ejus Filium credunt:—contra vero eos, qui non convertuntur,—in peccato et iræ subjectos relinquere et condemnare, 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, præter hominem fidelem, as in Joh. iii. 16; 1 Joh. ii. 2. III. Hominem vero salutarem fidem a se ipso non habere,—sed necessariam esse cum 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.¹² 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.¹³ 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;¹⁴ but six of their cities, and

possit intelligere, cogitare, velle et pericere nach Joh. xv. 5. IV. Hanc Dei gratiam esse initium, progressum ac perfectionem omnis boni;—adeo quidem, ut omnia bona opera, quae excogitare possumus, Dei gratiae in Christo tribuenda sint. Quod vero modum operationis illius gratiae attinet, illa non est irresistibilis. De multis enim dicitur, eos Spiritui s. restitisse, Act. 7. et alibi multis locis. V. Qui Jesu Christo per veram fidem sunt insiti, ac proinde Spiritus ejus vivificantis participes, eos abunde habere facultatum, quibus contra Satanam—et propriam suam carnem pugnent, et victoriam obtineant, veruntamen per gratiae Spiritus s. subsidium; Jesum Christum vero illis Spiritu-suo in omnibus tentationibus adesse, manum porrigere, et modo sint ad certamen prompti, et ejus auxilium petant, neque officio suo desint, eos confirmare.—Sed an illi ipsi negligentia sua initium sui esse in Christo deserere non possint,—conscientiae naufragium facere, a gratia excidere, penitus ex s. Scriptura esset expendendum, antequam illud cum plena animi tranquillitate et *ἡσυχασίᾳ* docere possent.

¹² The states, upon receiving this Remonstrance, ordered (Uytenbogaert, p. 529), dat de Predicanten van 't gevoelen in dese Remonstrantie uytgedruckt, zijnde in actuelen dienst, van de Censuren der andere Predicanten desen aengaende souden blijven bevrijdt, ende dat men d'aenkomende Kerkendienaren in het examineren vorder niet en soude beswaren, als van oudts is gebruyckelijck geweest, ende sonderling in 't stuck van de Praedestinatie, hooger noch swaerder niet als in de vijf Artijkelen wordt verklaert. 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 (Ypey en Dermout, ii. 193), and in Delft, 1613 (l. 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.

¹³ Ypey en Dermout, ii. 215. The feeling of the Contra-Remonstrants comes out in Bogermanni Ep. ad J. J. Breitingeram (preacher in Zürich), 23d June, 1618 (Miscellanea Tigurina, ii. 429): *Mysterium est iniquitatis, non tantum ecclesiasticae, sed et politicae, quod quinquarticularia (quam vocant) controversia occultat. Turbatur Ecclesia, turbatur Politia. Orthodoxi quibusdam in locis persecutiones passi sunt acerbissimas, et regimen politicum ejetis orthodoxis commissum est Papisticis, Libertinis, Neutralistis, qui ad induciarum expirationem idonea essent hostium mancia.*

¹⁴ Ep. Ord. Holl. ad Jacob. R., 1618 (see Note 1), p. 500: *Sunt qui existimarint, hasce controversias nationalis Synodi decisione terminandas. Nos vero Majestatem tuam—expendere oramus, prius an utilis sit futura illarum controversiarum decisio, deinde an*

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,¹⁵ 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);¹⁶ and invitations to it were sent to the other Reformed national churches.¹⁷ Its decisions could be anticipated. Not only these statesmen,¹⁸ but also the Remonstrants,¹⁹ were condemned; the Calvinist doctrine

recte per nationalem Synodum id possit expediri. Ad prius quod attinet, rogatur Majestas tua examinare, an credibile sit, in iis 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 nostri saeculi ingeniis, quod hactenus nulla saecula praestiterunt.—Alterum quod ad Majestatis tuae perspicax iudicium deferimus, hoc est, an tutum satis sit, et concordiae omnium Ecclesiarum conveniens, controversias, quae omnes ferme Ecclesias sunt pervagatae, unius nostrae nationis Synodo determinari.—Habemus et recens in Germania exemplum, ubi cum Saxones Theologi et Pastores librum confecerunt, quem concordiae vocabant,—placuit Reginae Elisabethae et piis Germaniae Principibus, Francofurti conventum instituere, in quo legati—epistolam ad Germaniae Principes scripserunt, in qua ostendunt, recte ipsos facturos fuisse, si consilia sua contulissent cum aliis gentibus, quae eundem, quem ipsi, Deum invocant.—Tam piis moderatisque consiliis cum non auscultarent doctores Saxonici, sed paucarum provinciarum consensum subscriptionibus firmarent, secuta inde est illa luctuosa nobis, lucrosa hostibus, evangelicarum Ecclesiarum divulsio. Quod ipsum satis grave nobis exemplum esse debet, ne tale quid iterum committamus. Eo autem magis ad communem evangelicarum Ecclesiarum statum pertinebit quicquid de praedestinatione et adhaerentibus quaestionibus statuatur, quod Augustanae confessionis theologi in his controversiis nunc maxime pedem figant (see § 42).—Et quanquam hoc anno provinciae quaedam iterum nationalem Synodum urgere coeperunt, atque eam indicere sunt aggressae; illae tamen provinciae, quae veteribus illis controversiis magis implicatae praecipites condemnationes perhorrescunt, assensum suum negant; neque arbitrantur id juris concessum esse aliis provinciis, ut vel una invita, nedum pluribus, communi foederatorum nomine aliquid imperii circa ecclesiastica usurpent; cum id imperium minima ambigua stipulatione provinciae singulae integrum illibatamque sibi servaverint, connexae quidem religionis vinculo cum vicinis provinciis itidem, ut cum Majestatis tuae regni, aliisque per Europam eandem veritatem sequentibus, sed sine ulla mutua subjectione.

¹⁵ Hugo Grotius v. II. Luden, Berlin, 1806, s. 128. Ypey en Dermout, ii. 215.

¹⁶ 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. 383. 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.

¹⁹ *Acta Synodi Nationalis Dortrechtii habitae, Dordrechtii, 1620. 4.* (the official collection). *Acta et Scripta synodalia Dordracena Ministrorum Remonstrantium, Herderwijci, 1620. 4.* (the Remonstrant collection). Jo. Halesii (preacher to the English em-

of predestination was formally confirmed;²⁰ 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. Moshemius, lat. vertit, variis Observationibus et Vita Halesii auxit, Hamb., 1724. Many letters in the Praestantium ac Erud. Virorum Epistolae eccl., 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 Zürich 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 Leeuwarden) plus sibi, quam ullus ante eum Praeses, arrogasse in conficiendis canonibus, quos a reliquis volebat approbari per nudum placet, vel rejici per solum non placet.—2. Videtur mihi multo minus turbarum in Synodo futurum fuisse, si duo viri abfuisent, quibus praesentibus nunquam turbae Synodo decerunt; Sibrandum (Sibr. Lubbertum, professor in Franeker) et Gomarum (professor in Grünningen) intelligo, qui alternas habent vices furendi ac tumultuandi. Proxima ante hodiernam procella a parte Gomari detonuit: hodie Sibrandus invectus est in nostrum Collegium (the foreign divines) tanta cum iracundia et impotentia, tantaque eum acerbitate verborum, ut nulla re magis de ipso ultio suuatur, 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 diligentia provideas, ut bonum consilium huc afferatur, prout comparatum esse video, Synodus erit res omnibus saeculis deridenda. Praeses et Provinciales nullo modo consulunt dignitati aut honori exterorum, neque flocci faciunt rationem, quam reversi tenebimur reddere omnibus eam petentibus. Volunt canones suos ita turgere speculationibus ex catechismo petitis, ut prae iis erepare ac dirumpi videantur; satisque video, nullum esse in Synodo ministrum Contraremonstrantem, quin velit eam doctrinam, quam ipse proposuit, et contra quam Remonstrantes exceperunt, totam canonibus infarciri, 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 consideratum; 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, and: 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 calumniari possent adversarii, rejectione phrasium incommodarum etiam doctrinam orthodoxam, quam professi essent illi, qui in ejus explicatione ejusmodi phrasibus durius aut imprudenter uti videntur, pariter damnari. Cf. Balcanquallus, Praest. vir. epist., p. 569. Mosheim in edit. Halesii, p. 58). Yet still Professor John Maccovius, in Franeker, who was complained of for similar opinions (e. g. Deus destinat aliquos ad poenam et ad ea, propter quae juste infligi mereatur), 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. Heringa, twistzaak van Maccovius 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. habitae Dordrecht ann. 1618 et 1619 de quinque Doctrinae Capitibus in Ecclesiis Belgicis controversis 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 Rejection errorum. Cf. i. 7: Est autem electio immutabile Dei propositum, quo ante facta mundi fundamenta ex universo genere humano, ex primaeva integritate in peccatum et exitium sua culpa prolapsa, secundum liberrimum voluntatis suae beneplacitum, ex mera gratia, certam quorundam hominum multitudinem, aliis nec meliorum nec digniorum, sed in communi miseria cum aliis jaentium, ad salutem elegit in Christo, quem

their ecclesiastical functions.²¹ 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.²²

§ 44.

HISTORY OF THE REMONSTRANTS—CONTINUED.

[A. Schweizer, *Die Protestantischen Centraldogmen*, 1856, Band ii. 31-201. W. Gass, *Geschichte d. Prot. Dogmatik*, Bd. ii. 1857.]

Many of the Remonstrants were welcomed, in 1621, by Frederick II., Duke of Holstein, where they founded Friedrichstadt, in Sleswick.¹ Those left behind in the Netherlands, being deprived of their clergy, formed, in consequence, the sect of Rhynsburgers or Collegiants, led by three brothers of the name of Van der

etiam ab aeterno mediatorem et omnium electorum caput, salutisque fundamentum constituit, atque ita eos ipsi salvandos dare et ad ejus communionem per verbum et Spiritum suum efficaciter vocare ac trahere, seu vera in ipsum fide donare, justificare, sanctificare, et potenter in Filii sui communione custoditos tandem glorificare decrevit, ad demonstrationem suae misericordiae, et laudem divitiarum gloriosae suae gratiae nach Eph., i. 4-6. Rom., viii. 30. In the *Rejectio errorum*, which follows every chapter, the Lutherans are manifestly included, where those errorists are condemned,—Cap. i. 4: Qui docent, in electione ad fidem hanc conditionem praerquiri, ut homo lumine naturae recte utatur, sit probus, parvus, humilis, et ad vitam aeternam dispositus, quasi ab istis electio aliquatenus pendeat; and Cap. 3 et 4, 8: Qui docent, Deum in hominis regeneratione eas suae omnipotentiae vires non adhibere, quibus voluntatem ejus ad fidem et conversionem potenter et infallibiliter flectat; sed positis omnibus gratiae operationibus, quibus Deus ad hominem convertendum utitur, hominem tamen Deo et Spiritui regenerationem ejus intendenti—ita posse resistere,—ut sui regenerationem prorsus impediatur. Comp. § 42, Note 4.

²¹ See the *Sententia Synodi de Remonstrantibus* hinter den Canones. The leaders of the party are deposed from their offices in the church, reliquos autem, quorum cognitio ad Synodum hanc nationalem non devenit, Synodis provincialibus, Classibus et Presbyteriis, ex ordine recepto, committit: quae omni studio procurent, ne quid Ecclesia detrimenti vel in praesens capere, vel in posterum metuere possit. The heads of the party were then called upon by the Estates-General to subscribe the *Akte van Stilstand* (the pledge to refrain from ecclesiastical acts; see this in *Ypey en Dermout*, ii., Aant., p. 175); those that refused were banished. The provincial synods took measures against the rest of the Remonstrant clergy; they first demanded subscription to the decrees of Dort; if this was refused, then a subscription to the *Acte van Stilstand*; and if this were not complied with, they caused the recusants to be banished; *Ypey en Dermout*, ii. 245. See the Acts of the Synod of South Holland on this matter, complete in the *Archief voor kerkel. Geschiedenis*, vii. On the violent persecution of the Remonstrants, see *Regenboog*, ii. 164 ff. Prince Maurice was not at all in favor of such severe measures; *Ypey en Dermout*, ii. 228, 268.

²² See Moshemius, *De Auctoritate Conc. Dordraeceni Concordiae sacrae noxia*, prefixed to his edition of *J. Halesii Hist. Conc. Dordr.*

¹ Brandt, *Hist. de la Reform. des Pais-bas*, ii. 330. Pontoppidan's *Annales Ecclesiae Danicae*, iii. 713.

Kodde, who from principle rejected all clergy.² 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.³

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,⁴ 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.⁵ They denied not only the

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.

³ Brandt, ii. 311. Ypey en Dermout Geschiedenis van de herv. christ. Kerk in Nederland, ii. 324.

⁴ Though Episcopus wrote the *Confessio s. Declaratio Sententiae Pastorum*, qui in foederato Belgio Remonstrantes vocantur, Herderwijci, 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 depomat ea, quae erelenda sunt.—2. Nemo ad earum sensus adstringetur, aut adstringi se patietur alia lege, quam quatenus et quamdiu ipse certo deprehendit atque in conscientia sua convincitur, eas cum Scripturarum sensibus convenire. 3. In disputationibus, collationibus, examinibus ad illas nunquam provocabitur, neque ad illarum incudem revocabuntur fidei controversiae; sed ad solum verbum divinum, tanquam ad regulam unicam—omnes—exigentur aut expendentur.—Hoc itaque fundamento semel rite jacto—semper in Ecclesia J. Chr. sarta tecta manebit libertas, qua sine periculo in formulas istas inquirere, iisque sine scrupulo contradicere (salvis semper modestiae, caritatis et prudentiae christianae legibus) licet. Cf. Ch. J. W. Mosche, *Hist. Sententiarum Remonstrantium de rebus ad religionem et conscientiam pertinentibus* Spec. 1., Jenae, 1790, p. 35.

⁵ Episcopus, l. c., p. 73: Ad praxim autem christianae pietatis omnia direximus. Quippe veram theologiam eredimus mere practicam esse, non autem vel simpliciter, vel maxima et potiore sui parte speculativam, et proinde quaecunque in ea traduntur, eo unice referenda, ut ad officium suum sedulo faciendum, et mandata J. Chr. observandum acrius aptiusque homo inflammetur atque animetur. Arida enim, effoeta, sterilis, et proinde spuria est theologia, quae intra inanem speculationem et contemplationem meram consistit, quaeque, postquam diu multumque vigilantissimi cujusque industriam fatigavit, atque ingenium solum operose exercuit, ad voluntatem tamen non penetrat, et debitum Deo obsequium in ea non gignit; eoque nec veram nec salutiferam Dei Christique notitiam in nobis efficit.—Caetera omnia, nisi ad hunc scopum dirigantur, coram Deo vana sunt ac frivola, et per se minimi pretii, adeoque paene nihili ducenda (cf. *Institt. Theol.*, lib. i., c. 2. Opp., i. 4), p. 72: Potest salva manere pax et concordia christiana, imo debet etiam, inter coetus opinionibus divisos distinctosque, si modo per nos non stet, quominus omnes isti, qui necessaria omnia ad salutem adhuc retinent, et dogmata pietati noxia praefraete non urgent, in unum coeant, et mutua caritate atque amore fraterno sese invicem in Domino Jesu complectantur. At si per nos stet, quo mi-

ordinary doctrine of original sin,⁶ but also the speculative construction of the doctrine of the Trinity.⁷ 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.⁸

nus Ecclesiae illae coalescant 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 reos 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 gloriabantur, non minus certe, quam caeteros, qui se Pauli, aut Apollo, aut Cephae esse dicebant. In his *Apologia pro Confessione* (l. c., p. 114) he expressly defends the Remonstrant position, pauca admodum esse, quae praecise ad aeternam salutem obtinendam scitu et creditu necessaria sunt. Comp. § 43, Note 7. See G. G. Zeltneri *Breviarium Controversiarum cum Remonstrantibus agitatarum*, Norib. et Altorfi, 1719, p. 1, 50.

⁶ Simonis Episcopii *Institt. Theol.*, lib. v. c. 2 (Opp., i. 402): Patet, fontem sive causam, unde miseria haec duplex in universum genus humanum profluit, esse suam propriam cujusque hominis culpam, sive potius liberrimam hominis voluntatem; quia impossibile est, ut homo aut peccati reus fiat absque propria voluntate sua libera, aut poenae sive miseriae proprie dictae absque culpa sua, eaque vincibili aut evitabili. On original sin: 1. Scriptura nusquam peccati alienujus originalis meminit, nedum ut peccatum istud miseriae hujus causam, quid dico, causam primam ac potissimam, imo unicam esse asserat. 2. Nec ut adseruisse id credatur Scriptura, ratio sinit, which is proved at length. Zeltner, p. 193.

⁷ Sim. Episcopii *Institt. Theol.*, iv. 32 (Opp., i. 333): Sed vero addo, certum esse ex iisdem Scripturis, personis his tribus divinitatem, divinasque perfectionis tribui non collateraliter aut coordinate, sed subordinate: ita ut Pater solus naturam 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. 331: Subordinatio haec diligenter attendenda est. Permagna enim est utilitatis: quia per eam non tantum funditus tollitur *τρωθεότης*, quam collateralitas paene necessario secum trahit, sed et Patri sua gloria sarta tecta conservatur. Enimvero subordinatione hae posita certum est, Patri soli proprie istam divinitatis perfectionem sive *ἀκμὴν* competere, quod eam a se ipso i. e. a nullo alio habeat.—Unde consequitur, Patrem sic esse primum, ut etiam summus sit, tum ordine, tum dignitate, tum potestate.—Certe ego nullus dubito, quin Filius ipse Patrem suum ob hanc etiam praerogativam et *ἐξοχήν* se majorem vocare potuerit, Jo. xiv. 28, et Scriptura passim Patrem vocet nunc Deum absolute, nunc unum Deum, 1 Cor. viii. 4; nunc unum Deum et Patrem omnium, Eph. iv. 6; nunc unum et solum verum illum Deum, Jo. xvii. 3; nunc Deum ac Patrem Domini nostri J. Chr., uti passim in epistolarum initiis.—Cap. 34, p. 338: Restat ut videamus,—utrum praecise ad salutem scitu ac creditu necessarium sit, Jesum peculiari isto, quem adstruximus, modo Filium Dei esse, iisque qui id negant, aut in dubium vocant, ac proinde id confiteri non audent, anathema sit dicendum. Resp. Argumenta pro parte negante mihi longe videntur praeponderare, et quidem haec. *Primum*, quia nusquam in Scriptura id necessarium creditu esse adseritur, nec per bonam nedum necessariam consequentiam ex ea elicitor.—*Secundum* argumentum nostrum hoc est. Quia honor Christo debitus, i. e., fides et obedientia, quam Deus Pater Jesu Christo attributam vult, sarta tecta constare, i. e., Christo tribui potest absque eo, quod cognoscatur isto peculiari modo ex Patre suo genitus esse.—*Tertium* argumentum: In primitivis Ecclesiis, quae ab ipsis usque Apostolorum temporibus, saltem per tria integra saecula fuerunt, fides ac professio specialis hujusmodi filiationis ad salutem scitu ac creditu necessaria judicata non fuit: ergo cur jam necessaria credatur, causa non est. Zeltner, p. 71, 87.

⁸ Comp. Grotius's letter to the Socinian, Joh. Crell, May 10, 1631 (H. Grotii *Epist.*

§ 45.

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 Bremen² 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 Not to separate from the fellowship of

Amstel., 1687, fol., p. 104): Bene in epistola tua—de me judicas, non esse me eorum in numero, qui ob sententias salva pietate dissentientes alieno a quoquam sim animo, aut boni alicujus amicitiam repudiem. Etiam in libro de vera religione—multa invenio summo cum judicio observata: illud vero saeculo gratulor, repertos homines, qui neutquam in controversiis subtilibus tantum ponant, quantum in vera vitae emendatione, et quotidiano ad sanitatem profectu.

¹ Hering'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 Dissertatt. apologeticarum et exegeticarum Syntagmatis Theol., Breae, 1642, in praef.), Breae versam in speluncam horrendarum damnatarumque haeresium, Atheismi ac Libertinismi; et inibi nunc temporis omnia indubitata pietatis mysteria, quibus nostra salus innititur, ab ipsis fundamentis convelli.—Susplicantur, nos monstra alere, et nescio quam tertiam Ecclesiam a Lutherana et Reformata diversam temere moliri.

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 Cantabrigiensi Senatusconsulto videre plusculum bilis in rigidos istos Genevensis reformationis professores; sive ea causa sit, quod Puritanorum omne nomen exosum habent, sive quod plerique ibi Remonstrantium sententiae sunt addictissimi. Fui istic tempore comitorum in convivio publico splendidissimo, cui plusquam triginta Doctores theologiae, alique equites ac nobiles intererant, ubi acerrime de praedestinatione, libero arbitrio, et reliquis apud vos tantopere controversis capitibus disputabatur, quibusdam Remonstrantium sententiam obnixè defendentibus adversus Doctorem Balcanquallum—: quo nomine cum ego valde mirarer, dicebant mihi Doctorem unus et alter,—dubium sibi esse, utra pars plures in Academia haberet fautores, Remonstrantiumve, an Contraremonstrantium. Quod in privatis colloquiis ipse postea verum comperi in quam plurimis. Comp. above, § 28, Note 22.

⁵ See above, § 29, Note 11.

⁶ The Synod of Toncains, 1614 (Tous les Synodes nationaux des églises réformées de

the Reformed churches, it did, indeed, at the Synod of Alais, 1620, accept the decrees of Dort;⁷ 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.⁸ Thereupon, too, the system of Moses Amyraldus (Amyraut), professor of theology at Saumur, called the scheme of *Universalismus hypotheticus*,⁹ 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 nôtre salut éternel : parmi lesquels on peut compter ces controverses, qui ont été agitées touchant le *franc arbitre*, la *persévérance des Saints*, et la *prédestination* : 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. Quoiqu'il en soit, si nous pouvions seulement gagner cela sur nous, que nous ignorassions volontiers plusieurs matières, et que nous fussions contents savoir uniquement ce qui regarde le salut de nôtre ame, et la gloire de Dieu ; nous ferions un grand pas, et on peut dire, que nous aurions déjà bien avancé nôtre *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 grace de Dieu, et parcequ'elle deguise 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'ingerer dans celles qui sont illicites, et qu'ils fassent servir toute la doctrine de la predestination à la pratique des vertus, à la consolation des ames, 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 declara, que parceque les Eglises de la confession d'Ausbourg convenoient avec les autres Eglises Reformées dans les points fondamentaux de la veritable religion, et qu'il n'y avoit ni superstition, ni idolatrie dans leur culte, les fideles de ladite Confession, qui par un esprit d'amitié et de paix se joindroient à la communion de nos Eglises 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 presenter des enfans au batême, pourvûqu'ils promissent au Consistoire de ne les solliciter jamais, ni directement, ni indirectement, de transgresser la doctrine reçûe et professée dans nos Eglises ; mais qu'ils les instruiroient et éleveroient 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 différens*, Saumur, 1634. "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

demption through Christ, even without a particular knowledge of Christ, can yet believe in him and be saved by a general belief in the providence and compassion of God." Accordingly, Amyraut declared before the synod at Alençon, 1637 (Blondel, *Actes Authentiques*, p. 23), que Jesus Christ est mort pour tous hommes suffisamment, et pour les seuls esleus efficacement. He distinguished two divine decrees, p. 25, le premier, de sauver tous les hommes s'ils croient en lui, et le second, de donner la foi à quelques uns. Cf. Jaeger, *Hist. Eccl. et Polit. Saec. XVII.* (Hamb., 1709, fol.), i. 522. Chr. M. Pfaffii de *Formula Consensus Helvetica* diss., Tubing., 1723. 4., p. 5. Moise Amyraut, sa Vie et ses Ecrits, thèse par Ch. E. Saigey, Strasbourg, 1849, p. 16. Moses Amyraldus v. Dr. Alex. Schweizer, in *Baur's und Zeller's Theol. Jahrbücher*, 1852, i. 41; ii. 155. [Comp. Schweizer, *Protest. Centraldogmen*, ii. 225-439. Gass, *Gesch. d. Prot. Dogmatik*, ii. (1857), 324-359.]

¹⁰ The opposition came from Dumoulin, professor in Sedan, who stirred up the theological faculties of Geneva, Leyden, Francker, 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 connoissance claire de Jesus Christ, que Jesus Christ étoit mort également et indifféremment pour tous les hommes, que les reprovés peuvent être sauvés s'ils veulent, que Dieu a des conseils et des decrets qui ne produiront jamais leur effet, que Dieu a ôté aux hommes leur impuissance naturelle pour croire, et qu'il les a convertis à soi, qu'il fasse dependre l'efficace de l'esprit qui regenere 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 Sam. 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. Spanhemii 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.

Schenkel über das ursprüngl. Verhältniss d. Kirche zum Staate auf dem Gebiete des Evang. Protestantismus, Theol. Studien und Krit., 1850, i. 203; ii. 453. Ibid., Wesen des Protestantismus, Bd. 3. L. Richter's Gesch. der Evangel. Kirchenverfassung in Deutschland, Leipzig, 1851. [J. W. F. Höfling, Grundsätze Evang. Luth. Kirchenverfassung, 2te Aufl.; Erlangen, 1851. Stahl, Kirchenverfassung nach Lehre u. Recht d. Protestanten; Erlangen, 1840. J. Hansen, Lutherische u. Reformirte Kirchenlehre, 1855. Th. Kliefoth, Acht Bücher von d. Kirche, 1854-5. A. Petersen, Die Idee der Kirche, 3 The., 1839-45.]

Luther and Zwingli were agreed upon the point that all ecclesiastical rights have their roots in the Church as a congregation.¹ They rejected all hierarchy, and insisted upon the universal priesthood of all Christians, so that the clergy were only commissioned by the churches,² and ordination was only a formal call to

¹ Luth. Resolutio super propositione XIII. de potestate Papae, 1519 (Löscher's Reformatio-acta, iii. 156): *Ubiunque praedicatur verbum Dei et creditur, ibi est vera fides, petra ista immobilis; 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 omnium qui 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 hellen Wort Gottes nit ist usdruckt, sofer dass das Wesenlich nienen geändert werde." Zwingli of Preacher's Office, 1525 (Werke, ii., i. 332): "So das Urtheil des Bannes, oueh der Lehr, überall der Gemeind ist; vil mer das Erkiesen um einen Lehrer nit eines frömden Pochbischofs oder Abts syn soll sunder der Kilchen, die Raths wyser christenlicher 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 sese agnoscat quicumque se Christianum esse cognoverit, omnes nos aequaliter esse sacerdotes, h. e. eandem in verbo et sacramento quocumque habere potestatem. Verum non licere quinquam hac ipsa uti, nisi consensu communitatis aut vocatione majoris. Quod enim omnium est communiter, nullus singulariter potest sibi arrogare, donec vocetur. Ac per hoc Ordinis sacramentum, si quidquam est, esse nihil aliud, quam ritum quendam vocandi alicujus in ministerium ecclesiasticum.* Luther, 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 Christian has and exercises the priestly work; above this is the common office of teacher

office.³ The office of preaching, it was held, was indeed instituted by Christ for the proclamation and preservation of pure doctrine;⁴ but the preachers must be elected and called by the congregation; and the congregation, too, has the chief supervision of the soundness of doctrine;⁵ 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 übet ein jeglicher Christ solche Priesterwerke. Aber über das ist nun das gemeine Amt, so die Lehre öffentlich führet und treibet, darzu gehören Pfarherren 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 reichen. 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: item, 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 ministris Ecclesiae ad clariss. Senatam Pragensem, 1523 (Tom. Jen., ii. 554 verso): Ubi oraveritis, nihil dubitetis fidelem esse, quem rogastis, ut det quod petiistis.—Tum convocatis et convenientibus libere, quorum corda Deus tetigerit, ut vobiscum idem sentiant et sapiant, procedatis in nomine Domini, et eligite quem et quos voveritis, 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, sicutque hoc ipso vestri Episcopi, Ministri seu Pastores, Amen. See below, § 47, Note 16.

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 bischöfliche Amt nach göttlichen Rechten, das Evangelium predigen, Sünde vergeben, Lehre urtheilen, und die Lehre, so dem Evangelio entgegen, verwerfen, und die Gottlosen, dero gottlos Wesen offenbar ist, aus christlicher Gemein ausschliessen, ohne menschliche Gewalt, sondern allein durch Gottes Wort; und disfalls sind die Pfarrleut 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 solehem Fall, dass wir nicht sollen 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 nemlich 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).

⁵ Luther's Grund u. Ursache aus der Schrift, dass eine christl. Versammlung oder Gemeinde Recht und Macht habe, alle Lehre zu urtheilen, und Lehrer zu berufen, ein- und abzusetzen., 1523; in Walch, x. 1794. Melancthon de Bonifacio, viii. 1537, C. R., iii. 468: Cognitio de doctrina—pertinet non solum ad Magistratum, sed ad Ecclesiam, h. e. non tantum ad Presbyteros sed etiam ad laicos idoneos ad iudicandum.—Siquidem Synodi sunt iudicia Ecclesiae, et cum errant Episcopi, laici habent mandatum, ut ab eis dissentiant. Smalcald Articles, 1537, Anhang v. d. Bischöfe Gewalt (Baumgarten's Concordienbuch, s. 604) [Where the Church is, is also the command to preach the Gospel; hence churches must have the right to choose and ordain their ministers; and this

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-

is a gift of God to the Church, and can not be taken away by any human authority]: "Denn wo die Kirche ist, da ist je der Befehl das Evangelium zu predigen. Darum müssen die Kirchen die Gewalt behalten, dass sie Kirchendiener fordern, wählen und ordiniren. Und solche Gewalt ist ein Geschenk, welches der Kirchen eigentlich von Gott gegeben, und von keiner menschlichen Gewalt der Kirchen kann genommen werden." With appeal to Eph. iv. 8, 11, 12; Matth. xviii. 20; 1 Petr. ii. 9; but with the addition: "These words refer only to the true Church, which, as it alone has the priesthood, must also have the power to elect and ordain ministers."

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 verdienet und drein kommen ist:—denn sie gehöret 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 gläuben; denn Menschen soll man nicht gläuben in Gottes Sachen. So ist eine christliche Gemeine nicht des Officials Dienstmagel, 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 solchs 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 Kirchhöre sye, die den Verärgrenden soll bannen, und gheines besundren 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. 36) [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 begehrten, die Ordnunge und Weisen wären balde gemacht. Aber ich kann und mag noch nicht eine solche Gemeine odder Versammlunge ordnen odder 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 zwo Weisen lassen bleiben, und öffentlich unter dem Volk solchen Gottsdienst, die Jugend zu uben und die andern zum Glauben zu rufen und zu reizen, neben der Predigt, helfen foddern, 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, tobend Volk, mit dem nicht leichtlich ist etwas anzufahen, es treibe denn die

clesiastical and secular powers,⁸ 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)⁹ 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 Homberg: 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 crowd 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, habs auch wol erfahren, dass wenn Gesetze zu frue fur den Branch und Ubung gestellt werden, selten wol gerathen, die Leute sind nicht darnach geschickt.—Und die Erfahrung wirs geben, dass dieser Ordnung viel Stuck würden sich ändern müssen, etliche der Oberkeit alleine bleiben.—Darumb ist mit Furcht u. Demuth fur Gott zuzufarn, und diese Maas zu halten, kurz und gut, wenig und wol, sachte und immer an, darnach 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."

⁸ Luther's *Schrift v. weltl. Obrigkeit*, wie weit man ihr Gehorsam schuldig sey, 1523, 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 Regimente mit Fleiss scheiden, und beides bleiben lassen, Eins, das fromm macht, das andere, das äusserlich Friede schafft, und bösen Werken wehret: keins ist ohn das andere gnug 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 vermisset, der Seelen Gesetz zu geben, da greift sie Gott in sein Regiment, und verführet und verderbet nur die Seelen." Augsb. Conf., Art. 28, 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 Gesetz und Gehorsam der Obrigkeit nicht aufheben oder zerrütten, soll weltlicher Gewalt nicht Gesetz machen und stellen von weltlichen Händeln."

⁹ 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 päpstlich und geistlicher Zwang und Ordnung aus ist, und alle Klöster und Stift E. K. F. G. als dem obersten Häupt in die Hände fallen, kommen zugleich mit auch die Pflicht und Beschwerde, 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;¹⁰ 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 Landsnoth, 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 Euangelion durch unansprechliche Guade Gottes barmherziglich wieder kommen,—hätten wir auch dasselbige recht bischoflich und Besueheamt, als aufs hohest von Nothen, 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 Geschäft sey, hat sichs keiner für dem Andern thüren (mögen) unterwinden. Da haben wir des gewissen wollen spielen, und zur Liebe Amt (welchs allen Christen gemein und geboten) uns gehalten, und demüthiglich 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, gnädiglich wollten etliche tüchtige Personen zu solchem Amt foddern und ordenen.—Wo aber etliche sich muthwilliglich dawidder setzen würden,—müssen wir dieselbigen sich lassen von uns—söndern.—Wiewol wir auch hierin unsers gnadigsten Herren Hülff 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 Zwietracht, Rotten und Aufruhr sich unter den Unterthanen erheben, wie auch der Kaiser Constantinus die Bischove gen Nicea foddert, da er nicht leiden wollt noch sollt die Zwietracht, so Arrius hatte unter den Christen im Kaiserthum angericht." 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, 1525, 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 erwählet, denn das ware geraubt und genommen: sondern, will sie einen Pfarrherrn haben, dass sie zuerst solchen demüthiglich bitte von der Oberkeit. Will die Oberkeit nicht, so wäle sie einen eigenen, und nähre denselben von ihren eigenen Gütern, und lasse der Oberkeit ihre Güter, oder erlange sie mit Recht von ihnen. Will aber die Oberkeit solchen ihren erwähleten und ernährten Pfarrherrn nicht leiden, so lass man ihn fliehen in eine andere Stadt, und fliehe mit ihm, wer da will, wie Christus lehret. Das heisset christlich und evangelisch eigenen Pfarrherrn wahlen und ha-

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 thut, der handelt unchristlich, als ein Räuber und Freveler." *Judicium Theolog.*, Viteberg., 1536 (Corp. Ref., iii. 224), declares on the question: *Quatenus ad Magistratus civilis officium pertinet abolere impios cultus?* quod Magistratus in Ecclesiis, pertinentibus ad suum dominium aut jus patronatus, debeat prohibere impios cultus et restituere pios. Nam secundum præceptum decalogi jubet prohibere et punire blasphemias.—Et Magistratus custos esse debet non solum secundae tabulae, sed etiam primae, quod ad externam disciplinam attinet. Constat 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, cessantibus 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 doceant, reliqua Ecclesia debet malos pastores ab officio remove, et in quolibet coetu præcipua membra caeteris præire debent, et juvare alios, ut emendetur Ecclesia. Principes et caeteri Magistratus debent esse præcipua 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, lasst euch züchtigen.' Denn diess soll bei den Königen und grossen Herren die vornehmste Sorge seyn, dass sie Gottes Ehre fleissig fördern." Melancthon's Memorial, De Impositione Manuum ad Vitum Theod., 1540, C. R., v. 210: Vides in probatissimis historiis, fuisse universalem morem 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 Rebuspublicis. 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 præcipua membra Ecclesiae.

¹² Luth. ad Spalatin., 12. Nov., 1525, de Wette, iii. 50: Debent enim Principes—blasphemias nominis Dei manifestas—cohibere, interim nihil cogentes, sive credant illi, sive non, qui prohibentur.—Exemplum credo satis magnum esse, quod Christus flagellis factis vi expulit 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 thät, dass er die heilige eherne 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 Messen haben abgethan." Mel. quaestio 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 ita facit principale officium, quod proprie ad gloriam Dei pertinet, et quod proprie meretur illum titulum, quo ornantur Magistratus in Psalmo (lxxxii. 6): *Ego dixi, dñi estis*: scilicet quia et officium habent divinitus constitutum, et impertiri debent res divinas, religionem, justitiam, disciplinam, pacem, etc. Et ob hanc causam vocantur ab Esaia (xlix. 23) 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.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.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,¹⁵ and in accordance with the counsels of the clergy.¹⁶

ter's Kirchenordnungen, i. 66), reference is had to the example of King Jehoshaphat (2 Chron., xvii. 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.

¹³ See Luther's Appeal to the Elector John, 22d November, 1526; de Wette, iii. 135.

¹⁴ See Luther to the Elector, above, Note 9. Thus the Elector commands the peasants, through the Visitors, 1529 (Richter's Kirchenordnungen, i. 103): 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 gläube daran oder nicht." (That is, faith comes only from preaching through the working of the Holy Spirit: 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 admirabili sapientia et bonitate constitutas esse, non tantum ad quaerenda et fruenda ventris bona, sed multo magis, ut Deus in societate innotescat, ut aeterna bona quaerantur.

¹⁵ Luth. ad Melanchth., 21. Jul., 1530, de Wette, iv. 105: Primum cum certum sit, duas istas administrationes esse distinctas et diversas, nempe ecclesiasticam et politicam, quas mire confudit et miscuit Satan per Papatum: nobis hic acriter vigilandum est, nec committendum, ut denuo confundantur.—Secundo, ex hoc sequitur, quod eadem persona non possit esse Episcopus et Princeps, nec simul pastor et paterfamilias. Intelligis hic satis, quid velim. Personas impermixtas, sicut et administrationes volo, etiamsi idem homo utramque personam gerere possit, et idem Pomeranus possit esse parochus et oeconomus.—Tertio, Episcopus, ut Episcopus, nullam habet potestatem super Ecclesiam suam ullius traditionis aut ceremoniae imponendae, nisi consensu Ecclesiae vel expresso vel tacito.—Quarto, Episcopus ut Princeps multo minus potest super Ecclesiam imponere quidquam, quia hoc esset prorsus confundere has duas potestates, et tum vere esset allotrioepiscopus, et nos si admitteremus eum, essemus paris sacrilegii rei.—Quinto, Episcopus ut Princeps potest suis subditis, ut subditis, imponere quicquid visum fuerit, modo pium et licitum sit, et subditi tenentur obedire. Obediunt enim tunc non ut Ecclesia, sed ut cives.—Sic si Caesar praecipiat generaliter omnibus jejunium, obediunt etiam ii qui sunt Ecclesia, quia Ecclesia est sub Caesare secundum carnem, sed non obedit ut Ecclesia. Idem est de rege Josaphat. Verum de Machabaeis clarum est, quod sua Encaenia non ipsi soli instituerunt, sed totus populus uno consensu (1 Macc., iv. 59).

¹⁶ 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 ἀριστοκρατία sit, in qua ordine hi, qui praesunt, 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.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.¹⁸ The churches, instead of

munificent consilia, et eligant homines ad iudicandum idoneos. Ex his satis intelligi potest, cognitionem de doctrina pertinere ad Ecclesiam, i. e. ad Presbyteros et Principes; sed Principes, re cognita et iudicata, jam custodes esse externae disciplinae, et executores sententiae Synodi.

¹⁷ At first in the Stralsund church service, 1525 (Richter, i. 23), one was appointed as the head of the preachers, who was to have the oversight of their doctrine and life, and direct the administration of worship. The other preachers were to listen to him, to change nothing without his consent; but he, too, was to consult with them. Installations and removals were made by the council (after the advice of the above), which had the highest authority. Next, the Elector of Saxony, in the Instructions to the Visitors, 1527 (Richter, Kirchenordnung, i. 80), appointed pastors in the chief cities as superintendents, who, in the districts assigned them, were to have the watch over doctrine, church service, and the walk of the pastors. The pastors were not to grant divorce of their own authority, but make over such matters to the superintendents: when legal interference became necessary, the matter was referred to the chief civil functionary, who was to decide it, consulting with the superintendent, the pastor, and other learned persons. The Visitors still remained as a court of appeal (see Just. Jonas Bedenken der Consistorien halber 1538, in Richter's Gesch. der Kirchenverf., s. 84, 85). In like manner, superintendents were soon provided for in the church services drawn up by Bugenhagen, in that of the city of Brunswick, 1528 (Richter, i. 109), of the city of Ham-
burg (ibid., i. 128), and by degrees in all the Lutheran countries. Here and there they had almost an episcopal position: thus, Urbanus Rhegius, superintendent of Brunswick-Lüneburg, who died 1511. Here the ecclesiastical missives appeared, with the following prefatory formula: "We, by the grace of God, Ernest, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, and Urbanus Rhegius, Doctor of the Holy Scriptures," etc. See Unschuld. Nachr., 1705, s. 641.

¹⁸ The first occasion was presented in the matter of marriage. All contested matrimonial cases, which had to do with marriage only as an external relation and a matter of external rights, were always declared by Luther to be secular matters, and to belong to the civil tribunal (see above, note 4); see particularly in his work on Marriage Matters, Walch, x. 892: "I find no example in the New Testament in which Christ or the apostles had to do with such matters, excepting where they touched the conscience, as St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 12." But as questions both of conscience and of law were here always impinging upon each other, the subject of marriage was committed to the clergy and the civil courts (Note 17). The necessity of their organic union was soon felt; see Smalcaid Articles, 1537, in the Appendix on the Authority of Bishops (Baumgarten's Concordienbuch, s. 608): "for the appointment of Marriage Tribunals: As there are here so manifold and strange cases, there is needed a special tribunal." The Saxon Estates consequently requested, 1537 [that there might be four Consistories appointed for ecclesiastical matters, and especially marriage cases], "dass S. Churf. G. gnädiglich in Ihren Landen vier Consistorien wollten aufrichten lassen, dohin alle ecclesiasticae causae, Predigtamt, Kirchen, Pfarren, ihr Defension contra injurias, ihr Wandel und Leben belangend, etc., und sonderlich auch die Ehesachen—mochten geweiht werden." The Wittenberg divines agreed to a memorial drawn up by Justus Jonas, 1538 (in Richter's Gesch. d. Kirchenverfassung, s. 82), and particularly insisted that there should be

the right of electing their clergy, retained only the right of opposing the appointments of patrons.¹⁹ Excommunication fell into disuse for a long time;²⁰ and when it was revived, it at once fell

in every consistory a commissarius, or highest judex, 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 Witenbergae 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 redditus pastoribus, quod forte et nobilitatem et magistratus passim necessario attinget.* In 1542 Consistories were definitively appointed in Wittenberg, Zeitz, and Zwickau (the last sketch, the basis of the Constitution, in Richter's *Kirchenordnung*, i. 367. *Mel. ad Camerar.*, 11. Oct., 1545, C. R., v. 865, says about the changes: *Hic plura sunt δικάσιμὰ, nos theologica plura inserueramus*). 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 Leipsic, 1543 (*Verordnung vom 22. Sept., 1543, in Mencken Scriptt. Rer. 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 Königreiche Sachsen geltenden Kirchenrechts*, i. 438); his brother August as Administrator of Merseburg, 1544, in Merseburg (*Fraustadt's Einführung der Reform. in Merseburg*, s. 156); Elector Joachim II. of Brandenburg, 1543, in Cologne, on the Spree (*H. v. Mühlér'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 Melancthon'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 pastoribus etsi jus patronis nollemus adimi, tamen nec patroni praeficiant pastores non prius commendatos aliquo testimonio Ecclesiae, h. e. honestorum hominum in eo coetu, 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 Würtemberg 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. Herzogthümem Schleswig u. Holstein*; Flensburg, 1778, s. 84.

²⁰ Memorial of the Wittenberg divines to those of Ansbach and Nuremberg, 1532 (de Wette, iv. 388) [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

into the hands of the Consistories which had gradually sprung up.²¹

As Luther had complained of the jurists for holding fast to the enjoinder of 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 andern Bann noch zur Zeit ufgericht, denn dass diejenige, so in offentlichen Lastern 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 reichet, er sey denn zuvor durch Pfarrer oder Diacon verhört.—Solt auch der offentlich Bann angericht werden, so muss die weltlich Oberkeit dennoch auch dazu ein Ordnung halten mit der Meidung des Verbannten, sollte anders der offentlich Bann ein ernstlich Exempel seyn: dass willt nu auch zu dieser Zeit sonderlich in grossen Städten und Regimentern viel Unrichtigkeit gebaren. Aber dieser unser Bann, da privatim einem das Sacrament verboten wird, irret die burgerlich Beiwohnung 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 respect to the dukedom of Saxony (de Wette, v. 551): *Placet exemplum Hasiacae-excommunicationis: si idem potueritis statuere, optime facietis. Sed Centauri et Harpyiae aulicae aegre ferent.*

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 excommunication 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 saeristry, 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, Append., 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 *Vermahnung*, 1539 (Walch, xxii. 958): “Solchen Bann wollten wir gern anrichten, nicht dass es ein Caplan oder Prediger allein thun sollte oder komte, ihr alle müsst selbst mit helfen.” *Theologi Viteb. ad Concionatores Norinberg*, 1540, C. R., iii. 965: *Restituatur et excommunicatio,—adhibitis in hoc iudicium senioribus in qualibet Ecclesiae.* Mel. de *Abusibus Eccles. emendandis*, 1541, C. R., iv. 548: “*Nec liceat soli pastori ferre sententiam excommunicationis sine ulla iudicum decuria, aut nemine adhibito ex honestioribus viris suae Ecclesiae.*” The Wittenberg Reformation, 1545, C. R., v. 605, would commit to the Consistories the *sententia excommunicationis*: “Doch sollen in alle Weg die Sachen vorhin gehört und mit ordentlicher Weise geurtheilt werden, zu welcher Verhör nicht allein die Priester zu ziehen, sondern auch gottfürchtige gelehrte Personen aus den weltlichen Ständen und fürnehme Gliedmass der Kirchen. Denn da unser Heiland Christus spricht: saget es der Kirchen,—folget, dass nicht allein ein Stand, nämlich die Bischöfe, sondern auch andere gottfürchtige Gelehrte aus allen Ständen als Richter zu setzen sind, und voces decisivas haben sollen.”

canon law because it had not been legally abolished,²² and also because they adhered to statutes inconsistent with the Gospel,²³ so, too, he, as well as Melancthon, were opposed to the preponderance of the secular power²⁴ in ecclesiastical affairs; and both were of

²² J. H. Boehmeri Jus Eccl'es. Protestantium, i. 122 ss.

²³ These differences are given, as follows, by Justus Jonas, in the *Bedenken der Consistorien halber 1538* (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 *Collaterales*, 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 daher nicht einen Juristen habe, der wider den Papst in solchen oder dergleichen Fallen mit mir und bei mir halten wolle, also dass sie auch meine Ehre und Bettelstücke nicht gedenken meinen Kindern zuzusprechen, noch keines Priesters.") Elector Joh. Friedrich in the *Fürhaltung vom 5. Mai, 1537*, C. R., iii. 366: "Zudeme 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 beweybten Priester verstürben, dass ihre Freunde ihre Erbschaft fordern thäten, und wollten ihre Kinder nicht Erbe seyn lassen. Nun wollten aber E. Ch. Gn. durch eine Landesordnung vermittelt göttlicher Hülff demselben Maass finden, wiewohl E. Ch. Gn. weiter vermerkten, als wolt man fûrgeben, dass auch ein solch Ordnung kraftiglich nicht gemacht, noch aufgericht könnit werden.") In the project of the Wittenberg Consistorial Order, 1542, Richter's *Kirchenordnung*, i. 374, 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 Lutherismo*, 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 Juristis 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 *digamus*, 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), "We must pull down the Consistory, if we would not soon have the jurists and pope in it."

²⁴ Mel. ad Mithobium, 1541, C. R., iv. 679: *Plerique Principes—multo fuerunt in diripiendis Monasteriis diligentiores, quam in constituendis παρoικίαις et scholis.—Hactenus alii saevierunt in Ecclesias, alii finxerunt corruptelas doctrinae, certarunt obscœnis libellis, finxerunt insulsos dialogos, oblectarunt se Venereis voluptatibus, neglexerunt Ecclesias et scholas, certarunt ambitione.* Luth. ad Cresserum, parochum Dresdensem, 1543, de Wette, v. 596: *Nihil boni sperare possum de forma excommunicationis in aula vestra praesumta. Si enim futurum est, ut aulae velint gubernare Ecclesias pro sua cupiditate, nullam dabit Deus benedictionem, et fient novissima pejora prioribus.—Aut igitur ipsi fiant pastores, praedicient, baptizent, visitent aegrotos, communicent et omnia ecclesiastica faciant, aut desinant vocationes confundere, suas aulas eurent, Ecclesias*

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.²⁵ After and by the Religious Peace, however, episcopal jurisdiction over Protestant countries being suspended, the princes having received the assent of the empire

relinquunt his, qui ad eas vocati sunt, qui rationem Deo reddent.—Satan pergīt esse Satan. Sub Papa miscuit Ecclesiam politicae: sub nostro tempore vult miscere politica Ecclesiae. 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 statu quo, or else it comes right back to it. Christus optime Ecclesiae consuluit, qui aulae non comisit Ecclesiarum administrationem. The devil had else nothing to do but devour vain Christian souls."

²⁵ 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, 1511, Waleh, 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 Sacerius 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. 912 [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 Jurisdictio in marriage matters]: "Wenn gleich die Bischöfe die rechte Lehre annehmen, dieselbige zu fördern u. tüchtige Personen dazu zu halten sich erbieten, so werden doch vielleicht die grossen Städte u. etliche Fürsten nicht gern leiden, dass ihnen wiederum eine Jurisdictio eingeräumt sollt werden, und dass sie umherziehen und visitiren. Dagegen ist aber auch zu gedenken, dass den Kirchen mit der Zeit vonnothen seyn wird, dass sie durch stattliche Personen visitirt werden. Denn die weltlichen Herren werden die Länge der Kirchen nicht gross achten, und werden jetzund die Priester auf den Dörfern übel gehalten, werden auch viel Pfarren wüste. Nun ware es nützlich, so sich etliche Pralaten der Kirchen treulich annehmen wollten, die weil sie doch die Güter haben, und könnten die Visitation erhalten, dass sie solches thäten.—Wo nun etliche Bischöfe und Stifte rechte Lehre und die nothigen Stücke annehmen, u. der Kirche dienen wollten, wäre nachzugeben, dass sie in ihren Dignitäten blieben, und behielten die Ordinatio, Visitatio, und Jurisdictio in Ehesachen." Thus the Reformers constantly advised the retaining of bishops as a human institution, so far as they accepted the true faith, and modified their privileges in accordance with it. Comp. Augsb. Conf., Art. 23, at the end. Melancthon especially often and strongly expressed himself in favor of this. Ad M. Alberum, 23. Aug., 1530 (C. R., ii. 303): Quis autem ad posteros status futurus est dissoluta politia Episcoporum? Profani jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam et similia negotia religionum non curant. Ad J. Camerar., 31. Aug., 1530 (p. 334): Utinam, utinam possim non quidem dominationem confirmare, sed administrationem restituere Episcoporum. Video enim, qualem simus habituri Ecclesiam, dissoluta πολιτεία ecclesiastica. Video postea multo intolerabiliorem futuram tyrannidem, quam antea unquam fuit. Ad ennd., 4. Sept., 1530 (p. 341): Quo jure licet

to their exercise of authority in the matter,²⁶ Consistories were at once every where established,²⁷ and became the organs of the rulers in their whole government of the Church.²⁸ The opposition of the Flacianists, who wanted theologians to rule in the Church instead of princes,²⁹ was fruitless.³⁰ In the countries, too, in which

bit nobis dissolvere *πολιτείαν* ecclesiasticam, si Episcopi nobis concedant illa, quae aequum est eos concedere.—Semper ita sensit ipse Lutherus, quem nulla de causa quidam, ut video, amant, nisi quia beneficio ejus sentiunt se Episcopos excussisse, et adeptos libertatem minime utilem ad posteritatem. Qualis enim cedo futurus est status ad posteros in Ecclesiis, si omnes veteres mores sint aboliti, si nulli certi sint praesides? Ad Bellajum Langaeum, 1. Aug., 1534 (p. 740): Non hoc agitur, ut politia ecclesiastica aut potestas Pontificum aboleatur; non hoc agitur, ut veteres ordinationes sine discrimine mutantur. Praecipui ex nostris maxime cupiunt, usitatem Ecclesiae formam conservare quantum possibile est.

²⁶ Appeals to this in the Baden-Pforzheim Mandate, 1556, Richter's Kirchenordnung, ii. 178; in the Hessian Church Service, 1572, *ibid.*, s. 349. 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 (ungeacht dass etzlicher Vermeinen nach der weltlichen Oberkeit allein das weltlich Regiment zustehen sollt) vor Gott schuldig erkennen, und wissend unsers Amts und Berufs sein, wie auch des Gott der Allmächtig in seinem gestrengen Urtheil von uns erfordern wird, vor allen Dingen unser untergebene Landschaft mit der reinen Lehr des h. Evangelii—versorgen, und also der Kirchen Christi mit Ernst und Eifer annehmen; dann erst und darneben in zeitlicher Regierung nutzliche Ordnung und Regiment—anzustellen und zu erhalten." So, too, Duke Julius of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, in his Mandate prefixed to the Church Service, 1569 (*cf.* s. 319).

²⁷ The divines assembled at Naumburg, May, 1551, 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 Sacerius, General Superintendent in Mansfeld: Von christlichen, nothigen, und nützen 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. 285); 1568 one at Wolfenbüttel (Schlegel, *ibid.* 263).

²⁸ 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.

²⁹ Thus Heshsius, 1559, in Heidelberg, § 37, Note 37; and the theologians in Jena, 1560, § 38, Note 2; Musaus, in Bremen, 1561, § 38, Note 10.

³⁰ The Weimar book against the Frankfort Recess had also declared against a supervision 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 reasons against the establishment of a Consistory (Unschuldige Nachr., 1716, s. 764): I. Politicus Magistratus sibi sumit jus condendi decreta de rebus religionis et judicio gravissimo Ecclesiae de doctrina et clavibus. Sumit etiam sibi jus eligendi personas, et denique concludendi suo judicio de sententiis, cum Ecclesiae sit condere decreta de ceremoniis ac judiciis suis, non potentum ac sapientum mundi hujus. Videte iterum atque iterum vos Speculatores Israel, ne assuefaciatis aulas ac Achitopheles 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 Brandenburg³¹ and Prussia,³² as well as in those in which a synodal constitution was first introduced, in Pomerania³³ and Hesse,³⁴ these arrangements were grad-

sument nunc impii Magistratus et in omnem posteritatem, religionesque pro arbitrio formabant et reformabant, eritque ein Kaiserlich Papstthum, sicut tu nostros affectare nuper pie monebas. II. Privantur Ecclesia omnesque alii pii Pastores ac Superintendentes (facultate) per synodos judicandi de doctrina, penes quam et quos rerum maximarum haec potestas, tum divino mandato, tum veteri perpetuoque more ac consuetudine tale iudicium fuit. III. Praecipitur religio et Ecclesia in extremum periculum tyrannidis paucorum Consistorialium. Sicut Bedenken Illustr. Principis contra Francofurticum decretum monet. IV. Contra verbum Dei, Augustanam Confessionem, Apologiam, Schmalcaldicos Articulos, et totius Ecclesiae consuetudinem aufertur prorsus clavus ligans a ministris J. Chr.—Talis laceratio ministerii an sine impietate fieri, aut a vobis Superintendentibus promoveri queat, Vos fratres iudicate. X. Simpliciter mandatur tantum executio poenae Superintendenti a Consistorio sine omni ipsius cognitione: qua conscientia eam ille praestare poterit? Nam Superintendentes erunt tantum licitores aut carnifices, qui simpliciter ac sine omni cognitione mandata Magistratus exequi tenentur. XI. Ex praefatione satis apparet, quod etiam separatio a sacramento seu suspensio Ministris auferatur. Nemini ergo Pastores audebunt negare Sacramenta aut absolutionem nisi convicto prius ac condemnato a Consistorio. Quanta hic profanatio Sacramentorum! XII. Prorsus tollitur processus Christi, Matth. xviii.: *Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, aut si quid habes contra proximum, etc.* Hic enim simpliciter mandatur, ut, si quis novit aliquod alienjus crimen occultum, mox accuset eoram Consistorio.—Abjecto ergo Christi praescripto sequamur hominum processum. Taceo, quod istis mutis cruentisque accusationibus horrenda dissidia inter Pastores et auditores excitabuntur. Nam Pastoris castigatio paterna est, at accusatio coram Principe eruentum quid sonat et confinet. Multi Pastores mavolent summam licentiam peccandi suis relinquere, quam tam molestas quin et sumtuosas lites sustinere.

³¹ Matthias of Jagow, Bishop of Brandenburg, conformed to the Reformation, assented to the church service appointed by the Elector (Richter, i. 323), and remained in possession 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 to the Brandenburg diocese; H. v. Müller's *Gesch. d. Evang. Kirchenverfassung in d. 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 power 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 Pomesania 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. Kirchenrechts der Provinzen Preussen und Posen*, s. 21; Richter's *Gesch. d. Evang. Kirchenverfassung*, s. 129.

³³ In Pomerania the General Superintendents had many episcopal rights; from 1544 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 einiger zur 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 1593; 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.³⁵ In theory, the government of the Church by princes was usually vindicated on the assumption that the episcopal rights had 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.³⁶

the power of the General Superintendents passed over to the Consistories (Balthasar Jus Ecl. Pastorale, i. 262, 541; Richter's Gesch. d. Evang. Kirchenverfassung, s. 123).

³⁵ Against the Church Service, drawn up by Franz Lambert, and adopted by the Synod of Homberg, 1526 (*Reformatio Ecclesiarum Hassiæ*, in Richter's *Kirchenordn.*, i. 56), 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 1537*, 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. Hepp's *Gesch. d. Hess. Generalsynoden v. 1568-82*, 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 (Hepp's *Einführung der Verbesserungspuncte in Hessen*, Kassel, 1849, s. 174). W. Bach's *Gesch. d. kurhess. Kirchenverfassung*, Marburg, 1832.

³⁶ As the dual 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 1554 (see § 37, 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 Fürstenthümern Jülich, Cleve, und Berg, auch zugehörigen Grafschaften Mark u. Ravensberg*, Düsseldorf, 1755. 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-Westphälischen Evangel. Kirche*, Bd. 2, Abth. 1. (Cölnen, 1852), s. 70. [Stahl, *Kirchenzucht*, 1845; C. H. Sack, *Observationes ad disciplinam eccles.*, in *Niedner's Zeitschrift*, January, 1854.]

³⁶ Jo. Gerhardi, *Theologi Jenensis, Loci Theologici* (Jenæ, 1610-22, 9 voll., 4.). *Locus XXIV.*, de Ministerio Ecclesiastico, § 112 (ed. Cotta, xii. 116): *Quamvis ex constitutione pacis religiosæ anno 1552, Passavii sancita, et anno 1555, Augustæ confirmata Electores, Principes ac Status Imperii Augustanæ confessioni addicti jura episcopalia in suis territoriis sibi vindicent; tamen exercitium eorum ita temperant, ut quedam capi-*

In Denmark and Sweden the Episcopal Constitution remained; but in Denmark all judicial authority³⁷ 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.³⁸ 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.³⁹ The clergy, whose equal-

ta ipsimet non adtingant, sed *Ecclesiae ministris* relinquunt, utpote praedicationem verbi et sacramentorum administrationem, potestatem clavium, examen eligendorum ministrorum, eorum ordinationem, etc., quaedam per *Consistoriales et Superintendentes* peragunt, utpote Ecclesiarum visitationem, causarum ecclesiasticarum, ad quas etiam matrimoniales spectant, dijudicationem, etc., quaedam *sibi solis* immediate reservent, utpote constitutionum ecclesiasticarum promulgationem, synodorum convocationem, etc., quaedam denique *cum consensu Ecclesiae* administrent, utpote electionem et vocationem ministrorum. Richter's *Gesch. d. Evang. Kirchenverfassung*, s. 192.

³⁷ Staudlin's *Kirchl. Geographic u. Statistik*, i. 216. J. Wiggers' *Kirchl. Statistik*, ii. 377.

³⁸ F. W. v. Schubert *Schweden's Kirchenverfassung u. Unterrichtswesen nach früherem und gegenwärtigem Zustande*, 2 Bde.; Greifswalde, 1821. Stäudlin, i. 237. Wiggers, ii. 394. [*Hist. of Ref. in Sweden*, by L. A. Anjon; transl. by H. M. Mann, New York, 1859, pp. 386-594.]

³⁹ Zwinglii *Subsidium de Eucharistia*, 1525 (Opp., iii. 339): Dicam hic obiter de usu Senatus Diacosiorum, propter quem quidam nos calumniantur, quod ea, quae totius Ecclesiae esse debeant, nos per ducentos agi patiamur, quum totius urbis et vicinorum Ecclesia sit plus minus septem millium. Sic ergo habeant isti: Qui verbo praesumus Tiguri, olim jam libere monuimus Diacosios, quod ea, quae iudicio Ecclesiae totius fieri debeant, ad ipsos non alia lege rejici patiamur, quam si verbo duce consulant et decernant; deinde quod ipsi non sint aliter Ecclesiae vice, quam quod ipsa Ecclesia tacito consensu hactenus benigne receperit eorum Senatus vel consulta vel decreta. Vulgavimus eandem sententiam apud universam Ecclesiam; admonuimus etiam hac tempestate, qua nonnulli (Anabaptists) feruntur stupidissimis affectibus, quos tamen spiritum internum, si Diis placet, videri volunt, haud tuto multitudini committi posse quaedam.

ity was decisively insisted upon,⁴⁰ were appointed by the magistracy; the churches had only the right of objecting.⁴¹ Zwingle, too, held that excommunication was unnecessary, since it was the duty of the Christian magistracy to inflict punishments.⁴² In

Non quod vereamur, Deum Opt. Max. defuturum, quo minus dirigat Ecclesiam suam; sed rebus adhuc teneris non miscendam esse contentionis occasionem. Suasimus ergo, ut plebs iudicium *externarum* rerum hac lege Diacosii permittat, ut ad verbi regulam omnia comparentur, simul pollicentes, sicubi coeperint verbi auctoritatem contemnere, nos confestim prodituros esse ac vociferaturos. Consentit ad hunc usque diem Ecclesia, tametsi decretum super ea re nullum promulgaverit, sed placiditate ac tranquillitate, quibus hactenus utitur, consensum suum sic probat, ut ipsam aegre laturam adpareat, si quis Evangelii successum arguta curiositate impedire conetur; simul non ignorans, ut rebus istis debeamus ad Christi nostrumque decorem sic uti, ut pax christiana servetur. Quicquid ergo de immutandis ritibus occurrit, ad senatum Diacosiorum refertur, non absque exemplo: nam et Antiochia duos modo, Paulum et Barnabam, Hierosolymam mittit, nec ipsa decernit, quod tamen jure potuisset. Causa fuit, quod immoderatam contentionem vereretur, quae quanto major est concio tanto magis crudescit. Quod autem Diacosii in his rebus, Ecclesiae non suo nomine, agant, hinc adparet, quod quicquid apud nos statuitur, puta de imaginibus, de celebranda Eucharistia et similibus, id eis Ecclesiis quae in oppidis et agro sunt liberum relinquit: ubi nimirum, quod Ecclesiae non sunt tantae, contentionis incendium non magnopere metuendum esse vident. Cessit consilium sic, ut ex Deo esse facile cognoscas. Sic igitur soliti sumus hactenus ante omnia multitudinem de quaestione, quae Senatus iudicio cognoscenda erat, probe docere. Ita enim factum est, ut quicquid Diacosii cum verbis ministris ordinarent, jam dudum in animis fidelium ordinatum esset. Denique Senatum Diacosiorum adivimus, ut Ecclesiae totius nomine, quod usus postularet, fieri juberent, quo tempestive omnia et cum decore agerentur. Factum est itaque, ut contentionis malum ab Ecclesia prohiberetur.—Sic utimur Tiguri Diacosiorum Senatu, quae summa est potestas, Ecclesiae vice. Zwingle, on the other hand, concedes that the people have the right to depose rulers that govern in an unchristian way, Artikel zu der Disput., 1523, Art. 42 (Werke, i. 156): "So sie aber untrüwlich und usser der Schnur Christi faren würdind, mogend sie mit Gott entsetzt werden." Conf. the Uslegung, s. 369.

⁴⁰ Lud. Lavater (preacher, and at last Antistes in Zurich), de Ritibus et Institutis Eccl. Tigurinae, 1559 (ed. J. B. Ottius, Tiguri, 1702), § 3, p. 10: Nullum inter ministros, quod potestatem attinet, est discrimen.—Omnes fere res ecclesiasticae ad primarium concionatorem urbis (qui primus a restituto Evangelio Huldr. Zwinglius fuit, cui Henr. Bullingerus successit) referuntur. Is suo arbitrato, totius Ecclesiae et omnium ministrorum nomine, inconsultis aliis nihil agit vel scribit; sed alios pastores convocat, et suum consilium et iudicium cum illis communicat. Si res sit magni momenti, senatus et synodo proponitur.

⁴¹ Züricher 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 "excommunicate 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.⁴³ The deans and synods merely had supervision as to doctrine and life,⁴⁴ and the Church Session as to violations of chastity;⁴⁵ but all punishment

tion." In a law against adulterers, 1526 (Bullinger's Ref. Gesch., i. 378), the Burgo-master 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; Hundeshagen, *Conflicte des Zwinglianismus*, 324.—Zwingle said, at the Synod of St. Gallen, December, 1530 (Simler's *Sammlung alter und neuer Urkunden zur Kirchengesch. vornemlich 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 Zyt was die Kilch zerstreut, so was noch kein christenliche Oberkeit, die in der Kilchen Gsetz und Ordnung und Straf des Bösen und des Ergerlichen hielte. Da nun sye der Bann und das Usschliessen ihnen nothwendig gsyn, die Laster unter ihnen abzustellen. Sit aber christenliche Oberkeiten worden, so Schwert und Straf von Gott habind, söllend jetz die das usrichten.—Ob aber die Oberkeiten ihr Amt nit thun weltind, alsdann mögind die gmeinen Kilchen sich ihres Gwalts ouch gebrochen mit dem Bann, damit die Kilchen rein und ungeärgert bliebe."

⁴³ 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.

⁴⁴ 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. 3). 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 Burgo-master and Council, promote the weal of Zürich, obey its laws, not reveal the secrets of synod, ect.]: "Dass ich das heilig Evangelium und Wort Gottes, darzu ich berüfft bin, trüwlich und nach rechtem christenlichen Verstand, ouch nach Vermog Alts und Nüws evangelischen Testaments, lut miner Herren von Zürich vorusgangnen Mandats, lehren und predgen, und darunter kein Dogma u. Lehr, die zwyfflig und noch nit uf der Bahn und erhalten sye, nit inimschen, sy sye dann zavor gemeiner ordenlicher Versammlung, so jürlich zwei mal gehalten, anzeigt, und vor derselbigen erhalten. Darzu soll und will ich einem Burgermeister und Rath, ouch den Burgeren, als miner ordenlichen Oberkeit trüw und hold sin: gemeiner Stadt und Land Zürich Nutz und Frommen fürdern, ihro Schaden warnen und wenden, so ferr ich vermag: ouch ihren und ihren nachgesetzten Vogten und Amtlütten Geboten und Verboten in ziemlichen billigen Sachen gehorsam und gewärtig sin: Item die Heimlichkeiten des Synodi verschwygen und nit offenbaren." In this synod all the clergy, one after another, were subjected to examination; comp. the *Censures* in the synods of 1533-35, in S. Hess, *Sammlungen zur Beleuchtung der Kirchen- und Reformationsgesch. d. Schweiz.*, Heft I (Zürich, 1811), p. 118; p. 139 there is a judgment on Bullinger.

⁴⁵ In 1526 there was a law against lewdness (Bullinger's *Ref. Gesch.*, i. 369), in which the judges about guilty 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 *Ehegamer*); 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.⁴⁶ In 1539 this arrangement was again abolished.⁴⁷

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;⁴⁸ the clergy and synods were to have charge of doctrine and the sacra-

refer the matter to the head magistrate for punishment. These guardians of marriage formed a church session (*Kirchenstillstand*), so called because they remained in the church after service for consultation.

⁴⁶ See particularly Herzog's *Leben Joh. Oecolampads*, 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 (Simler, 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.

⁴⁷ 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.

⁴⁸ *Calvini Institut.*, lib. iv. c. 11. *De Ecclesiae Jurisdictione*, § 3: Non animadvertunt, quantum sit discrimen et qualis dissimilitudo ecclesiasticae et civilis potestatis. Neque enim jus gladii habet Ecclesia quo puniat vel coercere, non imperium ut cogat, non carcerem, non poenas alias quae solent infligi a magistratu. Deinde non hoc agit, ut qui peccavit, invitus plectatur, sed ut voluntaria castigatione poenitentiam profiteatur.—At quemadmodum magistratus puniendo et manu coercendo purgare debet Ecclesiam offensivuliculis, ita verbi minister vicissim sublevare debet magistratum, ne tam multi peccent. Sic conjunctae debent esse operae, ut altera sit adjumento 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 subjicere: tantum abest ut judicium illud tollere debeat.—Imperator bonus intra Ecclesiam, non supra Ecclesiam est. § 16: Neque (sancti viri) improbant, si quando suam auctoritatem interponerent Principes in rebus ecclesiasticis, modo conservando Ecclesiae ordini, non turbando, disciplinaeque stabilienidae, non dissolvendae hoc fieret. Nam cum Ecclesia cogendi non habeat potestatem, neque expetere debeat (de civili coercitione loquor); piorum Regum ac Principum partes sunt, legibus, edictis, judiciis religionem sustinere.

ments;⁴⁹ 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;⁵⁰ the right to elect preachers, elders, and deacons be-

⁴⁹ Calvini 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 ferendis. Locus de doctrina duas habet partes, auctoritatem dogmatum tradendorum, et eorum explicationem. iv. 3, 4: Qui Ecclesiae regimini secundum Christi institutionem praesunt, non inantur a Paulo primum Apostoli, dein Prophetae, tertio Evangelistae, quarto Pastores, postremo Doctores. Ex quibus duo tantum ultimi ordinarium in Ecclesia munus habent: alios tres initio regni sui Dominus excitavit, et suscitavit etiam interdum prout temporum necessitas postulat.—Inter *Pastores* ac *Doctores* hoc discriminis esse puto, quod Doctores nec disciplinae nec Sacramentorum administrationi, nec monitionibus aut exhortationibus praesunt, sed Scripturae tantum interpretationi, ut sinecra sanaque doctrina inter fideles retineatur; pastorale autem munus haec omnia in se continet. § 6: Dominus, cum Apostolos mitteret, mandatum illis dedit de praedicando Evangelio et baptizandis credentibus in remissionem peccatorum. Antea autem mandaverat, ut sacra symbola corporis et sanguinis sui ad exemplum distribuerent. Eum sane tam, inviolabilem, perpetuamque legem impositam iis qui in Apostolorum locum succedunt, qua mandatum accipiunt de Evangelii praedicatione, et Sacramentorum administratione. § 8: Caeterum quod Episcopos et Presbyteros et pastores et ministros promiscue vocavi, qui Ecclesias regunt, id feci ex Scripturae usu, quae vocabula ista confundit: quicunque enim verbi ministerio funguntur, iis titulum Episcoporum tribuit. iv. 9, 13: Nos certe libenter concedimus, si quo de dogmate incidat disceptatio, nullum esse nec melius nec certius remedium, quam si verorum Episcoporum *synodus* conveniat, ubi controversum dogma exequiatur. Multo enim plus ponderis habebit ejusmodi definitio, in quam communiter Ecclesiarum pastores, invocato Christi spiritu, consenserint, quam si quisque seorsum domi conceptam populo traderet, vel pauci homines privatim eam conficerent. Deinde ubi collecti in unum sunt Episcopi, commodius in communi deliberant, quid sibi, et qua forma docendum sit, ne diversitas offendiculum pariat. Tertio hanc rationem praescribit Paulus in dijudicandis doctrinis. Nam cum singulis Ecclesiis attribuat dijudicationem (1 Cor., xiv. 29), ostendit, quis in gravioribus causis sit ordo agendi: nempe ut Ecclesiae inter se communem cognitionem suscipiant.—Statuo, non ideo interire in Ecclesia veritatem, etiamsi ab uno Concilio opprimatur, sed mirabiliter a Domino servari, ut iterum suo tempore emergat et superet. Hoc autem perpetuum esse nego, ut vera sit et certa Scripturae interpretatio, quae Concilii suffragiis fuerit recepta.

⁵⁰ Calvinii Instit., iv. 3, 8: Besides the officii, quae in verbi ministerio consistunt, Paul, in Rom. and 1 Cor., also mentions others. Ex quibus quae temporaria fuerunt omitto.—Duo autem sunt quae perpetuo manent, gubernatio et cura pauperum. Gubernatores fuisse existimo seniores ex plebe delectos, qui censurae morum et exercendae disciplinae una cum Episcopis praecessent. § 9. Cura pauperum Diaconis mandata fuit; iv. 11, 1: Quemadmodum nulla urbs nullusve pagus sine magistratu et politia stare potest: sic Ecclesia Dei sua quadam spirituali politia indiget, quae tamen a civili prorsus distincta est, eamque adeo nihil impedit aut imminuit, ut potius multum juvet ac promoveat. Ista igitur jurisdictionis potestas nihil aliud erit in summa quam ordo comparatus ad spiritualis politiae conservationem. § 2. On the passages Jo. xx. 23, and Matth. xvi. 19: Utraque est generalis sententia, eadem semper ligandi solvendique potestas (nempe per verbum Dei), idem mandatum, eadem promissio. Eo autem differunt, quod prior locus peculiariter de praedicatione est, qua verbi ministri funguntur, hic ad disciplinam excommunicationis pertinet, quae Ecclesiae permissa est. § 5: In usu duo sunt consideranda: ut a jure gladii prorsus separaretur haec spiritualis potestas, deinde ne unius arbitrio, sed per legitimum consensum administraret.—Severissima enim Ecclesiae vindicta, et quasi ultimum fulmen, est excommunicatio, quae non nisi in

longed to the church, under the guidance of the clergy.⁵¹ However, in the Genevese church constitution, Calvin conceded much that was less essential, in deference to the circumstances of the times.⁵² The Calvinistic church government was carried out much more strictly in *France*, where the civil power was outside of the Church.⁵³ Here the Consistories, Colloquies, Provincial

necessitate adhibetur. Illa porro nec vim, nec manum desiderat, sed verbi Dei potentia contenta est.

⁵¹ Calvini Instit., iv. 3, 12: Quales eligere Episcopos deceat, Paulus duobus locis copiose exequitur (Tit., i. 9; 1 Tim., iii. 1): Summa tamen huc redit, non esse eligendos nisi qui sint sanæ doctrinæ et sanctæ vitæ, nec aliquo vitio notabiles, quod et illis adi-mat auctoritatem et ministerio ignominiam afferat. De Diaconis et Senioribus similis prorsus est ratio. § 14: Habemus ergo, esse hanc ex verbo Dei legitimam ministri vocationem, ubi ex populi consensu et approbatione creantur qui visi fuerint idonei. Praesse autem electioni 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 conscientiis non debere in quibus rebus a Christo liberantur. § 29: Omnes ecclesiasticas constitutiones, quas pro sanctis et salutaribus recipimus, in duo capita referre licet: alterae enim ad ritus et ceremonias, alterae ad disciplinam et pacem respiciunt. § 30: Quia (Dominus) in externa disciplina et ceremoniis non voluit sigillatim praescribere quid sequi debeamus (quod istud pendere a temporum conditione provideret, neque judicaret unam saeculis omnibus formam convenire), confugere hic oportet ad generales quas dedit regulas, ut ad eas exigantur quaecunque ad ordinem et decorum praecipere necessitas Ecclesiae postulabit. § 31: Jam vero christiani populi officium est, quae secundum hunc canonem fuerint instituta, libera quidem conscientia, nullaque superstitione, pia tamen et facili ad obsequendum propensione servare, non contemptim habere, non supina negligentia praeterire.

⁵² Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques de l'Eglise de Genève, 1541 (Richter's Kirchenorden, i. 342. Comp. Henry's Calvin, ii. 109; Richter's Gesch. d. Kirchenverfassung, s. 171), issued by the Synods, 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'ayent aucune jurisdiction civile, et que par ce Consistoire ne soit en rien derogué à l'autorité de la Seigneurie ni à la Justice ordinaire: ainsi que la puissance divine demeure en son entier: et mesmes où il sera besoin de faire quelque punition ou contraindre les parties, que les Ministres avec le Consistoire, ayans oui les parties et faites 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 consentaneum est, ut qui monitionibus nostris obtemperare noluerint, eos ad magistratum deferamus). A short sketch of these orders is in Calvini Ep. ad Gasp. Olevianum, Non. Nov., 1560 (Epist. ed. Gen., 1575, p. 228). [Comp. M. Goebel, Disciplin in d. Reformirten Kirche bei Calvin, in the Kirchliche Vierteljahrsschrift, 1845. L. W. Hassenkamp, Anfänge d. Evangelischen Kirchenzucht, in the Deutsche Zeitschrift, 1856, on Bucer, and on the Lutheran and Reformed churches generally.]

⁵³ 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 Presbyterialverfas-

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;⁵⁴ and in the *Netherlands*—Kerkenraad, Classicale Vergaderinge, Particulier Synode, Nationaal Synode.⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ Only in Jülich, Cleve, and Berg did the Reformed Church receive a synodal constitution like that of Holland.⁵⁷

§ 47.

THE ORDER OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

G. B. Eisenschmid, *Gesch. d. vornehmsten Kirchengebräuche d. Protestanten*, Leipzig, 1795. J. L. Funk's *Geist und Form des von Dr. M. Luther angeordneten Kultus*, Berlin, 1818. A. H. Gräser, *die Röm. Kathol. Liturgie, mit steter Rücksicht auf die Liturgie der Griech. und ältesten Evangel. Luther. Kirche*, 2 Th., Halle, 1829. Kliefoth *die ursprüngl. Gottesdienstordnung in den deutschen Kirchen Luth. Bekenntnisses, ihre Destruction und Reformation*, Rostock und Schwerin, 1847. [Schöberlein, *Der Evangel. Gottesdienst, in Studien und Kritiken*, 1854, transl. in *Presb. Quarterly*, 1857. H. Alt, *Der christl. Cultus*, 2te Aufl., 1851. *Der Protest. Gottesdienst*, von Dr. Karl Bahr, in *Zeitschrift f. d. Luth. Theol.*, 1852. *Eutaxia, or Presb. Liturgies* (by C. W. Baird), New York, 2d ed., 1858; comp. *Book of Public Prayer*, compiled from *Formularies of the Reformed Churches*, New York, 1856. *Foreign Reformed Liturgies*,

sung in der Ref. Kirche Frankreichs, in *Niedner's Zeitschr. f. d. Hist. Theologie*, 1849, ii. 280.

⁵⁴ A. F. L. Gemberg, *die Schottische Nationalkirche nach ihrer gegenwärtigen innern und äussern Verfassung*, Hamburg, 1828. K. H. Sack, *die Kirche v. Schottland, Beiträge zu deren Geschichte und Beschreibung*, 2 Th., Hamburg, 1844. 45. [Comp. the *Histories of the Church of Scotland* by Hetherington, Lorimer, Wodrow, Cunningham (1859), etc. *The Divine Right of Church Government*, New York, ed. 1844. *The Scotch Buiks of Discipline, and the Discussions of the Westminster Assembly*, in *Robinson's Church of God*, Phil., 1858.]

⁵⁵ H. L. Benthem's *Holland, Kirch- und Schulenstaat*, 2 Th., Frankf. u. Leipzig, 1698.

⁵⁶ 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 1563 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).

⁵⁷ See the Literature, above, Note 35.

Notes and Queries, July, 1856. Alasco's Dutch Liturgy, see *British Mag.*, vols. xv. and xvi.]

In the order of Public Worship there is a thorough-going difference between Luther and Zwingle: 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,¹ even the obligation of private confession,² and letting superstitious observances

¹ Luther's acht Sermon von ihm gepredigt 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 absolutioem," which had been abolished during the disturbances about the worship of images; see Froschel, *Fortges. Sammlung von alten und neuen theol. Sachen*, 1731, s. 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 gehe 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." Luther's *Warnungsschrift 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 insupportable 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 Gewissen auch haben durch Gottes Gnade erlöset—von der untraglichen Last und unmöglichen Gehorsam des päpstlichen Gesetzes, darin er gebeut, alle Sünde zu erzählen.—Neben dieser Freiheit behalten wir die Weise, dass ein Beichtkind erzähle etliche Sünde, die ihn am meisten drücken. Und das thun wir nicht um der Verständigen willen: denn unser Pfarrer, Caplan, M. Philipps, und solche Leute, die wohl wissen was Sünde ist, von denen fodern 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 giebt, 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 anders denn Gottes Wort, damit er unser Herz troestet und stärket wider das böse Gewissen, und wir sollen ihr glauben und trauen, als Gott selber.—So brauchen wir nun der Beicht, als einer christlichen Übung. Im ersten Stücke üben wir uns am Gesetz, im andern am Evangelio. Denn im ersten Stück lernen wir des Gesetzes 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 Kanzel predigt.”

³ Sebast. Froschel, preacher in Wittenberg, in the preface to his *Tractat vom Priestertume* (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, 1731, 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 every body must give 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 Missbrauch sind in den Gottesdienst gefallen: der erst, dass man Gottis Wort geschwiegen hat, und alleine gelesen und gesungen in den Kirchen, das ist der ergiste Misbrauch: der ander, da Gottis Wort geschwiegen gewesen ist, sind neben einkommen so viel unchristlicher Fabeln und Lügen, beide in Legenden, Gesange und Predigen, das gränlich 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, stiften, Pfaff, Munch und Nonnen werden wollen. Nu diese Misbräuch abzuthun, ist aufs erst zu wissen, dass die christlich Gemeine nimmer soll zusammenkommen, es werde denn daselbs Gottis Wort gepredigt, u. gebett, es sey auch aufs kurzist.—Also ists aber zugegangen unter den Christen zur Zeit der Apostel, und sollt auch noch so zugehen, dass man täglich des Morgens eine Stunde früh um vier oder funfe zusammenkäme, und daselbs lesen liesse, es seyen Schuler oder Priester, oder wer es sey, gleichwie man itzt noch die Lection in der Metten lieset.—Darnach soll der Prediger oder welchem es befohlen wird, herfür 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*).⁵ 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.⁶ After he had begun to compose those German church

verstehen, lernen und ermahnet werden. Das erst Werk heisst Paulus 1 Cor. xiv. mit Zungen reden, das ander Auslegen oder Weissagen, und mit dem Sinn oder Verstand reden. Und wo diess nicht geschicht, so ist die Gemeine der Lection nichts gebessert, wie bisher in Klostern und Stiften geschehen, da sie nur die Wände haben angeblahet. Diese Lection soll aber seyn aus dem alten Testament, nämlich dass man ein Buch für sich nehme, und ein Capitel, oder zwei, oder ein halbes lese, bis es aus sey, darnach ein anders furnemen, und so fortan, bis die ganze Biblia ausgelesen werde, und wo man sie nicht verstehe, dass man furuber fabre und Gott ehre. Also dass durch tägliche Ubunge der Schrift die Christen in der Schrift verständig, laufig und kundig werden.—Wenn nu die Lection und Auslegung ein halb Stund oder länger gewähret hat, soll man drauf ingemein Gott danken, loben und bitten um Frucht des Worts, etc. Dazu soll man brauchen der Psalmen und etlicher guten Responsorien, Antiphon, kurz also, dass es alles in einer Stund ausgerichtet werde, oder wie lange sie wollen: denn man muss die Seelen nicht überschütten, dass sie nicht mude und überdrussig werden, wie bisher in Klostern und Stiften sie sich mit Eselsarbeit beladen haben. Desselben gleichen an dem Abend um sechs oder funfe widder also zusammen. Und hie sollt aber aus dem alten Testament ein Buch nach dem andern furgenommen werden, nämlich die Propheten, gleichwie am Morgen Moses und die Historien. Aber weil nu das neue Testament auch ein Buch ist, lass ich das alte Testament dem Morgen, und das neue dem Abend, odder wiederum und gleich also lesen, auslegen, loben, singen und beten, wie am Morgen, auch ein Stund lang.—Auch ob solchs tägliches Gottsdiens ts vielleicht nicht die ganze Versammlung gewarten kunnte, sollen doch die Priester und Schuler, und zuvor diejenigen, so man verhofft gute Prediger und Seelsorger aus zu werden, solchs thun.—Des Sonntags aber soll solch Versammlung für die ganzen Gemeine geschehen, uber das tägliche Versammeln des kleinern Haufen, und daselbs, wie bisher gewohnt, Mess und Vesper singen, also dass man zu beider Zeit predige der ganzen Gemeine, des Morgens das gewöhnlich Evangelion, des Abends die Epistel.—Die täglichen Messen sollen abseyn allerdings, denn es am Wort, und nicht an der Messen liegt.—Aller Heiligen Fest sollten abseyn, odder wo ein gute christliche Legende wäre, auf den Sonntag nach dem Evangelio zum Exempel mit eingeführt werden. Doch das Fest Purificationis, Annunciationis Maria liess ich bleiben, Assumptionis und Nativitatis mus man noch ein Zeitlang bleiben lassen, wiewol der Gesang drinnen nicht lauter ist. Johannis Baptistae Fest ist auch rein. Der Apostel Legend ist keine rein, ohn St. Pauli, drum mag man sie auf die Sonntage ziehen, odder so es gefällt, sonderlich feiren. Anders mehr wird sich mit der Zeit selb geben, wenn es angehet. Aber die Summa sey die, dass es ja alles geschehe, dass das Wort im Schwang gehe, und nicht wiederum ein Loren und Dohnen draus werde, wie bisher gewesen ist."

⁵ 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."

⁶ In Richter's Kirchenordnung, i. 2. The sequences, offertory, and canon were omitted; in place of the latter there was a simple consecration and distribution of the elements in both forms. *Cantica velim etiam nobis esse vernacula quam plurima, quae populus sub Missa cantaret, vel juxta gradualia, item juxta Sanctus et Agnus Dei.* Quis enim dubitat, eas olim fuisse voces totius populi, quae nunc solus chorus cantat vel respondet Episcopo benedicenti?—Sed poetae nobis desunt, aut nondum cogniti sunt, qui pias et spirituales cantilenas (ut Paulus vocat) nobis concinnent, quae dignae sint in

songs,⁷ 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 Gottesdienst*,⁸ which

Ecclesia Dei frequentari. Interim placet illam cantari post communionem: Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet.—Praeter hanc illa valet: Nu bitten wir den heiligen Geist. Item: Ein Kindelin so lobelich. Nam non multas invenias, quae aliquid gravis spiritus sapiant. Haec dico, ut si qui sunt poetae germanici, extimentur et nobis poemata pietatis cudant. [Comp. Documents (2) for a new Form of Worship in the Church of All Saints, Wittenb., published by Mutter in the Zeitschrift f. d. Hist. Theol., 1860.]

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 Menschen Noth*," by Luther: "*Ach Gott vom Himmel sich darein* (Ps. xii.); *Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wol* (Ps. xiv.); *Aus tiefer Noth schrei ich zu dir* (Ps. cxix.);" by an unknown writer: "*In Jesus Namen heben wir an*." Luther ad Salatinum, 1524 (de Wetze, ii. 590), also asks of him—aliquem psalmorum in cantilenam transferre, sicut hic habes meum exemplum: velim autem novas et aulicas voeulas omitti, quo pro capitu vulgi quam simplicissima vulgatissimaque, tamen munda simul et apta verba caenerentur, deinde sententia perspicua et psalmis 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 geistl. Lieder mit den zu s. Lebzeiten gebräuchl. 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 all an einen Gott*; and *Nu bitten wir den heiligen Geist*; see G. Spalatin's *Hist. Nachlass und Briefe*, by Neudecker and Preller, Bd. i. (Jena, 1851) s. 70.

⁸ In Walch, x. 266, after the first edition in Richter's *Kirchenordnung*, i. 35. Preface: "Before all else, I would cordially ask, and for the sake of the Lord, that all who see, 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 paraphernalia, 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—conceptis seu 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,⁹ 1526, in a simpler form, and afterward the Marriage Book.¹⁰ Before all things he endeavored to promote the spiritual growth of the people, especially by his Catechisms.¹¹ In the Liturgy no further changes were made, excepting the omission of the elevation of the host in the Lord's Supper,¹² 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 (*Jesaja dem Propheten das geschah*, etc.); or the hymn, *Gott sei gelobt*; or John Hus'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 Kirchenordnung, i. 7. Here were omitted the breathing on the baptized person, the salt, spittle, 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 Kiederer's Nachrichten zur Kirchen-, Gelehrten-, und Büchergeschichte, ii. 100.

¹¹ See Div. I, § 4, Note 26.

¹² In Peucer's Tract. Hist. de Ph. Melanctho. Sententia de Controversia s. Coenae, Amb., 1595. 4., p. 24, it is said that this *Elevatio* had until then been observed—*proci-dentibus ad sonitum tintinnabuli, et pectora mox pulsantibus imperitoribus cum gemitu et suspiriis.* Comp. above, Note 8. Luther to the Chancellor Brück, Jan. 6, 1543, de Wette, v. 529; 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." Melancthon wrote to the Landgrave Philip, Jan. 17, 1545 (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. Melancthon ad J. Schlaginthauffen, 18. Jun., 1544, C. R., v. 420: *Etsi multa disputata sunt a multis de elevatione Sacramenti, tamen in Ecclesiis nostris ideo placuit eum morem mutari, quod allegata hac elevatione aliqui confirmabant morem circumferendi et adorandi panis. Hanc autem circumgestionem constat extra rationem Sacramenti esse, ut si aqua circumgestaretur sumpta ex ceremoniis baptismi. Sunt enim Sacramenta actiones institutae a Deo. Aqua non est Sacramentum, sed ipsa baptizatio sonante simul verbo Dei. Sic de Coena Dei sentiatur: panis, ordinatus non ad sumptionem sed ad circumgestionem, nequaquam est Sacramentum. Non enim alligandus est Deus ad aliquam creaturam sine expresso verbo Dei, ut constat.* At the end of 1543 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;¹³ 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.¹⁴ Thus he regarded the observance of the Lord's day as only a human institution,¹⁵ and re-

¹³ Against church music, clocks, organs, pictures, under the aspect of meritorious works, Luther wrote hard sayings; but he speaks differently of them as an expression and excitation of devotion, e. g. to Senfel, musician to the Bavarian court, Oct. 4, 1530; de Wette, iv. 181: *Plane judicio, nec pudet asserere, post theologiam esse nullam artem, quae musicae possit aequari, cum ipsa sola post theologiam id praestet, quod alioqui sola theologia praestat, scilicet quietem et animum laetum, manifesto argumento, quod diabolus, curarum tristitum et turbarum inquietarum auctor, ad vocem musicae paene similiter fugiat, sicut fugit ad verbum theologiae. Hinc factum est, ut prophetae nulla sic arte sint usi ut musica, dum suam theologiam non in geometriam, non in arithmeti- cam, non in astronomiam, sed in musicam digesserunt, ut theologiam et musicam haberent conjunctissimas, veritatem psalmis et canticis dicentes.* Luther *Wider die himml. Propheten*, Th. 1, 1524, Walch xx. 213 [It is better to paint on the wall the creation, the building of the ark, etc., than worldly, shameless pictures: would to God that the lords and rich people might picture the whole Bible in their houses for every body to see. God wants me to hear and read his works, especially the sufferings of Christ: if I hear, I must make a picture of it in my heart; whether I will or no, when I hear about Christ, I see in my heart the image of a man on a cross, just as naturally as my face is mirrored in the water when I look there. If it is not sin, but right, to have Christ's image in the heart, why should it be a sin to have it in the eyes?]: "Es ist besser, man mahle an die Wand, wie Gott die Welt schuf, wie Noah die Arca bauet, und was mehr guter Historien sind, denn dass man sonst irgend weltlich unverschäm't Ding mahlet: ja wollte Gott, ich konnte die Herrn und die Reichen dahin bereden, dass sie die ganze Bibel inwendig und auswendig an den Häusern vor jedermanns Augen mahlen liessen, dass wäre ein christlich Werk. So weiss ich auch gewiss, dass Gott will haben, man solle sein Werk hören und lesen, sonderlich das Leiden Christi. Soll ichs aber hören oder gedenken, so ist mirs unmöglich, dass ich nicht in meinem Herzen sollte Bilder davon machen. Denn ich wolle, oder wolle nicht, wenn ich Christum höre, so entwirft sich in meinem Herzen ein Mansbild, das am Kreuze hänget, gleich als sich mein Antlitz natürlich entwirft ins Wasser, wenn ich drein sehe. Ists nun nicht Sünde, sondern gut, dass ich Christus Bilde im Herzen habe; warum sollts Sünde seyn, wenn ichs in Augen habe?"

¹⁴ Augsb. Confession, Art. 26 (Baumgarten's Concordienbuch, s. 81): "Auch werden dieses Theils viel Ceremonien und Tradition gehalten, als Ordnung der Messe und andere Gesänge, Feste, etc., welche dazu dienen, dass in der Kirche Ordnung gehalten werde. Daneben aber wird das Volk unterrichtet, dass solcher ausserlicher Gottesdienst nicht fromm macht vor Gott, und dass mans ohne Beschwörung des Gewissens halten soll, also dass, so man es nachlasst ohne Aergerniss, nicht daran gesündigt wird. Diese Freiheit in äusserlichen Ceremonien haben auch die alten Vater gehalten."

¹⁵ Explanation of the Third Commandment in the Larger Catechism, in Baumgarten's Concordienbuche, s. 673.

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 Predigtamt sind allezeit ausser und über den Cliresem durch Fürsten, Herren, Städte, auch von Bischöfen—und andern Ständen verliehen, und durch solch Verleihen ist der Beruf und die rechte Weihe zum Ministerio der Amt blieben. Daneben hat man solche berufene Pfarrherren, so solche Lehen und Amt empfangen, auch präsentiret, d. i. zu den Winkelbischöfen gewiesen, und sie lassen investiren oder einweisen, wiewol solches nicht der Beruf noch Lehen, sondern Bestätigung solches Berufs, und nicht vonnöthen gewesen ist. Denn der berufene Pfarrherr wohl ohne solche Bestätigung hätte können sein Pfarramt ausrichten." Melancthon *ad Vitum Theodorum*, Oct., 1543, C. R., v. 187: Lutherus *περὶ ἐπιθέσεως χειρῶν* admodum miratus est Collegae tui contentionem, ac affirmavit, si de ritu contenderet, multis saeculis eum ritum non servatum ab Episcopis.—Sed Ecclesiae vocatio vere est veneranda. Nec postea aliud 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. Kirchenhistorie 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, 1837. 4.), i. 9, 31; ii. 10, 21.

¹⁷ So in Hesse, Würtemberg, the Palatinate, and several of the free cities, particularly Augsburg, Ulm, and Strasburg; see J. M. Krafft's *ausfuhr. Historie vom Exorcismo*, Hamburg, 1750.

¹⁸ Ep. Principum *Evang. ad Carol. V. Imp. de Libro Ratisbon.*, 12. Jul., 1541, C. R., iv. 489: *Vellemus in Ecclesiis ubique Catechismum exerceri, ut liber monet, et post examen et professionem fieri precationem a populo pro pueris. Hanc credimus non esse irritam, nec displicet addi impositionem manuum. Et haec fiunt in quibusdam Ecclesiis apud nos.* Wittenberg. Reformation, 1545 (C. R., v. 584); see § 36, Note 39.

¹⁹ According to the Brandenburg Kirchenordnung, 1540 (Richter, i. 325), 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 Kirchengzucht*, 1539, in Richter, i. 291, and Casselsche Kirchenordnung, *ibid.*, i. 302; in Waldeck, Kirchenordn., 1556, *ibid.*, ii. 173; in Pomerania, Kirchenordn., 1563, *ibid.*, ii. 235 (it was to be administered by the Superintendent and the leading city pastors). Thereupon it was recommended by Chemnitz in his *Examen Conc. Trid.*, P. ii., p. 258, and the church service, drawn up by him and Andreae for Duke Julius in 1565 (Richter, ii. 320), was introduced into Brunswick-

Thus the forms of worship in the Saxon Church still had much resemblance to the Catholic, as long as Luther lived.²⁰ The Adiphoristic 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.²¹

In the Reformed Church of Zürich the publication of Leo Judæ's Baptismal Book,²² 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 churches²³ in 1524, and Zwingli, in 1525, had exchanged the ritual of the mass for a simple biblical celebration of the Lord's Supper,²⁴ 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 Kirchencereemonien 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.

²⁰ Luther to Chancellor Brück, April, 1541, de Wette, v. 340: "Es sind, Gottlob, unsere Kirchen in den Neutralibus so zugericht, dass ein Laie oder Walh oder Spanier, der unsere Predigt nicht verstehen könnte, wenn er sähe unser Messe, Chor, Orgeln, Glocken, Caseln, etc., würde er müssen sagen, es wäre ein recht päpstisch Kirche, und kein Unterscheid oder gar wenig gegen die, so sie selbs unter einander haben." Melancthon ad Flacium, 5. Sept., 1556, C. R., viii. 841, writes in the same way to apologize for the Leipsic Interim: *Ego etiam de ritibus his mediis minus pugnavi, quia jam antea in plerisque Ecclesiis harum regionum retenti erant.*

²¹ 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 13), 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. 432. 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*, Erfurti, 1603, were published, in which he expressed a wish for its gradual abolition. On the controversy that ensued, see Kraft, p. 518, the *Theses*, p. 567.

²² To be found in Zwingli's Works, ii. ii. 226. Like the Lutheran, it is a translation of the Catholic, abbreviated. It retained the breathing, salt, exorcism, chrism, etc.

²³ Div. 1, § 2, Note 88.

²⁴ Div. 1, § 2, Note 93. The Liturgy in Zwingli's Works, ii. ii. 233.

Church.²⁵ 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:²⁶ the organs were also broken up in the Zürich churches in 1527, and even singing in the church done away with.²⁷ The usual service consisted only of singing and prayer;²⁸ the Lord's Supper was seldom celebrated;²⁹ in place of confession there was a general preparatory service;³⁰

²⁵ Form des Taufs, 1525. Ordnung der christl. Kilchen zu Zürich, Kinder ze touffen, die Ehe zu bestäten, die Predigt anzefahren und zu enden. Gedächtnus der Abgestorbenen. Das Nachtmal Christi zu begon; Zürich, 1529, in Richter's Kirchenordn., i. 134.

²⁶ Bullinger's Reformationsgesch., 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. Zwingli began with a prayer; a student read the text in the Latin; Jac. Ceperinus, professor of Hebrew, expounded the Hebrew in Latin, Zwingli 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 Ritibus 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 olden times they would not have either singing or organs in the churches." Lavater, § 10, p. 42: *Morem cantandi multis de causis Ecclesia Tigurina non recepit, tempus sacris destinatum coetibus duntaxat assentilationi verbi Dei et precibus impendens. Interim tamen moderatum cantum, sive publice in coetibus sacris fiat, sive privatim domi, nequaquam improbat. Nam et Vitoduri et Steinae (duo sunt municipia ditionis 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 adolescens aliquis, si quae domus, praedia, agri, vineae venales sint, plebi significat: item quae amissa sunt et reperta. Vocantur etiam qui uxores suas vel maritos reliquerunt, ut in foro matrimoniali respondeant. Dato tertio signo, magistratus interdum sua decreta, quae totam plebem scire interest, promulgat. Mox verbi minister suggestum 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 dimittitur: Pauperes in vestris elemosynis propter Dei praeceptum vobis commendatos habetote. Orate pro me, idem facturus sum pro vobis. Abite in pace, Dominus sit vobiscum. Zwinglii Fidei Ratio ad Car. Imp., 1530 (Opp., iv. 15): *Credo ceremonias, quae neque per superstitionem fidei neque verbo Dei contrariae sunt (quanquam hujusmodi nesciam an quae inveniuntur), per caritatem tolerari posse, donec lucifer magis ac magis allucescat. Sed simul credo,—dictas ceremonias abolendas esse, quantumvis reclamant qui perfido sunt animo. About this writes Melancthon ad Lutherum, 14. Jul., 1530, C. R., ii. 193: De ceremoniis loquitur valde helvetice, i. e. barbarissime, velle se omnes ceremonias 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. 23.

³⁰ Lavater, § 13, p. 62: *Privatam confessionem et absolutionem Tigurina Ecclesia*

the ordination of preachers was made to coincide with their installation;³¹ and Zwingli was not even favorable to the observance of the Sabbath.³²

On the other hand, in Basle the new German Psalms were cordially welcomed,³³ and were sung in public worship, although here too the organs were mute. It was the same in the neighboring cantons of Schaffhausen and St. Gallen. In Basle the playing of the organ was restored under the Antistes, Sulzer,³⁴ in 1561; but in Zürich it was banished, and even church singing was not introduced until 1598.³⁵

The Church of Geneva adopted substantially the Zürich order of service,³⁶ but also introduced the French Psalms of Clement

non retinuit, quia caret praecepto et exemplo Scripturae. Contenta est publica illa confessione, quae ab omnibus, ministro praeunte, soli Deo fit. Interim vero, si qui in casibus difficilioribus scelere aliquo pressi a ministro petant, non rejicit. Absolutionem item publice annunciat minister, testificans poenitentiam agentibus et credentibus in Christum remissa esse peccata. Item privatim homines consolatur ex verbo Dei, non tamen novum aliquem ritum instituit. § 13, p. 52: Ante certos statutosque illos dies, quibus Eucharistia celebratur, habentur sermones ad populum de dignitate et usu Eucharistiae: item quo pacto se quisque ad percipiendas sacras has epulas praeparare debeat. Illis etiam ipsis diebus, quibus peragitur, breves exhortationes ad plebem fiunt, ne quis indigne corpus et sanguinem Christi sumat; 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 *Uelegung des XXV. Artikels*, 1523 (*Werke*, i. 317): "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 allurements 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. 293. 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. Sarasin's *Hist. Entwicklung des Psalmengesangs in d. Ref. Kirche*, in the *Baselsche Beiträge zur vaterl. Gesch.*, Bd. 4. (1850), s. 321.

³⁴ Oeh's *Gesch. v. Basl*, vi. 435.

³⁵ Hottinger's *Helvet. Kirchengesch.*, iii. 966.

³⁶ *Les Ordonnances Ecclesiastiques de l'Eglise de Genève*, 1541; Richter's *Kirchenordnung*, i. 342. Peculiarities: Even in the Canton of Berne the Zürich mode of ordination (§ 46, Note 41) was not strictly retained; in Brugg, 1541, 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" (*Hundeslagen, die Conflicte des Zwinglianismus, Lutherthums und Calvinismus in d. Bern. Landeskirche*, s. 176). In Geneva the laying on of hands was wholly given up; Richter, i. 343: *Quant*

Marot and Theodore Beza in the church service.³⁷ The foreign Reformed churches³⁸ followed, in this particular, the example of Geneva. In 1573 was published Ambrose Lobwasser's German translation of the French Psalms,³⁹ which, being adapted to the old melodies, soon became the general hymn-book of the German Reformed Church.

The Reformed Church every where 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 ce que les ceremonies du temps passé ont esté tournées en beaucoup de superstitions, à cause de l'infirmité 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 acquiter. The Lord's Supper was administered four times in the year (p. 347): on the Sunday after Christmas, at Easter, Whitsuntide, and on the first Sunday of September. Que le Dimanche devant qu'on célèbre la diete Cène on en face la denonciation, afin que nul enfant y vienne devant qu'avoir fait profession de sa foi, selon qu'il sera exposé au Catechisme; et aussi pour exhorter tous estrangers et nouveaux venus de se venir premier représenter à l'Eglise.

³⁷ Ordonnances, 1541; Richter, i. 347: Nous avons aussi ordonné d'introduire les chants ecclesiastiques tant devant qu'après le sermon, pour mieux inciter le peuple à louer et prier Dieu. Pour le commencement on apprendra les petits enfans, puis avec le temps toute l'Eglise pourra suivre. On Marot and his Psalms, see Bèze Hist. Eccl. des. Eglises Reformées au Royaume de France, i. 33. Claude Goudimel 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 Beiträgen zur vaterländische Geschichte, iv. 315.

³⁸ 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. 358. 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 Haagsche Genootschap Deel xi.), Gravenhag, 1851, p. 49. But the Synod of Dort abolished it, 1574 (Mensinga, p. 51): Overnuits de oplegging der handen in deze jongheid der kerke tot superstitie getogen en sommige bespottig onderworpen zou mogen wezen, hebben de broeders besloten, dat men diezelve nalaten zal. However, the Synod of Dort, 1578, restored it, and since then it has remained (Mensinga, p. 51).—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 Royaards Archief, vi. ii. 1.

³⁹ Professor of Law in Königsberg, in Prussia, died 1585.

and banished the organ from the churches. However, the organ was restored in Holland,⁴⁰ 1637, and in the Palatinate,⁴¹ 1655.

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;¹ and the directions now given for theological study—pre-eminently those of Andreas Hy-

⁴⁰ At the beginning of the Reformation they were still played—thus, 1578, in Haarlem; in the disturbances about images in 1566, they were destroyed among the Walloons, in Brabant and Flanders, but retained in the Northern Netherlands. The Synod of Dort, 1578, demanded that they should be given up; however, they were kept by the magistrates, who continued to support organists, and had the organs played by them before or after public worship. In Leyden they were first in 1637 again used in singing; and the South Holland Synod of Delft, in 1638, declared this custom to be an *adiaphoron*. Thereupon began an unedifying strife between organists and counter-organists; see *Kist het kerkelijke Orgel-gebruik*, in *Kist en Royaards Archief*, x. 189.

⁴¹ At first in Bacharach and Heidelberg; see *Wundt's Magazin für die Kirchen- und Gelehrten-gesch. der Pfalz*, ii. 56.

¹ *De non contemnendis Studiis humanioribus futuro theologo maxime necessariis clarorum virorum ad Eobanum Hessum Epistolae Lutheri, Melanchthonis, Petri Mosellani, Judoci Jonae, Jo. Draconis, etc., Erphurdiae, 1523. Melanchthonis brevis discen-tiae theologiae Ratio, 1530 (Opp. ed. Viteb., ii. 35).*

perius, professor in Marburg (who died in 1564)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.³ As a result of this position, previous exegetical works were, for the most part, found to be unfitted for use, and others must take their place.

Regarding scholasticism as the mother of so many errors, Luther often inveighed bitterly against Aristotle;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.⁵ Thereupon Me-

² De Theologo s. de Ratione Studii Theol., libb. iv. Andr. Hyperio auctore., Basil., 1556.

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 illam sensuum Scripturae, literalem, tropologicum, allegoricum et anagogicum, ac in has quatuor partes dividere hanc vestem Christi.—Nonne impiissimum est sic partiti Scripturas, ut literae neque fidem neque mores neque spem tribuas, sed solam historiam jam inutilem? In Luther's answer to the "überehrstliche, übergeistliche, und überkünstliche Buch des Boecks 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. Melancth., Elementorum Rhetorices, libb. ii., diligenter recogniti, Viteberg, 1536, 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.—Haec interpretandi ratio maxime labefacit auctoritatem Scripturae. So all following Luther, and Reform. Theologians.

⁴ Luther and J. Langium, 8th February, 1516 (de Wette, i. 15): Nihil ita ardet animus, quam histrionem illum, qui tam vere Graeca larva Ecclesiam lusit, multis revelare, ignominiamque ejus cunctis ostendere, si otium esset.—Nisi caro fuisset Aristoteles, vere diabolus cum fuisse non puderet asserere. Melancthon, too, at first spoke disparagingly of Aristotle; see Galle's Charakteristik 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.

⁵ Luther, An den christl. Adel deutscher Nation, 1520, Walch, x. 379: "Here now my advice is, that the books of Aristotle, Physica, Metaphysica, De Anima, 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

lanethon began to simplify and purify the Aristotelian philosophy;⁶ and his text-books were introduced into all the educational establishments attached to the Reformation.⁷ 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;⁸ 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 theologia, omnesque matheses ex fontibus suis hauriantur*. Melancthon says in his inaugural oration, *De Corrigendis Adolescentiæ Studiis*, 29th August, 1518, C. R., xi. 22, so much praised by Luther (ad Spalat., August 31, 1518, in de Wette, i. 131): *In ea sum plane sententia, ut qui velit insigne aliquid vel in sacris vel foro conari, parum effecturum, ni animum antea humanis disciplinis (sic enim philosophiam voco) prudenter, et quantum satis est, exerceat. Nolo autem philosophando quenquam nugari: ita enim fit, ut communis etiam sensus tandem obliviscere. Sed ex optimis optima selige, eaque cum ad scientiam naturæ, tum ad mores formandos attinentia. In primis hic eruditione Græca opus est, quæ naturæ scientiam universam complectitur, ut de moribus apposite ac copiose dicere queas. Plurimum valent Aristotelis moralia, leges Platonis, Poetæ.—Necessaria est omnino ad hanc rem historia, cui—non invitus mi contulero, quidquid emeretur laudum universos artium orbis.—Complector ergo philosophiæ nomine scientiam naturæ, 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 philosophia morali, to tell us how to lead a finely-tempered outward life; but in naturali philosophia he is fit for nothing." Cf. J. H. ab Elswich, *De varia Aristotelis in Scholis Protestantium Fortuna* (before J. Launoi *De varia Arist. in Acad. Paris. Fortuna Diss.*, Vitemberg, 1720), p. 18.*

⁶ Mel. *Declam. de Philosophia*, 1536, C. R., xi. 282: *Eruditam philosophiam requiro, non illas cavillationes, quibus nullæ res subsunt. Ideo dixi, unum quoddam philosophiæ genus eligendum esse, quod quam minimum habeat sophisticæ, et justam methodum retineat: talis est Aristoteles doctrina. Sed huic tamen aliunde addenda est illa præstantissima philosophiæ pars de motibus coelestibus. Nam reliquæ sectæ plenæ sunt sophisticæ et absurdarum et falsarum opinionum, quæ etiam moribus nocent. Nam illæ hyperbolæ Stoicorum sunt omnino sophisticæ, bonam valetudinem, opes et similia non esse bona: commentitia est et *ἀπάθεια*, falsa et pernicioza opinio de fato. Epicurus non philosophatur, sed scurratur, cum affirmat omnia casu exitisse: tollit primam causam, et dissentit in totum a vera physicorum doctrina. Fugienda est et Academia, quæ non servat methodum, et sumit sibi licentiam immoderatam omnia evertendi: quod qui facere student, hos necesse est multa sophisticæ colligere. Quanquam is qui ducem Aristotelem præcipue sequitur, et unam quandam simplicem ac minime sophisticam doctrinam expetit, interdum et ab aliis auctoribus sumere aliquid potest; ab Elswich, p. 36.*

⁷ *Rhetorica*, 1519, 1521, 1531. *Dialectica*, 1520. *Epitome Ethicorum*, 1537, 1550. *Comm. de Anima*, 1540, recognitus, 1560. *Initia Doctrinæ Physicæ*, 1555, 1559. *Tennemann's Gesch. d. Philos.*, ix. 117. *Bable's Gesch. d. neuern Philos.*, ii. 478. *Ritter's Gesch. d. christl. Philos.*, v. 495. Flæcius and his followers (cf. *Clavis Script.*, i. 893; Jo. Stolz in *Defensione Lutheri*, p. 79), as well as Osiander, inveighed in vain against Aristotle; see ab Elswich, p. 52. [*Koch, Mel's Schola Privata*, 1859. C. Schlotmann, *De Phil. Mel. Reipublicæ litter. Reform.*, Bonn, 1860. Planck, *Mel. Præceptor Germaniæ*, 1860.]

⁸ Beza ad P. Ramum, 1. Dec., 1570, in *Bezae Epist. Theolog.*, Genev., 1573, p. 202: *Nobis certum ac constitutum est, et in ipsis tradendis logicis, et in cæteris explicandis disciplinis ab Aristotelis sententia ne tantillum quidem deflectere. The philosophy of*

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-

Ramus made its way into Germany, particularly in several of the Westphalian schools, in Düsseldorf, Dortmund, Corbach; but where it showed itself in the Universities it was violently opposed. In Leipsic, in 1591, Jo. Cramerus, Organi Aristotelici Professor, was deposed on this account, and "Ramusism" was forbidden by an electoral decree (Jo. Hülsemanni Dialysis apologetica problematis Calixtini num Mysterium s. trinitatis a solo vel. Test. possit evinci, Lips., 1650. 4., in praef., p. 8, 12, 13) in Helmstädt, 1597 (Gründl. Widerlegung von Buscher's Crypto-Papismus Helmstadiensis, Lüneburg, 1641, i. 26); cf. ab Elswich, p. 54.

⁹ Tennemann, ix. 420. Ritter, v. 471. [Ramus, Sa vie et ses écrits, par M. C. Waddington, Paris, 1855; comp. Eclectic (Lond.), Sept., 1856; Ritter's christl. Philos., ii. p. 50.]

¹⁰ Tennemann, x. 200. [Bouillier, L'Hist. de la Phil. Cartesienne, 2 vols., Paris, 1854. H. Schmidt, René Descartes und seine Reform der Phil., 1859. Edinburgh Review, 1852. Ritter, christl. Phil., ii. 239 seq.]

¹¹ Dav. Chytraeus ad Theologos Witteberg., d. 20. Maji, 1595 (Chytraci Epist., p. 1276); Nec prorsus de nihilo est, quod nuper ad nos ex Anglia quidam scribebat, nostri temporis theologiam plane scholasticam esse, in qua nihil fere pietatis appareat, sed verborum et argumentorum acuminibus tantum se mutuo Theologi compungant. In Germany the conflicts with the Jesuits afforded special opportunities for this scholasticism. It made its first appearance in the religious conference at Ratisbon, appointed by Duke Maximilian of Bavaria and the Palgrave Philip Louis, between the Ingolstadt Jesuits and the theologians of the Palatinate, Saxony, Ansbach, and Württemberg: the chief disputants were the Jesuit, Jac. Gretser, and the Wittenberg theologian, Aegidius Hunnius; see Acta Colloquii Ratisbon. de norma doctrinae cath. et controversiarum religionis iudice, Monachii, 1602. 4. One of the conditions of the colloquy was—p. 4: Collocutores argumenta syllogismo, vel alia in logicis probata argumentandi forma includant; and accordingly Gretser several times demanded (p. 7, 19) that the disputation should be *scholastice*, dialectice.—In Holland the first scholastic was Joh. Makowsky or Maccovius, professor in Franeker; see Twistzaak van Maccovius door J. Heringa, in the Archief voor kerk. Geschiedenis, iii. 505. He was complained of at the Synod of Dort, 1619, because—methodum incommodam, sententias obscuras et ambiguas, verba philosophica, metaphysica et scholastica saepe adhiberi (p. 557). The synod acquitted him of heresy, but exhorted him, p. 543: In docendo utatur genere dicendi sacrae Scripturae conformi, perspicuo, plano, et in orthodoxis Academiis recepto.

¹² On his life, and the works of Melancthon, Matthesius, and Cochläus, see Div. I, before, § 1. Luther's Leben v. Karl Jürgens (till 1517, 3 Bde., Leipzig, 1846-47). E. F. Vogel's Bibliotheca biographica Lutherana, Halle, 1851. Stammbaum der Familie des Dr. M. Luther, von Prof. Nobbe, in Leipzig, Grimma, 1846.—Editions of his works: the Wittenberg (12 German Tomi, and 7 Tomi Latini, 1539-59, fol.) was complained of for Philippistic alterations. Hence the Jena edition was started, particularly by Amsdorf (8 German Tomi and 4 Tomi Lat., 1556 ss., fol.); cf. Cypriani Hist. Tomorum Lutheri, in the Fortges. Sammlung von alten und neuen theol. Sachen, 1726, s. 735.—The fol-

thon 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 Melancthon¹³ 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),¹⁴ as exegete and preacher; and Martin Bucer (in Strasburg, then in Cambridge,

lowing editions are enlarged, but only in the German works: the Altenburg, 1661 ff.; the Leipsic, 1729 ff., fol.; so, too, the Halle (by J. G. Walch, 1737 ff., 24 Theile, 4); the last has very careful introductions. On the other hand, the original text is given in the Erlangen edition (by Irmischer, Plochmann, and Elspeger, 1826 ff., 67 vols. in German and 23 Tomi Lat., 8.). Luther's Briefe, Sendschreiben, 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 Irmischer'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.]

¹³ *Omnium Operum*, P. iv., Wittebergae, 1562-64. fol. Ph. M. Epistolae, Praefationes, Consilia, Judicia, Schedae Academicae, ed. C. G. Brefschneider, or *Corpus Reformatorum*, voll. xiv., Halis Sax., 1834-47. 4. [xxvii. vol., the last issued for Melancthon's jubilee, 1859]. *Bibliotheca Melancthoniana*, a list of his works and those upon him, appended to Joach. Camerarii de Vita Ph. Mel. Narratio, ed. G. Th. Strobel, Halae, 1777, p. 543. F. Galle's Versuch einer Charakteristik Melancthon's als Theologen, und einer Entwicklung seines Lehrbegriffs, Halle, 1840. Ph. Melancthon, s. Leben u. Wirken von K. Matthes, Altenburg, 1841. Geschlecht d. Schwarzerde, by Forstemann, in the Theolog. Studien u. Krit., 1830, i. 119. [On Melancthon's Hypotyposen and Loci, see Schwarz, in Studien u. Kritiken, 1855 and 1857; and on Melancthon as a moral philosopher, *ibid.*, 1853.—Ledderhose's Life, translated by Krotel, New York, 1854. On his theological position, see the addresses on occasion of the Ter-centennial celebration, 1859, by Rothe, Kahnis, Dorner (in *Jahrb. f. Deutsche Theologie*). Comp. Wohlfarth, Zum Secular-Andenken, 1858; Volbeding, Phil. Mel. wie er lebte und lebte, 1860; and the works written for the same occasion, by Czerwenka, Heppel, etc.]

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 Schrifterklärung*, ii. 425. Joh. Brenz nach gedruckten und ungedruckten Quellen von Jul. Hartmann und K. Jäger, 2 Bde., Hamburg, 1840-42. [Geo. Veessenmeyer, J. Brenz, Selbst-Apologie für seine Rechtgläubigkeit; in *Niedner's Zeitschrift f. d. Hist. Theol.*, 1860, p. 156 sq.]

deceased 1531),¹⁵ in exegesis. In the next generation, Matthias Flacius Illyricus¹⁶ (who died in Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1575) obtained a permanent reputation in church history and exegesis; Joachim Camerarius,¹⁷ 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,¹⁸ adhered to the Melanethonian type of dogmatics, while he tried, at the same time, to satisfy the strict Lutheran orthodoxy. After the adoption of the Formulae Concordiae, the theological statements of which document were most definitely elaborated by Aegidius Hunnius,¹⁹ Superintendent and Professor in Magdeburg (who died in 1603), all the Philippistic (Melanethonian) tendencies were decisively rejected, and Melanethon's *Loci* were supplanted by Leonh. Hutter's (professor in Wittenberg; died in 1616)²⁰ *Compendium Locorum Theologi-*

¹⁵ Simon Grynaeus wrote about him, 1533: *Palmam tibi in sacris literis inter Germanos concedo*, Verpoorten, p. 11. M. Buc., *Enarrationes in sacra IV. Evang.*, Argent., 1527. Aretii Felini (i. e., M. Buceri) *Comm. in Psalmos*, 1529. Meyer, ii. 432. Buceri *Scripta Anglicana a Conr. Huberto collecta*, Basil., 1577, fol. A. M. Verpoorten, *Comm. Hist. de Martino Bucero*, Coburgi, 1709. [On Bucer, comp. Schenkel, in Herzog's *Realencyclopädie*. F. W. Baum, his *Life and Writings*, in Hagenbach's *Leben d. Väter d. Reform. Kirche*, Bd. iii. 1860. Röhrich, *La Réforme en Alsace*.]

¹⁶ On the Magdeburg Centuries (vol. i., Div. I., § 2, Note 11), see *Sagittarii Introd.* in *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 240. Ritter's *Flacius*, s. 61.—*Flacius, Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, Basil., 1556. 4.; *Clavis, Scripturae Sacrae*, 2 P., Basil., 1567, fol. Meyer, ii. 134, 502. M. Flacii Illyrici *Leben u. Tod* von J. B. Ritter, *Frankf. u. Leipz.*, 1725. M. Flacius, *Ill. eine Vorlesung von A. Twesten*, mit *Beilagen v. H. Rosell*, Berlin, 1844. [W. Preger, *Flacius und seine Zeit. Erste Hälfte*. Erlangen, 1859.]

¹⁷ J. Camer., *Notatio Figurarum Sermonis in lib. iv. Evangeliorum*, Lips., 1572. 4. *Not. Fig. in Apostolicis Scriptis. Accessere et in lib. πράξεων et αποκαλύψεως similes notationes*, Lips., 1572. 4. Meyer, ii. 508.

¹⁸ M. Chemnitz, *Examen Conc. Tridentini*, P. iv., 1565-73. 8. Best edition, G. Chr. Joannis, *Francof. ad M.* 1707, fol.—M. Ch., *Loci Theologici editi Opera Polyc. Lyseri*, *Francof. ad M.* 1591. [See Gass, *Prot. Dogmatik*; and Schenkel, in Herzog's *Realencyclop.*]

¹⁹ Aeg. Hunn., *De Persona Christi ejusque ad dextram Dei sedentis divina majestate*, 1585. *Adsertio sanae et orthodoxae Doctrinae de Persona et Majestate Christi*, 1592. *Articulus de Trinitate per quaestiones et responsiones pertractatus*, *Francof.*, 1589. *Artic. de Justificatione*, *Vitemb.*, 1589. *De Sacramentis Vet. et Novi Test.*, *Francof.*, 1595. *De Providentia Dei et aeterna Praedestinatione*, *Francof.*, 1597. *Tract. de Libero Arbitrio*, *Francof.*, 1597. *Art. de Peccato, ex Scripturae Sacrae fundamentis exstructus*, *Vitemb.*, 1606. *Art. de Lege et Evangelio*, *Vitemb.*, 1607. Also many polemic writings. [Comp. Gass, *Prot. Dogmatik*, i. 163; ii. 42, *et passim*.]

²⁰ *Vitemb.*, 1610, drawn up by order of the Elector, Christian II., and introduced into all the schools; see Walch, *Bibl. Theol.*, i. 36. More full was his *Loci Communes Theol.*, *Vitemb.*, 1619, fol. Against Hospinian he wrote *Concordia Concors: de Origine et Progressu Formulae Concordiae*, *Vitemb.*, 1614, fol. [On Hutter, see Gass, as re-

corum. Dogmatics now assumed a scholastic form; exegesis was made entirely dependent on theology,²¹ and almost all theological talent was expended upon scholastic divinity and polemics.²² 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,²³ 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 work²⁴ 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*.²⁵ The Rostock professor, John Tarnov (who died in 1625), stands almost alone in this period as a liberal and learned exegete.²⁶

Among the theologians of the Reformed Church, the first to be named for their exegetical and polemic writings are Ulrich Zwin-

ferred to above; Heppé's *Gesch. der Concordienformel*, 1857, and his other works; Franck, *Theologie d. Concordienformel*, Erlangen, 1858.]

²¹ On the Commentaries of Aegidius Hunnius und Polyearp. Leyser, see Meyer's *Gesch. d. Schrifterklärung*, iii. 408.

²² See Rupertii Meldenii *Paraenesis Votiva* (soon after 1624, see § 42, Note 6). Cf. Lücke, s. 114: *Innumerabiles parturit feracissimum hoc saeculum disputationes et controversias, plures quam aetas vermes, muscas, pulices et culices, de fide, ejusque capitibus, quae quidem sic vocantur et videntur: dixi, dico, multas esse ex illis iuanes nugae et paleas, quia sine caritate.*

²³ Fr. Bald., *Tractatus luculentus posthumus—de Materia rarissime antehac enucleata, Casibus nimirum Conscientiae*, Witteb., 1628. 4. Cf. Stäudlin's *Gesch. d. christl. Moral seit dem Wiederaufleben der Wissenschaften*, s. 288. De Wette's *Geschichte der christl. Sittenlehre*, ii. 314.

²⁴ *Locorum Theologicorum T. ix.*, Jenae, 1610-22. 5. (denuo edidit, observationes nec non praefationem, qua de vita scriptisque auctoris disseritur, adjevit J. F. Cotta, 22 voll., Tubing., 1762-81. 4.) Comp. *Vita Jo. Gerhardi conscripta a E. R. Fischer*, Lips., 1723, p. 386. Stäudlin's *Gesch. der theol. Wissensch.*, i. 242.—*Confessionis Catholicae, in qua Doctrina Catholica et Evangelica, ex Romano-catholicorum suffragiis confirmatur* Auct. J. Gerh., libb. ii. in 4 Partes, Jenae, 1634-37. 4.; see Fischer, p. 401. Stäudlin, ii. 16. [Gass, *ubi supra*, i. 261 sq.]

²⁵ Jenae, 1623. 4. (his temporibus accommodata a J. A. Dathe et G. L. Bauer, T. ii., Lips., 1776-97. 8.) See Meyer's *Gesch. d. Schrifterklärung*, iii. 125, 333.

²⁶ *Exercitationum Biblicarum libb. iv.* (Rostoch., 1619. 4. On the sensation made by its giving up the interpretations of Luther, Chemnitz, and Hunnius, see Tholuck's *Wittenb. Theol. des 17ten Jahrh.*, s. 153). Comm. in prophetas minores, Rost., 1622 ss. 4 (with a preface by J. B. Carpzov's on Tarnov's *Leben u. Verdienste*, Lips., 1688. 4.); cf. Meyer, iii. 420.

gle²⁷ and John Oecolampadius.²⁸ Zwingle's work, *De Vera et Falsa Religione*, was soon eclipsed by Calvin's *Institutio Christianae Religionis*;²⁹ 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),³⁰ was without any general influence;³¹ his Latin transla-

²⁷ *Lebensbeschreibung M. u. Zwingli's von J. L. Hess, aus dem Franz. nebst einem literarisch hist. Anhang v. L. Usteri, Zürich, 1811.* Zwingli's Werke, erste vollst. Ausgabe durch Melch. Schuler u. Joh. Schulthess: Bd. 1 u. 2. Deutsche Schriften, vol. iii.-viii. opera lat., Zürich, 1828-42. gr. 8. On his exegetical works, see Meyer, ii. 402. [Life and Times of Zwingle, from the German of Hottinger, by F. C. Porter, Harrisb., 1856. Bib. Sacra, Life by Professor Robbins, vols. viii. and ix. H. Christoffel, Life of Zwingle, etc. (in Hagenbach's *Leben d. Reform.*), translated by John Cochran, Edinb., 1858. Stahl, in his work, *Die Union*, on Zwingle's theological system; comp. Stier, in *Deutsche Zeitschrift*, 1859, and Baxmann, *ibid.* E. Zeller, *Das theolog. System Zwingli's*, Tübingen, 1853. G. W. Roder, *d. schweiz. Ref. Mag.* Huld. Zwingli, St. Gallen, 1855. C. Sigwart, *Zwingli, d. Charakter seines Systems, mit Rücksicht auf Picus Mirandula*, 1855; comp. Jäger, in *Stud. und Krit.*, 1856, and Jacobi, in *Deutsche Zeitschrift*, 1857, No. 1. E. Zeller, *Ursprung und Charakter d. Zwinglischen Lehrbegriffs*, in *Theol. Jahrb.*, 1857.]

²⁸ In German, Husgen, nicht Hausehein, see Ullman, in the *Theol. Studien u. Krit.*, 1845, i. 155. *Lebensgesch. Dr. J. Oecolampads u. die Reform. d. Kirche zu Basel v. J. J. Herzog*, 2 Bde., Basel, 1843 (Additions by Ullmann, as above. Hagenbach's Review, *ibid.*, p. 191). *Chronolog. Verzeichniss d. Schriften Oekol. in Hess*, s. 413; comp. also Herzog, ii. 257. [On Oecolampadius, see Hagenbach, *ubi supra*; comp. *Biblical Repertory*, 1851.]

²⁹ *Das Leben J. Calvin's d. grossen Reformators v. Paul Henry*, 3 Bde., Hamburg, 1835-41 [transl., omitting the Appendix, by Dr. Stebbing, 2 vols., London and New York, 1854]. Literature of his works in Henry, iii. ii. 175. *J. Calvin's Opera Omnia Theol.*, T. vii., Genevae, 1617; new edition, T. ix., Amstel., 1667, fol. In the Geneva edition are wanting: *Jo. Calv. Epistolae et Responsa*. Genev., 1575, fol.; better edition, Lausanne, 1576. 8. In the Amsterdam edition the Epistles are in Tom. xi. On his exegetical writings, see Meyer, ii. 450. [The Merits of Calvin as an Interpreter, by Professor Tholuck, translated by L. Woods, Jun., in *Bibl. Repos.*, Andover, July, 1832. Calvin's Collected Works, translated and published at Edinburgh, 52 vols., completed 1855. His Correspondence, ed. by Jules Bonnet, translated, to be in 4 vols., two of which are published. On his life, see Haag's *France Protestante*; Guizot in *Musée des Protest. Celéb.*; Gabriel's *Hist. de l'Eglise de Geneve*, 1855; Robbins, in *Bib. Sacra*, 1845-46; *New American Cyclopaedia*; T. H. Dyer, London, 1850; *Revue Chrétienne*, 1854; *Kirchenfreund*, 1857; *British and Foreign Quarterly*, 1860.]

³⁰ Seb. Castellio's *Lebensgeschichte*, by J. C. Fuesslin, Frankf. u. Leipzig, 1775. [On Castellio, see Schweizer, *Central Dogmen*, i. 310, 372, etc.; Henry, *Leben Calvin's*, ii. 383; Trechsel's *Anti-Trinitar.*, i. 208; Schweizer, *ubi supra*.]

³¹ *De Haereticis an sint persecuendi*, etc., cum praef. Mart. Bellii, Magdeb., 1554 (Henry, iii. ii. 89): another work against Calvin's doctrine of predestination (Henry, iii. ii. 28). On the controversy, see Fuessli, 50; Henry, iii. i. 88 [and Schweizer, as above]. These anonymous writings of Castellio soon passed into oblivion; but the chief contents were adopted in a work published after Castellio's death by Faustus Socinus, viz., *Seb. Castellionis dialogi iv.*, Aresdorfii, 1578. 12. (*De praedestinatione, de electione, de libero arbitrio, de fide, an perfecte legi Dei ab hominibus obediri possit, responsio de praedestinatione, defensio adv. libellum Jo. Calvinii, de calumnia.*)

tion of the Bible³² was opposed in Geneva as a work of Satan. On the other hand, Theodore Beza, professor and preacher in Geneva (deceased 1605),³³ 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),³⁴ prepared excellent works on the Old Testament. John Drusius, professor in Leyden and Franeker (deceased 1616), Louis de Dieu, professor in Leyden (died 1642),³⁵ and the two Basle professors, John Buxtorf, the father (died 1629), and his son (who died in 1664),³⁶ 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);³⁷ but still more after the Arminian controversies in Holland.³⁸ In the field of church history the most distinguished authors were: Rudolph Hospinianus, preacher in Zürich (died 1626);³⁹ Gerhard John Vossius, professor in Leyden, and afterward in Amsterdam (died 1649).⁴⁰ David Blondel,

³² *Biblia Interprete Seb. Castalione una cum ejusdem Annotationibus*, Basil., 1551, fol., often reprinted. In the dedication to Edward VI. of England, Castella assigned as his object, ut fidelis, et Latina, et perspicua esset haec translatio; comp. Meyer, ii. 290. In 1555 he published a French translation of the Bible. Beza opposed to it his Latin, *N. T. Latine jam olim a vet. Interprete, nunc denuo a Th. Beza versum, cum ejusdem Annotationibus*, Oliva Rob. Stephani, 1556, fol.; then by Castello: *Defensio suarum Translationum Bibliorum, et maxime Novi Foederis*, Basil., 1562; Beza, in reply: *Responsio ad Defensiones et Reprehensiones S. Castell.*, 1563; comp. Castello v. Fuesslin, 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 duae, una vetus, altera nova Th. Bezae, ejusdem Th. Bezae annotationes*, of this four editions, 1565, 1582, 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. Proverbia, Ecclesiasten et Cant. Cant.*, Genevae, 1573, fol., in *Genesis, Gen.*, 1598, fol. Meyer, ii. 481.

³⁵ On both, Meyer, iii. 413.

³⁶ Meyer, iii. 23, 169.

³⁷ Meyer, iii. 410. His new German version of the Bible (Herborn, 1602) is often unintelligible, from its slavish adherence to the original; Meyer, iii. 369.

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. 1598 and 1602; *Concordia Discors, de Origine et Progressu Formulae Concordiae Bergensis*, 1607; *Historia Jesuitica*, 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),⁴¹ 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 1655.⁴² In the French Reformed Church, Daniel Chamier, professor in Montauban (died 1621), published the most complete polemical work against the Roman Catholic Church;⁴³ Moses Amyrault (Amyraultus), professor in Saumur (died 1664), an excellent system of Christian ethics.⁴⁴ 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,⁴⁵ 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),⁴⁶ who, as an author, influenced theology at sev-

Bat., 1618. 4. (ocnpletatus cura Isaaci Vossii, Amstel., 1655. 4.). On account of this work, which displeased the Contra-Remonstrants, he lost his post in Leyden, and was even excommunicated for a time; see Niceron's *Nachr. v. berühmten Gelehrten*, i. 91; comp. the *Synodale Handelingen in de Zaak der Remonstranten*, in the *Archief voor kerk. Geschiedenis*, vii. 69, 79, et passim.

⁴¹ Pseudo-Isidorus et Turrianus vapulantes, Genev., 1628. 4. De Eucharistia veteris Ecclesiae, 1610. De la Primauté en l'Eglise, Geneve, 1641, fol. Apologia pro Sententia Hieronymi de Episcopis et Presbyteris, Amstel., 1646. 4. De Formulae Regnante Christo in veterum Monumentis Usu, Amstel., 1646. 4. Tract. de Jure Plebis in Regimine Ecclesiastico, Paris, 1648. 8. De Joanne Papissa, Amstel., 1657. 8. [Actes authentiques des églises réform. de France, de Germ., de Gr. Bretagne, 1651.]

⁴² Gotteschalci et Prædestinarianae Controversiae Hist., Dublini, 1631. 4. Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, Dubl., 1632. 4. Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates, quibus inserta est Pelag. Haereseos Historia, Dubl., 1639. 4. De Romanae Eccl. Symbolo Apostolico veteri aliisque Fidei Formulis, Lond., 1647. 4. Annales Vet. et Novi Test., 2 P., Lond., 1650. 54., fol. (best edition, Genevae, 1722, fol., which also contains *Chronologia Sacra*, De Rom. Eccl. symbolo and Usserii Vita a Th. Smitho conscripta). [Works by Dr. Erlington, xvi. vols., 1847-50, Dublin. Answer to a Jesuit (1624), Camb., 1835.]

⁴³ Dan. Cham. Panstratiae Catholicae, s. Controversiarum de Religione adversus Pontificios Corpus, ed. cura Bened. Turretini, iv. T., Genev., 1626, fol. [Schweizer, ii. 233.]

⁴⁴ Comp. § 45, Note 8. La Morale chrestienne à Mr. de Villarnoul, à Saumur, 1652-60, 4 P., in 6 Banden; cf. Staudlin's *Gesch. d. christl. Moral seit d. Wiederaufleben d. Wissensch.*, s. 406; de Wette, *Gesch. d. christl. Sittenlehre*, ii. 320. [On the school of Saumur, see Ebrard, *Dogmatik*, i.; Gass, *Gesch. d. Dogmatik*, ii.; but especially Schweizer, *Central-Dogmen*, ii. 225-439, on Camero. Amyrault, and Dallaeus; and 554-663 on Pajon; cf. *Theol. Jahrb.* (of Baur and Zeller), 1853.]

⁴⁵ *Arcanum Punctuationis revelatum*, Lugd. Bat., 1624. 4. Controversy about this with the Buxtorfs; see Meyer's *Gesch. der Schrifterklärung*, iii. 273.—Lud. Cappelli *Critica Sacra*, Lutet., Paris, 1650, fol.; Meyer, iii. 287.

⁴⁶ *De Veritate Religionis Christ.* cura G. J. Vossii, 1627. *Annotationes in libros Evangeliorum*, Amst., 1641, fol. *Annott. in N. T. T.*, ii. iii., Paris, 1646. 50., fol. *Annott. in V. T. 3 T.*, Paris, 1644, fol. Hugo Grotius nach s. *Schicksalen und Schriften*

eral points, but who was not regarded by the Reformed Church of that period as in sympathy with it.

§ 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,¹ schools were founded in all the cities attached to the Reformation; in the smaller towns there were at least schools for popular instruction,² in the larger towns, higher institutions for education.³ In Saxony⁴ and Würtemberg⁵ cloisters were appropriated to this object. New universities and academies were also established.⁶

dargestellt v. H. Luden, Berlin, 1806. [A new edition, with translation, of Grotius on the Truth of the Christian Religion, by John Clarke, D.D., Lond., 1860.]

[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 christl. Schulen aufrichten und halten sollen. M. Luther, Wittenberg, 1524. 4. (Walch, x. 532), translated into Latin by Vinc. Opsopäus: *De constituendis scholis M. Lutheri liber, donatus latinitati. Præcedit Ph. Melancthi. præfatio, Hagenoac*, 1524 (the Preface is given in C. R., i. 666). Der 127te Psalm, ausgelegt an die Christen zu Rigen, in Liefland. 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 Mекlenburgs*, s. 140.

³ Thus in the school in Nuremberg, which Melancthon aided in founding, dedicated 23d May, 1526 (the Oration in C. R., xi. 106), and where John Camerarius as rector, Eoban Hess, and other able men were appointed. Comp. J. D. Schulze, *Literaturgeschichte der sämmtl. Schulen im teutschen Reiche, Weissenfels u. Leipz.*, 1804. Wachler's *Gesch. d. Literatur*, 2te Umarbeitung, iii. 33.

⁴ The Prince's schools, founded by Maurice, Schulpforta and Meissen, 1543, 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 15th century; see Joh. Brenz, by Hartmann and Jäger, ii. 299.

⁶ German Universities: Marburg, 1527; Strasburg, 1538; Königsberg, in Preussen, 1541; Jena, 1557; Helmstädt, 1576; Altorf, 1575; 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 schools⁷ 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.⁸ The cloisters were, however, soon called to give aid, and were also obliged to exercise the children in singing the hymns of the church.⁹ The ecclesiastical ordinance of Electoral Saxony, in 1580, first enjoined the cloisters to open schools for general instruction.¹⁰

in Geneva Univ., 1558. In Holland, Universities in Leyden, 1575; Franeker, 1585; Harderwyk, 1600; Groningen, 1614; Utrecht, 1636. In France, particularly the Academies in Montauban, Sedan (1562), and Saumur (1601). [The French Protestants established (1578-1685) one or more colleges in every province of the kingdom, excepting Provence, thirty-two in all, with a course of instruction of seven years; and also at least one parochial school for every church. Comp. Nicolas, in the Bulletin de la Société de l'Hist. du Protest. Franç., 1856, pp. 497-511, 582-595. On the Academy of Geneva, see Cellerier, in the same work, p. 13 sq., 200 sq., 253 sq. See also Bussiere, Protest. in Strash., etc., 1859.]

⁷ Thus the school founded in the Dominican cloister of Strasburg by its leading teacher, Joh. Sturm (1537-1583), deposed as Calvinist, and died 1589. [Comp. Chs. Schmidt, *La Vie et les travaux de Jean Sturm*, 1855.] (Th. Vömel in Schwarz Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der Pädagogik, Leipzig, 1833, s. 103.) One in Goldberg, in Silesia, by Valentin Friedland Troitzendorf (1531-1536. G. Pinzger's Val. Friedl. Troitzendorf, Hirschberg, 1825). One in Ilfeld, by the Abbot Mich. Neander (1550-1595. W. Havemann's Mittheilungen aus dem Leben von M. Neander, Göttingen, 1841).

⁸ 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. II. Schuler's *Gesch. d. katechet. Religionsunterrichts unter d. Protestanten*; Halle, 1802, s. 49.

⁹ In the Saxon Church Order, 1533, 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, 1531 (i. 150), Pomerania, 1535 (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 Wochen auch auf einen gewissen Tag die Kinder den Katechismus, und christliche Deutsche Gesänge mit Fleiss und deutlich zu lehren, und nachmals in den vorgesprochenen oder vorgelesenen Artikeln des Katechismi wiederum zu vorhören und zu examinieren, und do eins oder mehr Filial zu der Pfarr gehöreten, soll er mit solchem Lehren, mit Rath seines Pastors, dermassen abwechseln, dass die Jugend in allen Dörfern nach Nothdurft unterwiesen, und ja nicht versäümet werde."

¹⁰ The *Reformatio Ecclesiarum Hassiae*, 1526, published by the Synod of Homburg,

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 preaching¹¹ 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.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.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.¹⁴ But when

ordains, c. 30 (see Richter's Kirchenordnung, i. 68): In omnibus civitatibus, oppidis et pagis sint puerorum scholae, ubi rudimenta et scribendi rationem doceantur; 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 bestellet 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. 413): "Ob er vermöge unser Ordnung die Schule angestellet, und alle Tage aufs wenigst vier Stunden Schul halte, besonders aber den Katechismus die Kinder mit Fleiss in der Schulen lehre, und mit ihnen Dr. Luther's geistliche Gesäng 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 Dorfküsterer 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."

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, 1613, and Joh. Arnd (see below, § 50, Note 22). Leipsic, 1616.

¹² See above, § 30, Note 2.

¹³ See above, § 34, Notes 20, 22.

¹⁴ Luther's homiletic rules are brought together in M. Cour. Portae (preacher in Eisen, † 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.¹⁵ The excellent homiletic directions of Andreas Hyperius¹⁶ and Nicolas Hemming (professor in Copenhagen, afterward canon in Rothschild, died 1600)¹⁷ 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;¹⁸ so that even the five-fold *Usus*, which had become the rule in the structure of sermons,¹⁹ could not make them useful for Christian culture. Pastoral in-

ner Schriften v. d. Gott gefälligen Art zu predigen, Jena, 1746. Comp. Ph. H. Schuler's *Gesch. der Veränderungen des Geschmacks im Predigen, insonderheit unter den Protestanten in Deutschland* (3 Th., Halle, 1792. 93.), i. 38. E. Jonas, *die Kanzelberedbarkeit Luther's nach ihrer Genesis, ihrem Character, Inhalt u. ihrer Form*, Berlin, 1852.

¹⁵ Comp. the extracts from Mörlin's Sermons against Osiander, delivered in Königsberg, 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. 324.

¹⁶ See § 48, Note 2. A. Hyp. de *formandis Concionibus Sacris, s. de Interpretatione Scripturarum populari*, libb. ii., Marburgi, 1553, denuo ed. H. B. Wagnitz, Halae, 1781; comp. Schuler, i. 95.

¹⁷ Nic. Hemm. Pastor. *Unterrichtunge, wie ein Pfarrherr und Seelsorger in Lehr, Leben, und allem Wandel sich christlich verhalten soll*, Leipzig, 1566; comp. Schuler, i. 102.

¹⁸ Evidence of this in Schuler, 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. 69. [Also, Tholuck, *Lebenszeugen d. Lutherischen Kirche*, 1859.]

¹⁹ *Usus didascalicus, elenchthicus, paraeteticus, epanorthoticus, and paedeuticus*, after 2 Tim. iii. 16, and Rom. xv. 4. Dav. Chytraeus ad Hier. Meneclium, *Superint. Islebensem* (Chytraei Epistt., p. 348): *Utinam timore Dei et poenitentia et metu irae ac iudicii divini adversus peccatum animos nostros et auditorum nostrorum ad verae pietatis ac justitiae et dilectionis Dei ac proximi exercitia potius, quam ad disputationum rixas, quae non sublatam, sed mutatam esse superioris aetatis sophisticam ostendunt, adsuafeceremus!* (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, fremementum cum reliquis Ecclesiae hostibus, ac ruptum paene medium: atque utinam nunquam contentiosorum, ambitiosorum spirituum impugnatione eo adactum fuisset, ut plus nunc in malignitatis eorum detectione evitacioneque, quam nuda beneficiorum erga nos Dei confessione veritatisque agnitione nobis sit negotii factum. Ea res incantioribus impositum, ut hac humanae rationis contentione et delectati admodum fuerint, et iis acquieverint, omnemque vitam imprudentissime absumpserint. Nempe Trinitatem definire quam adorare, praesentiam 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 literas frequenter volutari, quam dilectionis christianae praxi occupari maluit: denique theologiam scientiam aliquam faciunt, cujus cognitio veluti logices aut metaphysicae ad eruditionis famam 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.²⁰ In the Reformed Church a strict discipline still upheld order;²¹ but in the German Lutheran Church they seemed to care only for orthodoxy;²² and, besides, ignorance, immorality, and rudeness penetrated the popular mind, and reached a fearful height, especially during the devastations of the Thirty Years' War.²³ Belief in witchcraft was still prevalent, notwithstanding some opposition to it;²⁴ and in the seven-

²⁰ Schuler's *Gesch. d. katechet. Religionsunterrichts unter den Protestanten*, s. 84.

²¹ Jo. Val. Andreae Vita ab ipso conscripta, ex autographo ed. F. H. Rheinwald, Berol., 1849, p. 24: Dum Genevæ essem (the spring of 1611), notavi rem magni momenti, et cuius non tam memoriam quam desiderium nisi cum vita nunquam posuero. Nam præter perfectam reipublicæ liberæ formam atque curam peculiari ornamentum et disciplinæ instrumentum urbs habet censuram, qua in omnes civium mores et minutissimos etiam excessus hebdomatim inquiritur, primum per inspectores vicinos, dein seniores, denique ipsum Senatam, prout rei atrocitas, aut delinquentis vel durtitia vel pertinacia exegerit. Hinc prohibentur omnes dejectiones et execrationes, aleæ et chartarum lusus, lascivia, petulantia, rixæ, odia, doli, fraudes, emulsiones, comessationes, luxus, protervia, socordia, bilis inmodica, rusticitas, nedum majora flagitia, quæ propemodum inaudita hic sunt et insolita. Quæ morum castimonia mirum quam decori sit religioni christianæ, quam conveniens, quam propria, ut eam nobis abesse atque plane negligi omnibus lacrymis deplorandum sit, et ut restituatur bonis cunctis allaborandum. Me sane nisi religionis dissonantia arcuisset, morum consonantia æternum devinxisset, adeoque omni nisu exinde studui, ut tale quid nostris Ecclesiis conciliarem.

²² 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. 35); and hence he could not find any post in his fatherland, Württemberg (p. 55). Comp. Tholuck's *Luth. Theologen Wittenbergs*, s. 82.

²³ J. B. Andreae und sein Zeitalter dargestellt, by W. Hossbach, Berlin, 1819, s. 35. Tholuck, s. 93.

²⁴ 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 Præcepta prædicata ann. 1517*, in *Loscher's Reformationsacta*, 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 *Præstigiis Daemonum, Incantationibus et Veneficiis*, libb. 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. pfälzische Geschichte*, ii. 210); Augustin Lercheimer's *christl. Bedenken u. Erinnerung von Zauberei*, Frankf., 1585, fol. (also in *J. Scheible's Kloster*, ii. 206); Gabriel Naudé (physician in Rome and Paris), *Apologie pour les grands hommes, soupçonnés de Magie*, Paris, 1625; *Cautio criminalis*, s. de processibus contra sagas, lib. ad magistratus Germaniæ hoc tempore necessarius, auctore incerto theologo orthod. (*Frid. Spec*,

teenth century the execution of witches had become so frequent²⁵ 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)¹, and at first advocated only by the physicians of the school of Paracelsus,² 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;³ but in

Jesuit in Trier), Rintel., 1631. [On witchcraft and superstition in England in seventeenth century, see Roberts's Social Hist. of Eng., 1856, p. 522 sq.; Scott's Discovery of Witchcraft, 1655; John Webster's Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft . . . wherein a Corporeal League betwixt the Devil and the Witch is utterly denied and disproved, Lond., 1677; S. R. Maitland, The Conduct of the Clergy with regard to Magic and Sorcery, Theol. Critic, June, 1852.]

²⁵ G. C. Horst's *Dämonologie, oder Gesch. des Glaubens an Zauberei und demon. Wunder, mit bes. Berücksichtigung des Hexenprocesses* (2 Th., Frankf. a. M., 1818), i. 197; ii. 149. An account of the way in which Kepler's mother was examined as a witch, 1615, and of her defense by her son, is in *Joh. Kepler's Leben* by Freih. v. Breitschwert, s. 97. [A complete edition of Kepler's works, by Chs. Frisch, vol. i.-iii., 1860, Frankf. Comp. Playfair, in Edinb. Rev., v.; Life, in For. Qu. Rev., xv.]

¹ On him, as a physician, see K. F. H. Marx zur Würdigung des Theophr. v. Hohenheim, in den *Abhandl. der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Bd. i. (1843), s. 73. Die Theologie des Theophr. Parac. v. Hohenheim, in *Auszügen aus s. Schriften dargestellt* v. Dr. H. A. Preu, Berlin, 1839. On his philosophy, see Tennemann's *Gesch. der Philosophie*, ix. 205. Ritter's *Gesch. d. christl. Philos.*, v. 516. [Hagenbach, *Vorlesungen über die Reform.*, iii. 337 sq. M. Carrière, *Phil. Weltanschauung d. Reform.*, Stuttg., 1847. Ritter, *Christl. Phil.*, ii. 155 sq.]

² *Secta Medicorum Paracelsica, Hermetica, Spagirica, Chymica*; see Marx, s. 112. *Comp. Arnold's Kirchen- u. Ketzehist.*, Th. 2, B. 16, Cap. 22, § 8.

³ On his life and writings, see *Arnold's Kirchen- u. Ketzehist.*, 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 1609,⁴ and created an immense excitement by their theosophic and fanatical speculations.⁵ After 1612 Jacob Böhme's⁶ (shoemaker in Görlitz, Philosophus

Unschuldige Nachrichten, 1715, s. 22; comp. s. 1075. He subscribed the *Formula Concordiæ*, 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 dieweil sie 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 Ubereilung, dass man nicht etliche Tage oder Wochen solebe Ding einem jeden insonderheit zu überlesen vergönnete, sondern nur in einer Stunde dem ganzen Haufen vorgelesen, und darauf die Subscription erfordert. Zum dritten wollte mir armen Zuhörer nicht gebühren, dem Teufel ein Freudenmahl zu machen und anzurichten, dass der ganze Hauf geschrien hätte: da, da, wir habens wol gewusst, er seye nit unserer Lehr gemüss. Also hätte mein unbeweglicher Apostolischer Grund müssen für eine verlogene Lehre gehalten werden, welches Gott nicht gefällig, die Perlen für die Säu zu schütten, oder das Heiligthum den Hunden zu geben: zu Lohn hätten sie mich zutreten und zurissen, wäre mir billig geschehen, dass ich für der Zeit mir mein Leben hatte abgekürzt: mein Bekantnuß wäre keinem unter dem ganzen Haufen nütze gewesen, nur ärgerlich,—Gott würd michs wol heissen, wenn ich soll sprechen zu den hohen Schulen: sie kennen Christum nicht, wer unberuft läufet, richtet nichts aus. Mache mir also gar kein Gewissen mit diesem 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 hüte dich ja, dass du nach dem innern Menschen kein Priester seyst."

⁴ In Halle and in Magdeburg; see the chronological list in the *Unschuldige Nachrichten*, 1715, s. 35. The first which aroused attention was "Kirchen- oder Hauspostill über die Sonntags- und fürnehmsten Fest-Evangelien, Neustadt (Magdeburg), 1611." Weigel's writings, after his death, were at first circulated in copies made by his chorister, Weickert; and their integrity, and even the genuineness of several, is consequently doubtful.

⁵ On his doctrine, see Arnold, *Th. 2, B. 17, cap. 17, § 7*. Dorner's *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre v. d. Person Christi*, s. 224. Baur's *Gesch. d. Lehre v. d. Versöhnung*, s. 463, and his *Lehre v. d. Dreieinigkeit*, iii. 257. Ritter's *Gesch. d. christl. Philosophie*, vi. 77. [Comp. Niedner, *Gesch. d. Kirche*, 737 sq. L. Pertz, *Der Weigelianismus*, in *Zeitschrift f. d. Hist. Theol.*, 1857. Walch, *Religionsstreitigkeiten*, iv. 1024 sq. Planck, *Gesch. d. Protest. Theol.*, 72 sq. Hagenbach, *Vorlesungen über die Ref.*, iii. 337 sq.]

⁶ His life, after his own communications, by Abrah. v. Franckenberg, prefixed to his works. Comp. Arnold, *Th. 2, B. 17, cap. 19*. J. Böhme's *Leben und Lehre*, dargestellt von Dr. W. L. Wullen, Stuttgart, 1836. *Die Lehre des Deutschen Philosophen J. Böhme*, systematisch dargestellt v. Dr. J. Hamberger, München, 1844. Tennemann's *Geschichte der Philos.*, x. 183. Dorner's *Lehre von d. Person Christi*, s. 231. Baur's *Lehre v. der Dreieinigkeit*, iii. 261. Ritter, vi. 100. Böhme derived his Paracelsian ideas from his intercourse with physicians of that school; viz., Balthasar Walther, Cornel. Weisser, and Tobias Kober. [Wullen, *Bläthen aus J. Böhme's Mystik*, Stuttgart, 1836. A. E. Umbreit, *Jakob Böhme*, Heidelb., 1835. Baur, *Gnosis*, 558; and in Zeller's *Jahrb.*, 1850. Hamberger, *Lehre des Deutschen Philos. Jak. B.*, München, 1844. Tholuck, in *Zeitschr. f. christl. Wiss.*, 1854. Auberlen, in *Herzog's Realencyclop. II A. Fechner*,

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.⁷ 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 disdain⁸ of all Christianity of the letter, and of all scien-

Jak. B., *Leben u. Schriften* (Preisschrift), 1857. Schaff's *Kirchenfreund*, 1853. *Christ. Rev.*, July, 1854. Life, by Bialloblotzky, in *Penny Cyclopaedia*. Works, 4 vols. fol. in English, 1764-81. Ellistone was the chief English translator. Law proposed another edition, this not being satisfactory; see his *Animadversions on Dr. Trapp*. *Comp. Notes and Queries*, viii. 13; ix. 246; and second series, i. 395, etc. See also, Hegel, *Gesch. d. Phil.*, iii. 296 sq. Ritter, *Christl. Phil.*, ii. 165 sq.]

⁷ All these works were at first circulated in manuscript copies. His *Aurora, oder Morgenrothe im 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. Giechel, Amsterdam, 1682, 10 Bde., 8.; since then often published; the last edition by K. W. Schiebler, Leipzig, 1831-42, 4 Bde., and Stuttgart, 1835-46, 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 *Locis*, 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; und unser keiner gedenkt weiter zu lernen von Gott: ja etliche müssen noch dazu vor Gott ein Jurement 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 doctrinae*, auf den Postillen, auf der Augustana Confessio, auf den *Locis Philippi*, auf den Schriften Lutheri, auf der Väter 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 wolle den heil. Geist oder die Salbung lassen lehren: vermögen sie nicht wider einen solchen zu schreiben, so heben sie Steine auf, und werfen nach ihm, d. i. giessen ihn bei der weltl. Obrigkeit an, dass er getödtet, oder zum Lande hinausgeworfen werde." J. Böhme, *Morgenröthe im 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) Formula u. Art, sintemal ichs von ihnen nicht gelernt habe, sondern habe einen andern 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. Andreae¹⁰ (born in 1586; deacon at Vain-

ben die Erkenntnis Gottes des Einigen Vaters, aus dem sie seind herkommen, und in dem sie leben, so verachte ich ihre formulam der Philosophiae, Astrologiae, und Theologiae gar nicht. Dann ich befinde, dass sie meistentheils gar auf rechtem Grunde stehet, und will mich auch befeissen, dass ich ihrer Formula mochte nachfahren.—15. Ich habe dessen auch keinen Befehl, dass ich mich über sie soll hoch beschweren und sie verdammen, ohne über ihre Laster der Hoffart, Geitzes, Neides, und Zornes: über das beschweret sich der Geist der Natur mächtig sehr, nicht ich, was wollte ich armer Staub thun, der ich doch fast ohnmächtig bin? 16. Allein das zeigt der Geist: ihnen ist das Pfund des Gewichtes und der Schlüssel überantwortet worden, und sie seind in ihren Wollüsten des Fleisches ersoffen, und haben das Pfund des Gewichtes in die Erde vergraben, und den Schlüssel in ihrer hoffartigen Trunkenheit verloren.—18. Darumb spricht der Geist der Natur, weil sie nicht wollen aufwachen vom Schläfe und die Thür aufmachen, so will Ich selber thun. 19. Was könnte ich armer, einfältiger Laye sonst von ihrer hohen Kunst lehren oder schreiben, so es mir nicht von dem Geiste der Natur gegeben wäre, in dem ich lebe und bin?

⁹ An inventory of the errors of Weigel is given in *Neue Beiträge v. alten u. 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. 12. 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 ætate religio aliqua multiformis ac polyypi instar, quam Weigelianam appellare possemus, quod sub hoc nomine, cui injuriam non fecerim, circumferatur. Et cum primum valde bona propinaret, et internum hominem egregie formaret, saperetque devotum quid et coelicum spirans, nunc nescio an non supponat, certe monstruosissima quaeque, et in religionem puriorem contumeliosissima profert, et haereseos pestilentissimae genuinum exerit. Nolo hic exaggerare, quam in D. Lutheri maxima merita injuria sit, quam in spiritum herois dicaeula, passim omne verbi ministerium, et fidos Dei servos suggillet, quam pro suo aethereo lumine omnes faeculas rideat et conculcet, ut nihil hic lene aut cum Christo, quemadmodum crepat, mansuetum reperias. Sed quod Sacramenta elevet, Spiritum tantum interpretem jactitet, de Christi carne, de beata Dei genitrice, de damnatorum statu, de omniscientia aliqua, de imputationis figmento, de absolutionis temeritate nefanda deliret, atque ubique Ecclesiam Christi maxima bile, summaque injuria oneret, id ut indignum, ita ad animum bonis et meliora sitientibus vocandum est, ne vitia hujus saeculi perosi, et incommodas multorum administrationes dedignant, hominis unius maledicentiae juxta et jactantiae se incogitantius concedant, aut hanc ubi dolam colendi Deum rationem, quae foris nullibi pateat, et inter omnes religiones versari possit, cunctasque mundi leges consuetudinesve admittat, illabi sibi patientur.*

hingen, 1614; Superintendent at Calw, 1620; court preacher and consistorial councilor in Stuttgart, 1639; Abbot of Bebenhausen, 1650; Abbot of Adelberg, 1654; died 1654),¹¹ in order to satirize the credulous curiosity, which was not wanting even in his narrow circle,¹² wrote, after 1602,¹³ 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 Fraternitatis of the praiseworthy Order of the Rosierucians."¹⁴ When these writings.

¹¹ J. V. Andreae Vita ab ipso conscripta, ed. F. H. Rheinwald, Berol., 1849, in German in D. Chr. Seybold's *Selbstbiographien berühmter Männer*, Bd. 2, Winterthur, 1799. Comp. J. V. Andrea and s. Zeitalter, dargestellt v. W. Hossbach, Berlin, 1819. [Comp. Nieder's *Gesch. d. Kirche*, 740 sq.; Pabst, *Andreae's entlarvter Apap*, 1827.]

¹² J. V. A. De Curiositate Pernicie, p. 38: Hic equidem persaepe haesitavi, cum conjunctissimos meos, caetera ingeniosos, pios, industrios, literatos, cautos, veros, sed curiositatis labe conspersos, nec post frequentissimas elusiones,—damna, ludibria,—nihilominus eousque corrigi viderem, quin ad naturam levissimo objecto redirent, et spes (mea opinione) non tam abjectas, quam emortuas resuscitant, novisque impostoribus se turpissime praebent. Unde unam eorum artem reperi vel celare, vel fallere dissuadentes amicos, aut certe subaudire, ac velut ab hac sublimitate remotos negligere; paulo tamen post, ubi mendacium simulque aliquid sumtum exhalarunt, redire, ac profundissimo silentio omne vanitatis mysterium elevatum aut sepultum velle. Tales ego persaepe pertuli, nec nisi diuturna mora, postquam omnia monita frustra fuerunt, superavi, didicique frequentissimis exemplis, quemcumque curiositatis contagio corripuisset, nulla fide, nullo vero, *nullis artibus* sanari posse, sed Deo, sibi et tempori relinquendum, denique a pauperie macerandum esse.

¹³ Andreae, in his Vita, ed. Rheinwald, p. 10, speaks of this "Chymische Hochzeit" as one of the writings (the only one left) which he had composed, from 1602, exercendi ingenii ergo. (Superfuerunt Nuptiae chymicae, cum monstrorum foecundo foetu, ludibrium, quod mireris a nonnullis aestimatum, et subtili indagine explicatum, plane futile, et quod inanitatem curiosorum prodat). In this Chymical Marriage first appeared the name "Christian Rosenkreuz," although it was printed later than the "Fama," viz., first in Strasburg, 1616 (reprinted at Ratisbon, 1781).

¹⁴ "Allgemeine und General-Reformation der ganzen weiten Welt, beneben der Fama Fraternitatis des löblichen Ordens des Rosenkreuzes." This work came in manuscript to Tyrol as early as 1610 (see Haselmeyer's Reply, appended to the "Fama"), but was first printed at Cassel, 1614 (repr., Ratisbon, 1781). This "General Reformation" is a translation of a work by a favorite author of Andreae's, viz., Traj. Boccalini's *Ragguagli di Parnasso*. In the second edition, Cassel, 1615, was added the Confession oder Bekanntnuss der Societät und Brüderschaft R. C., which was also published in the original Latin in Secretioris Philosophiae Consideratio brevis, a Phil. a Gabella conscripta, et nunc primum una cum Confessione Fraternitatis R. C. in lucem edita, Cassellis, 1615. Comp. Die beiden Hauptschriften der Rosenkreuzer, die Fama und die Confession, kritisch geprüfter Text mit dem Latein. Originale der zweiten Schrift, Frankf. a. M., 1827. That Andreae was the author of these works is now generally assumed (see Hossbach, s. 98; Guhrauer über den Verf. u. d. Sinn u. Zweck der fama fratern., in Nieder's *Zeitschr. f. d. Hist. Theol.*, 1852, ii. 298); but it is still not beyond doubt. In his Vita, p. 10, Andreae openly confesses (see Note 13) that he wrote the "Chymische Hochzeit;" but does not say that he was the author of the "Fama" and the "Confession," which he manifestly reckons among the "monstrorum foecundus foetus" of the same. And so, too, he says, p. 46 (see Note 17, below), doubtless in relation to the Chymische Hoch-

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.¹⁵ In vain did Andreae speak in the strongest terms against this confusion and misapprehension ;¹⁶

zeit, that he wished to suppress it, but that curiosity brought it again to notice, and gave rise to another progeny. In his oath on the matter, 1639 (see Note 16, below), Andreae could not have escaped from the difficulties by merely saying, "se risisse semper Rosae-Crucianam fabulam," if he had himself been the author of the fable. The different characteristics of these writings, too, are not to be mistaken. The *Chymische Hochzeit* is a mere satire : in the *Fama* and *Confessio*, earnestness is mingled with the invention (e. g., adherence to the pure doctrine of the Reformation, rejection of projects for making gold) ; the intermingling of earnest Christian truths with such loose sport, in the fashion here found, is unnatural for such a man as Andreae. And now hear the oldest witnesses. Melchior Brelerus, physician in ordinary of Duke August of Brunswick, and an intimate friend of John Arnd, who, too, was on friendly terms with Andreae, in his *Mysterium Iniquitatis pseudoevangelicae*, 1621, p. 100, confidently asserts that the *Fama* was by three distinguished persons, who wanted by means of it to get at the alleged holders of the philosopher's stone. In the posthumous works of M. Christoph Hirsch, preacher in Eisleben, an intimate friend of John Arnd (see Arnold's *Kirchen- und Ketzehistorie*, iv., No. 25), it appears that Arnd had learned in a confidential way from Andreae, that the latter, with thirty other persons in Württemberg, first published the *Fama*, in order, by means of the judgments expressed upon it, to detect the lovers of the true wisdom. This shows that the *Fama* and *Confession* proceeded from a circle known to Andreae, but not that he was the author. That mythical personage, Christian Rosenkreuz, was his creation ; hence he could speak decidedly about the Brotherhood of the Rosicrucians as a fable (see Note 16), since the idea of it, if it did not come from him, did still originate in that phantasy of his. Had he been the author of the *Fama* and *Confession*, it can not be explained why, in his *Vita* (which was to go only in manuscript into the hands of intimate friends), he did not avow it as frankly as he did that he wrote the *Chymische Hochzeit*.

¹⁵ Arnold's *Kirchen- u. Ketzehist.*, Th. 2, B. 17, cap. 18. Hossbach's *Andreae*, s. 85. Andreae, *Mythologia Christiana*, Argentor., 1619. 12., p. 290 (*Apologorum Manipulus*, 6, c. 13), divides into the following classes those who had been seduced by the *Fama* : *Primum quidem bonos aliquos, qui σφάλματα* humanae fabulae annotantes ac pertaesi, ali-quod lenimentum quaesivere. Deinde *decoctores* sive eruditionis sive nummorum, ut suae miseriae solatium acciperent. Postea infelices *Chymicos*, qui naturam omnem fodientes, nec nisi lippientes et claudicantes redditi, hic suave aliquod somnium sibi conciliare sa-tegere. Sed et *Podagrici*, et desperatorum morborum alii, temporis et dolorum falli-mentum sunt aucupati. Denique *impostores* quam plurimi, quibus is unicus finis, ut confictis monstrosissimis aenigmatibus, simulata arcanorum possessione, jaectitata natu-rae interpretatione, ementito silentii, temperantiae, obscuritatis sacramento, Magnatum aures circumsonare, atque hinc aurum aliquod potabile conficere possint.

¹⁶ J. V. A. Menippus, s. *Dialogorum Satyricorum Centuria*, Inanitatum Nostratum Speculum, Cosmopoli, 1618. 12., p. 24, cap. 12., fraternitas : A. De fraternitate illa, quae vulgo circumfertur, eequid sentis ? B. Minus magnifice.—A. Quid ergo, an esse tales aliquos credis, an curiosorum ludibrium ? B. Vix dixerim : nisi quod male me habet, tot viros bonos spe sua, et insolita expectatione excedere. A. Id nempe debebat, quibus prae simplicis via Christi artificiosa aliqua et insolita arriserat. *Turris Babel*, s. *Judiciorum de Fraternitate Rosaceae Crucis Chaos*, Argent., 1619. 12., at the end, p. 69 : *Fama* : Satis superque hominibus illusum est : liberemus tandem constrictos, confirmemus fluctuantes, erigamus lapsos, revocemus transversos, sanemus morbosos. Ehem, mortales, nihil est, quod fraternitatem expectetis : fabula peracta est. *Fama adstruxit*,

in vain did he, in a series of allegorical and satirical writings, chastise all the follies of the times,¹⁷ and work by word and deed for the interests of practical Christianity;¹⁸ artful men made use

fama destruxit. Fama ajebat, fama negat: quicumque estis, sive curiosi sive supini,—sive mendici sive impostores,—sive athei sive superstitiosi, sive decoctores sive avari, mihi et vobis spectatores plaudite. De Curiositatis Pernicie, Argentor., 1621. 12., p. 35: Illic accessit fraternitatis ejusdam Rosaceae ludibrium, curiosorum hujus temporis, ni fallor, viscus et offendiculum. Si paucos bonos excipias, quibus tot rerum corruptio doluit, emendationis spes animum fecit; reliqua turba supra quam dici potest Democritorum civit. Continebat ea fabula quicquid salivam posset movere divinatoribus, calculatoribus, decoctoribus, microcosmicis, ecstasticis, cabbalistis, magis, et in universum curiosis omnibus, atque planissime Aeoli utres pollicebatur. Adaugebat histrioniam tam multiplex concertatio propugnantium et impugnantium, invitantium et apparentium, tentantium et credentium, ludentium et quirantium, expectantium et desperantium, et quis fando diversissimae inanitatis varietates explicet, quibus officinae occupabantur, ac nundinales catalogi coronabantur. Jam metuebat clerus, ne qua nova haeresis orbem inundaret: jam trepidabat vulgus, ne quis ex Arabia exercitus colonias quaereret: jam res literaria barbariem redire timebat. Sed hos plerosque liberavit illa ipsa quae detinuit rei vanitas, et crexit quae terrefecit nullitas, et dimisit quae convocavit fama. Still Andreae remained under suspicion of being secretly connected with the Rosicrucians; when taking office in Stuttgart (1629), in his Confession he was obliged to make oath (Vita, p. 183), se risisse semper Rosae-Crucianam fabulam, et curiositatis fraterculos fuisse insectatum.

¹⁷ On these writings he says, Vita, p. 46: Caeterum, quod Deum sancte testor, non ea mihi insectandi petulantia fuit, aut nocendi ulla libido, quam declamatores aggerabant; sed quod christianam causam animo fervide foverem et quovis modo promotam vellem, quod, cum plana via mihi negaretur, per ambages et cuniculos persequi conatus sum, non sceptico, quod aliquibus videbar, genio, sed ea arte, quam pii multi adhibuerunt, ut per lusum et ingeniosa allectamenta seria agerem et Christianismi amorem propinarem. Is mihi scopus, id consilium fuit, quod si non satis circumspicuum, aetati minus matura et tot stimulis incitatoribus imputetur. Sane ut primum multis aegre facere morborum nostrorum tractationem animadverti, ipse dolui et extinctum volui canem, sed qui curiositate obstetrice hoc ipso denno revixit, et aliam sobolem, quae profecto aeternum sepulta jacuisset, excitavit, cujus gratiam unis obtrektoribus debeat, si quid unquam gratiae invenerunt.

¹⁸ He sought to promote the better religious instruction of youth by his "Christliche Evangel. Kinderlehre, Stuttgart, 1621" (comp. Schuler's *Gesch. d. katechet. Religionsunterrichts 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 linguas, sed iudicium et capitibus divisi ad sua paulatim, dispersi retroeunt.—Qui si quid egregii animo conceperunt, paratique meliora toto animo admittere, tueri et propagare fuerunt; illam potius jam certam, tot amicis Dei expertam, jam toties Satae, mundoque oppositam Christi fraternitatem amplectantur, mentemque integram et conatus omnes eo convertant, ut *societas Christi* sub Evangelii legibus coalescat, ordoque mutuae caritatis emergat, ac donorum Dei communicatio in coeli honorem, Ecclesiae florem, proximique rorem appareat. He described such an ideal state in his *Reipublicae 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 notabili summa in praesens pauperum indigentiae succurreret: in futurum vero, si res ita ferret, vel occurrentibus necessitatibus subveniret, vel posteris rectius prospiceret, et una amicitiae constantiam servaret, moribusque devius occurreret. 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 Arnd (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

Epist. ad Comenium, 1629, in J. A. Comenii Opera Didactica Omnia, Amstel., 1657, p. 284: *Fuimus aliquot et magnae notae viri, qui post Famae vanae (fraternitatis Roseae) ludibrium in hoc coivimus, ante octennium circiter, et plures in prociectu erant: cum nos exceperunt turbae Germanicae et propemodum disjecerunt.—Scopus fuit: Christum loco suo restituere, pulsus passim idolis s. religiosis s. literariis. He drew up: Imago et Leges Societatis Evangelicae, and Verae Unionis in Christo Jesu Specimen, selectissimis ac probatissimis amicis sacrum, 1628. The society seems to have remained small, but to have continued after Andreae's death. Hossbach, s. 179. Spener says (in his *Wahrhaftige Erzählung dessen was wegen des s. g. Pietismi vorgegangen*, Amsterd., 1700. 12., s. 18) of Andreae: "For my part, I regard his writings so highly, that if I could and must call back a man from the grave to benefit our churches, it would probably cost me much thought whether I should select any one in preference to him."*

¹⁹ Andreae, in his *Reipublicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio*, Argentor., 1619. 12., p. 30, speaks of impostoribus, qui se Roseae Crucis fratres mentirentur. J. S. Semler, *unparteiische Sammlungen zur Historie der Rosenkreuzer*, 4 Stücke, Leipzig, 1786-88. J. G. Buhle 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. Comp. Herder in his *Zerstreute Blätter*, and in the *Teutsche Mercur*. Naudé, *Instruction à la France sur la vérité de l'Histoire des Frères de la Rose-Croix*, Paris, 1623. W. Keller, *Gesch. d. Freimaurerei in Deutschland*, Gießen, 1859. In *Notes and Queries*, vols. vii. and viii., lists of works on the Rosicrucians. Louis Figuier, *L'Alchimie et les Alchimistes*, Paris, 1854; chap. v.; *La Société des Rose-Croix*, pp. 247-266.]

²⁰ Comp., e. g., Nicol. Hunnius (professor of theology in Wittenberg, in 1623 Superintendent in Lübeck, † 1643) *christl. Betrachtung der neuen Paracelsischen u. Weigelianischen Theologie*, Wittenberg, 1622 (comp. Nic. Hunnius, by Dr. L. Heller, Lübeck, 1843, s. 35); Theod. Thummii (professor in Tübingen, † 1630) *Impietas Weigeliana, h. e. necessaria Admonitio de CXX. Erroribus novorum Prophetarum coelestium, quas a Val. Weigelio nostra haec aetas dicere coepit Weigelianos*, Tubing., 1622. 4. Jo. Gerhardi *Disputationes Theologicae, in quibus gloria Dei per corruptelas Weigelianos labefactari ostenditur*, in his *Dusput. Theol.* p. 815.

²¹ J. V. Andreae *Oratio Inaugur. Tubingae habita*, p. 86 (Arnold's *Kirchen- u. Ketz-erhist.*, Th. 2, B. 17, cap. 17, § 50), complains that Satan deiles 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. 326, 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 Wiedergeborenen 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,²³ and of wide-reaching influence in matters of practical piety, was compelled to see his book, *On True Christianity*, fiercely attacked²⁴ 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 Gerhard²⁵ were not sufficient to protect his practical writings from the charge of mysticism.²⁶ And so, in this period, nobody could complain of a one-sided, intellectual Christianity, nor

Berlin, Berlin, 1838. O. Wehrhan's *Lebensgeschichte Johann Arndt's*, Hamburg, 1848. H. L. Pertz de Jo. Arndtio ejusque Libris de vero Christianismo (Göttingen prize essay), Hannoverae, 1852. 4. [Tzschirner's *Memorabilien*, iii. 1. M. Goebel, *Gesch. des christlichen Lebens in der Rheinisch-Westphäl. Evang. Kirche*, 1852, ii. 464. Hagenbach, *Vorlesungen über die Reformat.*, iii. 371 sq.]

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 Oslander's (chancellor and professor in Tübingen) *Theol. Bedenken, welchergestalt J. Arndens wahres Christenthum nach Anleitung des heil. Worts Gottes anzusehen sey*, Tübingen, 1623. Comp. Rupertus Meldenus (§ 42, Note 6), in Lücke, s. 141: Cum genuit et lachrymis experiuntur (pii ac boni viri), sanctum illum virum, et de Ecclesia Dei praeclarissime meritum, *Jo. Arndium*, imo Angelum Dei, missum ad praedicandam poenitentiam adhuc semel ante novissimum diem, tam inmanibus convitiis proscindi, et tot contumeliis allici, atque adeo deterrimarum haereseon maculis conspergi.—Proh summe Deus, quo haec res tandem sunt evasurae! However, his defendants were not less numerous than his assailants. Comp. *Apologetica Arndiana*, *Schutzbrieft* zur christl. Ehrenrettung Joh. Arnd's, Leipzig, 1706; G. B. Scharff, *Supplementum Historiae Litisque 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. Gerhards*, quam exposuit E. R. Fischer, Lips., 1723, p. 437. Among them, those most read were his *Meditationes Sacrae*, Jenae, 1606, *Schola Pietatis*, d. i. christl. Unterrichtung zur Gottseligkeit, 5 Bücher, Jena, 1622. 23., in 12 vols., and his *Postill* (§ 49, Note 11). Gerhard complains, in a letter to Arnd, 1620 (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 aevo pietatis graviter urget,
Et sophias partem tractat utramque sacrae,
Ille Rosaecrucius vel Weigelianus habetur,
Et nota turpis ei scribitur haereseos.
De me non verita est virosa calumnia id ipsum
Spargere, et his nugis conciliare fidem.

verge on the emotional phrases used by the old mystics, without being himself exposed to the accusation of mysticism.²⁷

§ 51.

ATTEMPTS AT UNION.

C. W. Hering's *Gesch. d. kirchl. Unionsversuche seit der Reformation*, 2 Bde., Leipzig, 1836. 38. Ch. G. Neudecker's *die Hauptversuche zur Pacification der Evangelisch-Protest. Kirche Deutschlands*, Leipzig, 1846. [Hoeninghaus, *Chronol. Verzeichniss d. Bekehrungen*, Aschaffenh., 1837.]

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.

²⁷ Ph. J. Spener's warhaftige Erzählung dessen was wegen des s. g. Pietismi 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. Mengerling, Superintendent at Halle († 1647); Dr. Joh. Matheus 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. Wiedererbauung d. acad. Disciplin*, 1634. 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. 3, p. 1216, was obliged to repeat the above verses of Dr. Gerhard against his adversaries, who loaded him with the reproach of Weigelianism; and among the Nurembergers there was Joh. Saubertus (pastor of St. Sebald, † 1646), with his successor, Joh. Mich. Dilhern († 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, Lunenburgi*, 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 Orat.*, republished in J. G. Pfeiffer *Variorum Auctorum Miscellanea Theol.*, Lips., 1736, 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 counsel 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;¹ 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.² 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;³ the Emperor Ferdinand laid similar proposals before the Council, 1563.⁴ Though these were neglected, yet they led the Catholic theologians, Frederick Staphylus,⁵ George Wicel,⁶ and

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. Carondilem, 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 *periculosa curiositas* in the sphere of theology, and exhorts, in contrast, to fixing the attention rather upon the moral claims of Christianity. *Summa nostrae religionis pax est et unanimitas. Ea vix constare poterit, nisi de paucissimis definiamus, et in multis liberam relinquamus suum cuique iudicium: propterea quod ingens sit rerum plurimarum obscuritas, et hoc morbi fere in natum sit hominum ingeniis, ut cedere nesciant simul atque res in contentionem vocata est, quae postquam incaluit, hoc cuique videtur verissimam, quod temere tuendum suscepit.—Imo hoc demum est cruditionis theologicae, nihil ultra quam sacris literis proditum est definire, verum id quod proditum est bona fide dispensare. Multa problemata nunc rejiciuntur ad synodum *oikoumenikên*: multo magis conveniebat quaestiones ejusmodi in illud rejicere tempus, cum sublato speculo et aenigmate 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. Ximenium, 1561* (*Opp.*, p. 1131): In France there are three parties, papists, Huguenots, and—*tertio loco est ordo moderatorum et pacificatorum, qui et corrigenda nonnulla in Ecclesia agnoscunt, neque tamen importunitatem novellorum (ut vocant) concionatorum approbant: hi quaerunt consilia, quibus Ecclesia ad normam divinae Scripturae et Ecclesiae praeae, quam minima fieri potest mutatione, et retentis quoad fieri potest antiquitatis reliquiis, constituitur, et utraque pars, vel certe qui in utraque parte saniores sunt, ad christianam concordiam et unionem reducantur. Hujus sententiae et animi sunt Rex Navarrae, et Regina mater, Episcopus Valentinus,—Cancellarius Regni Hospitalius dictus, optimi quoque et praestantissimi ex regis consiliariis, et inter eos vir doctissimus:—Paulus Foxius, ex Sorbonicis praecipui Espenaeus, et Salignaeus Abbas, nec abhorret ab his Cardinalis Lotaringus.* He is reported to have said in a religious colloquy—*se libenter compromittere hanc controversiam arbitrio Ecclesiae praeae, seu Patrum quingentorum a Christo amorum, reliquis qui insequenti sunt annis haud gravatim renunciaturum.*

⁴ See below, § 57, Note 4.

⁵ On him see § 39, Note 9. His work, *Ad Imp. Ferd. I. de Reformanda Ecclesia Consilium, 1562*, in Schelhornii *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 capitulis*

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's⁷ proposition was especially notewor-

conciliandis Sententia, written on demand of the Emperor Ferdinand, but first sent to Maximilian II. in 1564 (best in G. Cassandri et G. Wiclii de sacris nostri temporis Controversiis, 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 catholicam habendam esse judico, 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 amplectendam duco. Tertio loco est, quae ab omnibus Ecclesiis, vel majore certe parte, est recepta, et probabilibus rationibus e sacris literis confirmata.—Quarto loco quaestionum quoddam genus est, quae neque tam claris Scripturae testimoniis, neque tam antiquo et magno consensu Ecclesiae nituntur, tamen posterioribus temporibus in hac praecipua occidentali Ecclesiae parte institutae et receptae sunt: quae cum divinis literis manifeste non repugnent, in earum confutatione neque pugnaciter agendum, neque ea de causa Ecclesiarum pacem perturbandam puto. Quod si sententia aliqua, jam omnino recepta et firmata, minus probabilis videatur, de ea tamen non passim et odiose contendendum, sed cum eruditis et moderatis viris placide inquirendum et disceptandum existimo. Quae autem certorum hominum quamvis doctorum probabilibus disputationibus asseruntur, ita ut alii aliter de iis sentiant, liberam cuique quid velit sequendi potestatem 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 inveciae videntur, eas ut sarmentum vitandas et cavendas non nego: sic tamen ut privato homini temere apud quosvis de iis contendendum non putem, ubi certa offensio, profectus et utilitatis nulla spes. Itaque prudentiam christianam hic adhibendam, ut non temere et passim ubique dicas quicquid sentias, neque tamen unquam dicas contra quam sentias: ubi vero gloria Dei vel proximi utilitas postulat, libere et constanter dicas quod sentias. P. 788: Omnes ii, qui ob reprehensionem nonnullorum abusuum initio rejecti, conscientiae impulsu in ratione docendi et forma ministerii aliquid immutarunt, ab Ecclesia 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 receditur, nisi per falsam et Scripturis sacris dissentaneam de capite Christi doctrinam; a corpore vero non per quamvis rituum et opinionum diversitatem, sed per solam caritatis defectionem. Quare, ut ante quoque dixi, qui recta sententia de Christo capiti junguntur, et caritatis et pacis vinculo, etiamsi opinionibus quibusdam et ritibus discrepent, reliquo Ecclesiae corpori connectuntur, nullo modo ut schismatici et ab Ecclesia alieni habendi sunt, etiamsi ab alia Ecclesiae parte potentiore et gubernationem obtinente rejecti, et ab eorum societate et communione separati videantur. Neque enim quaevis rejectio et separatio schismaticos facit, sed initia separationis et causae spectandae sunt, non enim separatio facit schisma, sed causa. P. 791: Quicquid igitur in utraque haec Ecclesiae parte, sive ea antiquo nomine catholica, sive nuper nato evangelica nuncupatur, integrum, sanum, doctrinae evangelicae et apostolicae traditioni consentaneum invenio, id ut Christi Ecclesiae proprium veneror et amplector: eamque Ecclesiam, quod in fundamento verae et apostolicae doctrinae, quae brevissimo illo fidei symbolo continetur, consistat, nec impio schismate a reliquarum Ecclesiarum communione se separat, veram Ecclesiam, veraeque Ecclesiae et catholicae Ecclesiae Christi membrum esse judico.—Neque ad hanc unitatem catholicae Christi Ecclesiae divellendam et distrahendam, 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.⁸ The attempts made by

tem valere puto, modo in fundamento fidei cum capite Christo, et in sincera caritate cum corpore ejus, quod est Ecclesia, communicatio et societas retineantur. G. Cassandri de Articulis Religionis inter Catholicos et Protestantos controversis Consultatio ad invictissimos Imp. Ferdinandum I. et Maxim. II. ejus successorem, 1564 (Opp., p. 893; G. Cass. et G. Wic. de sacris nostri temporis Controversiis Libri, cura H. Conringii, Helmst., 1659. 4., p. 1). He put the Augsburg Confession at the basis. On the foundation of his mediating proposals, see the Praefatio: Divina Scriptura, tanquam certissima quadam regula, veteres in controversiis, quae statim post Apostolorum discessum extiterant, dijudicandis usi sunt: sed saepe in his contentionibus evenit, ut de sensu et intelligentia harum divinarum literarum non conveniret, ac non paucae controversiae ortae sint, quarum in iis divinis literis non tam certa et aperta explicatio reperiebatur. Quare semper necesse fuit *ad consensum universalem vetustissimarum Ecclesiarum*, tanquam ad publicum et firmissimum testimonium vivae apostolicae doctrinae et verae scriptorum apostolicorum intelligentiae provocare, quod et hodie usu venire videmus. Quare longa et pertinaciter contentione huc tandem ventum est, ut ea quoque pars, quae nudis Scripturis niti haecenus visa est, nunc universalem hunc antiquitatis consensum usque adeo non aspernetur, ut etiam in nonnullis gravissimis quaestionibus summum causae suae firmamentum in ea collocent: id quod multis et clarissimis scriptorum illius partis testimoniis probari potest. *Eluget autem hoc publicum Ecclesiae testimonium maxime in iis scriptoribus atque scriptis, quae fuerunt ab aetate Constantini usque ad aetatem Leonis vel etiam Gregorii.* Quare ex ea forma atque descriptione Ecclesiae, quae fuit iis temporibus, aptissimum exemplum proponi poterit, ad quod controversiae omnes de religione, tum in doctrina tum in caeremoniis, referri possint. Cur autem hujus temporibus exemplum potissimum proponendum sit, multae sunt causae. Primum quia tum per varia certamina, eruditissima scripta, et gravissima Concilia praecipuae omnes de summis religionis nostrae capitibus controversiae diligentissime et fidelissime pertractatae et disceptatae fuerunt.—Deinde quia ea aetate Ecclesia, quae haecenus servituti tyrannidis fuerat subjecta, tunc per universum fere orbem libertati fuit restituta, optimaque ratione ut illi statui convenienti administrata. Itaque illi aetati maxime cum conditione Ecclesiae nostrae tempestatis convenit. Ad haec quia ea aetate sanctissimi et doctissimi antistites extiterunt, qui acceptam per manus a majoribus inde usque ab Apostolis doctrinam fideliter conservarunt, et Ecclesiis summa fide et diligentia tradiderunt, et ab omni ambitione, avaritia, inscitia, quibus postea Ecclesia tantum non oppressa fuit, longissime abfuerunt.—Quapropter cum utraque pars universalem illum antiquitatis consensum, qui maxime in ea aetate, quam diximus, cernitur, tanquam certissimum testimonium evangelicae et sinceræ doctrinae amplectatur, magna jam via ad concordiam et pacificationem aperta esse videtur, modo utrinque hostilem animum et odium exuant, et christianæ caritatis effectum induant, deinde fidem servent, et quod æquum est præstent.

⁸ 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 Nîmes, 1599, and at Fontainebleau, 1600, and the various negotiations of Richelieu with the Reformed; see Hering, i. 388. [Pu. ux, Hist. de la R. C. 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 Zwingli was the first to call this desirable relation by the name of *συγκρητισμός*.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

⁹ E. g., John III. in Sweden, after 1571 (Div. I., § 18, Note 15, seq.); James I. and Charles I. in England (above, § 29).

¹⁰ He fled to London, 1616, and became a clergyman in the Episcopal Church, and there wrote his great work, *De Republica Ecclesiastica*, lib. x. (2 Tom.; Lond., 1617-1620, fol., contain only lib. i.-vi., reprinted T. i., Heidelb., 1618; T. ii., Francof., 1620, fol. To this was added, T. iii., Hanov., 1622 (Francof., 1658), containing lib. vii. and ix.) He allowed himself to be enticed back to Rome in 1622, and there died in prison, 1624; his body was burned. Comp. J. W. Jaegeri Hist. Eccl. et Polit. saeculi xvii., i. 242. Gabr. Barthol. Gramondi Hist. Galliae ab Excessu Henrici IV., Amst., 1653, lib. iii., p. 186. [Henry Newland, *Life and Contemporaneous History of De Dominis*, London, 1859. Comp. Notes and Queries, July, 1859; and Dublin Review, 1859.]

¹¹ Zwinglii Epist. ad Verbi Ministros Basileenses, 5. Apr., 1525 (Opp. vii. i. 390): *Tentatur nunc haud contemnenda tentatione, puta ipsius Eucharistiae discussione. Quares plane non tantus tumultus dabit, quantos quidam sperant, si modo συγκρητισμόν fecerimus, h. e. in dimicatione consensus: quem quaedam infirma et imbellia alioquin animalia dum faciunt, crudelissimos hostes sic terrent, ut nihil ab eis mali patiantur.* Then Bucer, 1531; see above, § 35, Note 23. Melancthonis Responsio ad Criminationes Staphyli et Avii, Viteb., 1558, init. (Opp., iv. 813): *Intuens Ecclesiarum nostrarum vulnera, cum propter alias causas multas ingenti dolore afficior, tum vero eo magis crucior, quod occupati intestinis bellis non studemus vel συγκρητισμόν, ut olim dicebatur, nos adversus communes hostes conjungere. Saepe etiam in querela de nostris dissidiis Demosthenis epistolam recito, in qua hortatur cives, ut deponant domestica odia et sese conjungant contra externos hostes.*

¹² See Div. I., § 15, Notes 20 and 21.

¹³ These influences became marked from 1582; D. E. Jablonski 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.¹⁴ 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).¹⁵ 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 embittered 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 Mömpelgard in 1586¹⁶ showed the fruitlessness of all ef-

ricius, in Posen, auditores melius facturos, si ad Jesuitas, quam ad aliam confessionem evangelicam Consensu Polonico receptam transeant (Jablonski, p. 95). After the death of the Lutheran Superintendent, Erasmus Gliczner, 1603, the Lutherans no longer attended the mixed synods, p. 121.

¹⁴ 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 Luthériennes), 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 Tonneins, 1614, took up the plan anew (see § 45, Note 6); and the Synod at Vitré, 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).

¹⁵ *Irenicum*, de Pace Ecclesiae Catholicae inter Christianos, quamvis diversos Sententiis, religiose procuranda, colenda atque continenda, in Psalmis Davidis, 122 et 133 Meditatio, 1592 (Opp., Genev., 1613, 2 Tom., fol. i. 677).

¹⁶ See § 42, Note 1. The dispute here was on five points: De Coena Domini, de persona Christi, de templis pontificiis reformandis (the Lutherans held, Acta Coll. Montisbell., p. 321: Imagines, quibus historiae et res sacrae repraesentantur, adiaphoron esse: imagines, quae ad idololatriam prostant, abrogandas esse; templa et altaria, imaginibus minime idololatriis exornata non diruenda, organa musica ex templis non eliminanda esse. On the other hand, the Reformed held: Usus picturae et sculpturae in historiis sacris repraesentandis, etsi per se est *ἀδιάφορος*, tamen magis nocere, quam prodesse, si in sacra loca inferantur, propter humani ingenii ad idololatrium cultum propensionem: musicen minime damnamus; sed ubi cantatur harmonice quod mente non intelligitur, res ipsa ostendit, quid inde consequatur, nempe ut paulatim magna pars cultus Dei in cantuiculas mutetur, et non Dei verbo mentes pascantur, sed inanibus sonis aures mulceantur: quamvis res per se sit *ἀδιάφορος*, lapideam structuram, quam altare vocant, vel ligneam mensam communem habere in usu sacrae Coenae dominicae; tamen probabile 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 1606,¹⁷ followed by the Irenicum of David Pareus (professor at Heidelberg; died 1622), in 1614.¹⁸ Both were decisively and bitterly repelled by the Lutherans,¹⁹ to the joy of their common foes.²⁰

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 *Communicatio Idiomatum*,²¹ and the attack upon John Arnd's book on True Christianity,²² 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 caruissent); De Baptismo (the Lutherans maintained, p. 352: Baptismum non signum duntaxat, sed lavaerum regenerationis vere esse, in casu extremo necessitatis mulieribus licitum esse infantes baptizare. The Reformed held: Aliquam latentem virtutem aliam aquae (licet sacramentali) attribueri, quam sacramentalis significationis, existimamus manifestam esse idololatriam; Baptismus pars est ministerii publici, quod est expresso Dei verbo mulieribus, imo etiam privatis personis, interdictum); and *de praedestinatione*.

¹⁷ *Treuherzige Vermahnung der Pfälzischen Kirche an alle andere Evangelische Kirchen in Deutschland, 1606* (also in Goldast's *Polit. Reichshändeln*, s. 894).

¹⁸ D. Parei Irenicum, s. de Unione et Synodo Evangelicorum Concilianda, Heidelb., 1614. 4., p. 66: *Faciamus in re bona, quod tribunitius ille Prognostes Paulus Windeck* (Canon at Marchdorf, had just before written: *Prognosticon futuri status Ecclesiae, oppositum insulsi cujusdam per Sueviam lutherologi libro de signis ruituri Papatus*) suis Pontificiis suadet in re mala: *Si, inquit, saperent Catholici, et ipsi cara esset reipublicae christianae salus, syncretismum colerent. Et nos igitur pio syncretismo adversus communem hostem Antichristum studia consiliaque conjungamus, donec plenam illam concordiam bonis omnibus desideratissimam obtinere queamus. Neque mihi hic quisquam dixerit, ita licentiam quidvis credendi in religione quaeri, Samaritanismum suaderi. Absit a viris bonis tam inconsiderata vox. Nihil nobis cum Samaritanismo, cum Libertinismo, cum vanis religionum confusionibus. Loquimur de tolerantia christiana mutua partium caetera consentientium, in hac una primaria contradictione dissidentium: Corpus Christi est in pane et ubique: corpus Christi non est in pane et ubique.*

¹⁹ J. G. Sigwarti *Admonitio Christiana de Irenico Parei*, Tubing., 1616. 4. Leonh. Hutteri Irenicum vere Christianum, Viteb., 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 libb. 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 Hoeneegg, 1621; Div. I., § 12, Note 4.

²¹ See § 42, Note 5.

²² See § 50, Note 24.

the Roman Church.²³ 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.²⁴

The peril from the Catholics, meanwhile, was assuming a still more threatening aspect,²⁵ and indicated the necessity of a union with the Reformed; and consequently the feeling toward them became more mild. In the Leipsic Conference of 1631²⁶ the

²³ Ruperti Meldenii Paraenesis about 1625, in Lücke, s. 136: Videtis, auditis, percipitis, quam crebrae sint defectiones a vestra religione, quam frequentes ἀποστασία, in quantas angustias grex et numerus vester redactus! Quam causam putatis subesse? Verbo dicam: facile princeps est vestra discordia et confusio.—Ecce enim homines simplices, et fundamento non satis solido nixi, vestris otiosis subtilitatibus adeo redduntur perplexi, adeo dubii et intricati, ut tandem, quid credant aut cui credant, plane ignorent, imprimis si videant, spinosas istas quaestiones et disputationes jam non privatim agitari, sed etiam in publica schismata et nervum erumpere. Sic enim illi secum: *hem quid hoc rei? ergone doctores ipsimet inter se de praeceptis capitibus* (sic quidem ipsis videntur) *dissentiunt? Quid nobis agendum superest? quid nos securos praestabit, utra pars recte doceat? o nos miseros! quid si forte ab una vel altera parte, vel tandem ab utraque seducamur?* Quibus ignitis telis Satanæ si accedant scandala vitae, a quibus certe immunes non estis, quicumque rixis potius, quam aedificationi Ecclesiae dediti estis et incumbitis, quam praeceptis sit haec ad lapsum et abnegationem verae doctrinae via, divinate vos ipsi, aperitur porta Antichristianismo, credite. Hugo Grotius ad J. Duracum, 1637 (Praestantium ac Eruditorum Virorum Epistolae Ecclesiasticae et Theol., Amstel., 1704, fol., p. 796): Est autem haec res (unio Ecclesiarum) magis optanda Protestantibus, quod quotidie multi eos deserunt, et se coetibus Romanensibus addunt, non alia de causa, quam quod non unum est corpus, sed partes distractae, greges segreges, propria cuique sua sacrorum communio, ingens praeterea maledicendi certamen.

²⁴ So particularly about 1625, Ruperti Meldenii (G. Calixti?) Paraenesis Votiva pro pace Ecclesiae ad Theologos Augustanae Confessionis; also in J. G. Pfeiffer, Variorum Auctorum Miscellanea Theologica, Lips., 1736, p. 136; and in F. Lücke, über den Friedensspruch: In necessariis unitas, in non necessariis libertas, in utrisque 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 alibi pressos scripta per facultatis theol. Doctores et Professores in Acad. Wittebergensi, 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 Saxon 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. Höpfer. The German protocol of the conference has been often printed—e. g. in the "Drei Confessiones oder Glaubensbekenntnisse, welche in den Churf. Brandenb. die Religion betreffenden Edictis oft genennet 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,²⁷ was emboldened to undertake

Spree, and Küstrin), in D. H. Hering's Nachr. v. d. ersten Anfange d. Ref. Kirche in Brandenburg, Halle, 1778; Append., s. 22; and in Niemeyer, Coll. Confessionum Reform., p. 653.

²⁷ Jos. Hall (Dean of Worcester, then Bishop of Exeter, and at last of Norwich), Pax Terris, in Duræi Irenicorum Tractatum Prodrômus, p. 297: Paucæ fuerunt illa fidei capita, quæ primævis Christianis necessario credenda proponebantur. Neque vero plura sunt, quæ a Christianis quibuscunque, ut seita crediturque ad salutem necessaria requiruntur: eadem nempe est et semper erit communis illa fides tradita olim Sanctis, cujus professione Christiani indigitamur, nec alia ex eo creari aut debet, aut vero potest. Præcipua tot tantarumque inter Christianos litium causa fuit et adhuc est curiosa illa credendorum multiplicatio.—Iisdem vestigiis insistere debet remedium, quibus et morbus: ad sua nimirum principia (ut sero sapere discamus) reducendus est Christianismus; et modus statuendus illis articulis, in quibus velut de fide credendis acquiescere debet plebs christiana. Jo. Davenantius, Episc. Sarisburiensis (De pace inter Evangelicos procuranda sententiæ quatuor, Duræo traditæ, Londini, 1638. 12., p. 59): Non nostri sæculi theologis incumbit hoc negotium, ut populo Christiano novas ac fundamentales catholicæ fidei articulos proendant. Qui Apostolorum et primitivæ Ecclesiæ temporibus non fuit fundamentalis, nostris affirmationibus, alterationibus, anathematismis nunquam evadet fundamentalis. Prima hæc credibilia, quæ ex toto Scripturæ corpore in *symbolum apostolicum* collecta et comportata habemus, constituunt illam fundamentalis fidei regulam, quam Augustinus pusillis magnisque communem vocat, atque ab omnibus perseveranter tenendam decernit.—Qui credit omnia, quæ hoc brevi symbolo comprehensa habemus, vitamque Christi præceptis conformem agere conatur, ex alio Christianorum non est expungendus, neque a communione cum aliis christianæ ejusdemque Ecclesiæ membris abigendus.—Agnosco tamen dogmata multa præter hæc articulos in sacris Scripturis contineri, atque ex sacris Scripturis per firmam consequentiam posse deduci, quæ sunt cognita perquam utilia, et ad profectum in theologia scientia multum conducunt: sed sub amittendæ salutis aut communionis periculo tum demum tenenda sunt, cum in Scripturis contineri, vel ex Scripturis necessario consequi manifeste declarentur et intelligantur. In hisce si qua Ecclesia non potest veram suam sententiam aliis Ecclesiis ita manifestam reddere, ut eas in eandem pertrahat, renunciare debet illarum erroribus, fraternæ tamen communioni propter hæc errores renunciare non debet. Hisce addo, quod etiamsi locus aliquis sacrosanctæ Scripturæ videatur hisce Ecclesiis fundamentalem articulum stabilire, aliis non videatur, non est tamen in hoc opinio discrimine satis justa causa communionis abrupendæ, modo utraque ipsum articulum pie credat, et in aliis Scripturæ sanctæ locis clare et solide fundatum agnoscat. Denique et illud adjungendum, non esse impossibile, neque a bonorum Christianorum officio alienum, cum illis Ecclesiis communionem retinere, qui nobis opinionem aliquam sequi videntur, quæ revera non potest cum fundamentali articulo coherere; dummodo ipsum articulum explicite profiteantur, et ambabus (quod ajunt) ulnis amplectentur. Abhorret enim a caritate, imo a recta ratione, ut quis propter consequentias nec intellectas, nec a se concessas putetur fundamentalem articulum negasse aut rejecisse, quam firmiter credit, explicite asserit, et si opus esset veritatem ejusdem vel sanguine suo obsignaret.—Nimium sibi placet illa Ecclesia, quæ alias, in quibus nec invenitur tyrannis, nec idololatria, nec hæresis mortifera, propter aliquam intelligentiæ in-

journeys, and to write books, for securing a union among all the national churches formed on the basis of the Reformation.²⁸ However, he found as much disinclination to this among the Lutherans as he did sympathy among the Reformed;²⁹ and so his restless and self-sacrificing attempts were quite unsuccessful. He died at Cassel about 1680.

§ 52.

GEORGE CALIXTUS.

Geschichte der Synkretistischen Streitigkeiten in der Zeit des G. Calixt von H. Schmid, Erlangen, 1846. G. Calixt u. d. Synkretismus von Dr. W. Gass, Breslau, 1846. Baur über d. Character und die geschichtl. Bedeutung des Calixtin. Synkretismus (in Baur's u. Zeller's theol. Jahrbüchern, vii. ii. 163). [Henke, Georg Calixtus und seine Zeit, i. ii. 2, 1853-60, Halle; comp. review by Hundeshagen, in Stud. u. Kritiken, 1856. George Calixtus and the Peace-makers, in Christian Remembrancer, London, 1855. Walch called Calixtus Cal[vino m]ixtus, and identified him with the number of the

firmitatem, tanquam sua communione indignas, aspernatur. «Non sic priscae Ecclesiae Patres, etc.

²⁸ Writings of Duraeus: *Hypomnemata de Studio Pacis Ecclesiasticae*, Amstel., 1636. 1. *Consultatio Theol. super Negotio Pacis Eccl. Promovendo*, Lond., 1636. 4. *Capita de Pace Evangelica*, Lond., 1657. 4. *Irenicorum Tractatum Prodomus*, Amstelod., 1662. 8. *Comp. J. Chr. Coleri Hist. Jo. Duraei, Vitemb.*, 1716. 4. C. J. Benzeli Comm. *Hist. Theol. de J. Duraeo, maxime de actis ejus Suecanis, cum praef. J. L. Moshemii*, 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 Tractatum Prodomus*. 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 disputationem scholasticam nunquam esse agendum*; 2. *Ad praxim pietatis omnia 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 Pontificii negare non possint*; 5. *De syncretismo, i. e., de nova quadam religionum miscella, non esse deliberandum, sed de fundamentali concordia*; 6. *Nunquam agendum de factione aliqua politica contra Pontificios formanda, sed de Protestantium innocentia manifestanda, ut pateat, haereseos crimen iis nullo jure a Pontificiis imputari*; 7. *Postquam in fundamentalibus inter partes consensum esse apparebit, in reliquis tolerantiae innoxiae locum esse dandum*; 8. *Prophetandi libertatem, secundum s. Scripturas regulatam, et quae personalia non tractet, concedendam esse*; 9. *Injuriarum praeteritarum amnestiam esse sancendam, nec impne admittendum, ut ulli se novis injuriis lacerant*; 10. *Regimen Ecclesiarum utrique parti liberum esse relinquendum, ut illud, prout ex usu suo utilissimum judicabit Ecclesia quaelibet, constituat*. 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. Hunnii (Superintendent in Lübeck, † 1643) *Theol. Consideratio Interpositionis s. Pacificatoriae Transactionis a D. J. Duraeo tentatae* (presented to the Council of Lübeck in 1641), ed. cum praef. Sam. Pomarii, Vitemb., 1677. *Comp. Nik. Hunnius*, by Dr. L. Heller, Lübeck, 1843, s. 123.

beast in the Apocalypse. Schweizer, *Central Dogmen*, i. 171; ii. 532. Gass, *Gesch. d. Dogmatik*, i. 248, 300; ii. 68. Niedner, *Gesch. d. christl. Kirche*, 743-7.]

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 controversy¹ 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 Melanethon.² As a consequence, the Melanethonian 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 Melanethonian 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-

¹ Thus the controversy on the Formula Concordiæ 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. Wilkens, *Titel. Hessh. nach handschriftl. Quellen*, Leipz., 1860.]

² *Die Univ. Helmstädt im 16ten Jahrh.* von E. L. Th. Henke, Halle, 1833, s. 57.

³ Calixtus, in his Proœmium to Augustus, *De Doctrina Christ. and Vine. Lerin. Common.*, p. lii., cites the following sentence, which seems to contain the whole of the Calixtine syncretism, from Caselii Ep. ad Laur. Scheurlium: *Quæ religiosissimi omnibus sæculis, omnibus locis inter se consentientia tradiderunt, ea demum sunt ἀληθῶς καὶ ὁλοκρά.* 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. 374), 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 Konkordienformel*, s. 91; Henke, s. 82; Thomasius *de Controversia Hofmanniana*, Erlang., 1814.

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,⁵ because these doctrines, in spite of their want of truth, were tyrannically insisted upon as necessary to salvation.⁶ He was al-

⁵ Upon his journey he wrote, in Cologne, a work, *De Pontificio Missae Sacrificio Tract.*, printed there by Bartoldus Nihusius, then his warmest friend, *Francof. ad Moen.*, 1614 (*Cal. Digressio de Arte Nova*, § 10). *Colloquium Hemelschenburgense inter G. Calixtum et P. Augustinum Jesuitam de Principio credendorum*, 1611. *De Religiosa Adoratione disp.*, 1623. 4. *De Conjugio Clericorum*, 1631. 4. In 1622 Nihusius became a Catholic in Cologne, and wrote: *Ars Nova dicto s. Scripturæ unico lucrandi ex Pontificiis 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. Nihusius*, 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 oblato et initerabili*, 1644. *Responsum Maledictis Theologorum Moguntinorum pro Rom. Pontificis infallibilitate praeceptoque communionis sub una Vindictis oppositum*, 2 Partes, *Helmst.*, 1644. 4. *De Missis Solitariis*, 1647. *Disp. de Primatu Rom. Pont.*, 1650. *Ad Ernestum, Landgravium 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 Disputatione inter praecipuos dissidentes de Fide Christiana numerant P. Valerianus Magnus ejusque Socii*, *Helmst.*, 1652. 4.

⁶ *Epist. ad Aug. Ducem vor Cassandri de Comm. sub utraque Specie*, 1642, d. 3: Pontifex—vult,—suam auctoritatem majorem esse Evangelio, vult, in sua manu esse, sancire fidei decreta, sive articulos fidei statuere.—Haereticos autem, inter quos praecipue Protestantes numerat, et quotannis per horribilem bullam, quam Coenae Domini vocant, devovet, exui vult fortunis, honoribus, fama et vita, Reges et Principes eorum

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

regnis et principatibus dejici.—Quamdiu certe adsertionibus et bullis talia sancientibus Roma inhaeret, irreconciliabilem esse nemo non intelligit. Cal. Responsum ad Actionem tertiam P. Valeriani M., 1652, says, p. 28: 1. Quod inter particulares Ecclesias Pontificiam, Lutheranam et Reformatam Pontificia sit omnium inquinatissima; 2. Quod nemo, qui rem intelligat, ab alia puriore ad illam impurissimam illaesa conscientia transire possit; 3. Quod haec ipsa Pontificia Ecclesia dogmata, quaecunque poterit, ad augendum et stabilendum quaestum cleri et dominatum Pontificis detorsit vel invexerit; 4. Quod Ecclesia, in qua dego, nulli defectui vel errori, quod attinet articulos fidei ad salutem necessarios, sit obnoxia. P. 46: Si ea credit Pontifex, quorum iudicium antea fecimus, hactenus sane cum eo in fide communicamus.—Quatenus autem stabiliendo quaestum cleri suaeque potentiae multa commentitia et nova fingit et superaddit, seque in regno Christi ab ipso Christo constitutum esse Proregem, totiusque mundi arbitrum et dominum jactitat; eatenus profecto cum eo communem fidem non habemus, sed quam ipse fidem appellat, nos errores, et quidem ingentes ac perniciosos, esse dicimus.

⁷ G. Calixtus de Praecipuis Christianae Religionis Capitibus Disputt. XV. anno 1611 habitae, Helmst., 1613 recusae; Disp. VI., de Praedestinatione; Disp. XI., de Coena Domini. G. Calixtus Consideratio Doctrinae Pontificiae juxta ductum Concilii Trident. et reformatae juxta ductum Confessionis Thoruni Boruss. anno 1645 exhibitae, ed F. U. Calixtus, 1659. G. Calixtus de Tolerantia Reformatorum Consultatio, Francof., 1650, emendatius ed. F. U. Calixtus, Helmst., 1697.

⁸ G. Calixtus de Praecipuis Christ. Rel. Capitibus, Disputt. XV., 1611; Disp. III., de persona et officio Christi, § 43: Manifestum est ex hisce, ab Eutychnianismo alienos non esse, quicunque divina attributa—humanitati attribuunt,—nominatim qui immensitatem sive omnipraesentiam carni adscribunt.

⁹ G. Calixtus Epitomes Theol. Moralis, P. I., 1631. 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 studium fides non acquiritur, sed quae acquisita jam ante fuit, conservatur: ita quoque per idipsum studium vita, sive jus, si ita loqui libeat, ad haereditatem vitae aeternae aliquando audeandam non acquiritur, sed acquisitum, ne amittatur aut intercidat, custoditur, quin et confirmatur.

¹⁰ G. Calixtus, Epitome Theologiae, ex ore dictantis excepta et edita, Goslar., 1619, p. 106, de statu post lapsum: Supernaturalia illa, quae habebat homo, penitus amisit, hisque amissis non amplius est talis, qualem Deus esse volebat, neque amicus, sed inimicus. Naturalia quidem retinuit, ut intellectum, voluntatem, appetitum, ejusque potentias, habitus et actus naturales, quanquam et illa sunt vitata et debilitata in exercendis actionibus suis, quantumvis naturalibus, praeterquam fuissent in statu innocentiae; quippe removebat donum originalis justitiae impedita, quibus nunc intricantur et irretiuntur. P. 113: Haec carentia, cum qua nascimur, est peccatum illud, quod originale solemus vocare, privative oppositum justitiae originali, nempe in intellectu ignorantia, tenebrae sive caligo; in voluntate aversio a Deo et bono; in appetitu rebellio.

Even in the first works of Calixtus there were points which gave offense to the stricter Lutheran divines.¹¹ 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 Concordiæ seemed to be already on the way to the Reformed Church,¹² 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 position¹³—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 diss.*, 1617, in *G. Cal. de Peccato Tractatus Diversi*, congesti 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 Heshusian († 1622), in his præf. 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. Hülsemanni *Dialysis Apologetica Problematis Calixtini, num Mysterium Trinitatis e solo V. T. possit evinci*, Lips., 1650. 4., præf., p. 100), in *Cal. Epitome Theol.*; particularly in the articles *de imagine Dei et de peccato, de predestinatione, de communicatione idiomatum*; much, he said, was *ad palatum Papistarum, much Calvinianis non ingratum*. Comp. Tholuck's *Wittenberg. Theologen im 17ten Jahrhundert*, s. 101.

¹² Conr. Hornelius wrote from Verden as early as February, 1616, to Calixtus (Henke, *Commerciū Literariū Calixtini fasc. iii., Marburgi, 1840, p. 7*): *Retulit nuper nescio quis e ducatu Brunsvicensi nobilis juvenis, famam esse in agro Brunsvicensi de plerisque Academiae Juliae doctoribus veneno Calviniano infectis, inter quos tu præcipuus sis. Risi cum audirem hoc,—sed et dolui postea, cum viderem ita remis velisque a quibusdam isto prætextu contendere ad extremam barbariem.*

¹³ First in the Proœmium to *Augustini de Doctrina Christ. libb. iv., de Fide et Symbolo lib. 1, Vincentii Lerin. Commonitorium 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 Ecclesiasticæ, Helmst., 1639. 8. Epist. ad Augustum, Ducem Brunsvic., vor G. Cassandri de Communione sub utraque specie dialogus; ed. G. Calixtus, Helmst., 1642. 4. Responsum maledicis theologorum Moguntinorum pro Rom. Pontificis Infallibilitate Præceptoque Communionis sub una vindiciis oppositum, 2 Partes, Helmst., 1644. 4. Consideratio et ἐπίκρισις appended to Scripta facientia ad Colloquium a Rege Vladislao IV. Torunii indictum ed. G. Calixtus, Helmst., 1645. 4. Desiderium et Studium Concordiæ Ecclesiasticæ, 1650, often printed; also appended to G. Calixti *Widerlegung der Verlaumdungen Dr. Jac. Wellers, and in answer to Dr. Joh. Hülsemanni 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.¹⁴ But

¹⁴ *Desiderium et Studium Concordiae Ecclesiasticae*, 1650, § 4: Qui credunt, se non propriis meritis, sed virtute et merito passionis J. Chr. peccatorum remissionem consequuturos, et post resurrectionem carnis suae ad gloriam perventuros confidunt, ponuntque inter se et iram divinam meritum et mortem Christi; praeterea baptizati sunt, et Eucharistia prout datur fruuntur; opera autem carnis non perpetrant, sed temperanter, juste et pie vivunt in praesente saeculo, expectantes beatam spem et illustrem adventum gloriae magni Dei et servatoris nostri J. Chr.: eos a Deo filios haberi, et ad haereditatem regni coelestis admitti certum est. Tales autem inter se longe magis conveniunt, et intimius junguntur, quam pridem memorati (heathen, 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 membrum non est, non potest salvari. Qui vero ejusdem corporis sub capite Christo membra sunt, inter se sunt fratres et sorores. Quod igitur attinet Pontificios et Reformatos, aut negari oportet, quemquam eorum esse membrum Christi, et affirmari, omnes—aeternae morti addictos esse: aut, si nobiscum aeternae vitae participes esse possunt vel erunt, tanquam ejusdem Patris—filios, tanquam concorporos et cohaereditos, tanquam fratres et sorores haberi et diligere oportet. § 5: Pium igitur est desiderium eorum, qui expetunt, dissidia et odia, quae invaluerunt, prohi dolor! inter illos, qui—ita, ut dictum fuit, credunt seque gerunt, aut certe gerere debebant, mitigari, et si fieri queat, plane tolli.—Etiam si vero *actualis et externa per Sacramentum communio*, inprimis propter exortas circa idipsum infelices controversias, prohibeatur; perseveret nihilominus *virtualis et interna*, consistens in mutua benevolentia et caritate, qualem Christiano debet Christianus, et in desiderio studioque removendorum impedimentorum, quae actuali et externae perfectae communioni obstant. (S. Cath. Ecclesiae Symbola et Confessiones, 1649, praef. Superiora credentibus et professis si nos *actu jungi* prohibet sive distantia regionum, sive dissidia Principum, sive aliud obstaculum, *jungimur* tamen—*animo et affectu*.) Quo animo si simus, terribilimum schismatis crimen a nobis amolitur. § 6: Interea observandum, non esse viri boni, nedum Christiani, aliud sentire, et aliud refragante conscientia profiteri.—Qui apud animum suum persuasus est, nullam esse Pontificis *ἀναμάρτησιν*, nullum ex jure divino primatum, nullam purgatorium, nullam transsubstantiationem; non potest salva conscientia prae se ferre et profiteri, quod esse credat.—Qui persuasus est, sententiam aliquam esse veram, non potest absque mortali crimine eam improbare vel damnare, et ne quidem simulare, quod improbet vel damnet. Est autem ingens discrimen inter ista: *ego hanc sententiam non existimo esse veram; ego hanc sententiam vere haereticam judico, et omnes ei addictos a divina gratia et coelesti regno exclusos*. § 8: Porro observandum, constituta esse divinitus, a quibus cognitio et creditis pendere debeat aeterna hominum salus, nec haec per arbitrium et constitutiones humanas augeri vel incrementum capere posse. *Quae igitur ad salutem Christianis primorum saeculorum et martyribus Christi suffecerunt, haec etiam nobis hodie sufficiunt*. Dices forte: ergo non fuerit ad salutem necessarium credere, quod Filius sit aeterno Patri *ὁμοούσιος*. Respondeo: rem ipsam credere, nempe Filium esse verum et eundem cum Patre suo Deum, ad salutem, et ut Filio redemptori nostro debitus cultus praestetur, est necessarium: per istud autem vocabulum rem efferre vel exponere, non quidem ad salutem est necessarium, est autem suo quodam alio modo necessarium, nempe ad excludendas Arianorum Iudificationes. Doctores sane et antistites Ecclesiarum non alia ratione vel fide salutem consequuntur, quam simplices Christiani. Multa tamen illis prae his scitu et cognitu sunt necessaria, non quidem directe ad salutem, sed ad salutarem doctrinam rite explicandam, confirmandam et defendendam. (Comp. Consideratio et *ἐπίκρισις*, § 20, appended to Scripta facientia ad Colloquium Thorun.) Then on the Media ad concordiam christianam promovendam et procurandam facientia. Among other things, § 10: Quae praecise 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. Status Bu-
 ab aliis, quae pari modo necessaria non sunt : ei si de illis fuerit consensus, quod ista atti-
 net, etiamsi actualis communio plene exerceri nondum possit, cessent tamen mutuae con-
 demnationes, et obtineat tolerantia. (In the Responsum ad Mogunt., P. i., § 44, he distin-
 guishes, after the manner of Bonaventura and other scholastics, in what pertains to faith,
 three things—*antecedentia*, *constitutiva*, and *consequentia* : *Quae constituunt fidem*, Bon-
 aventuræ *principaliter credenda*, sunt articuli symbolo propositi. *Antecedentia* sunt, quae
 ex lumine naturae sive de animae immortalitate, sive de Deo cognosci possunt.—Ante-
 cedit quoque cognitio divinae canonicæ Scripturæ, e qua, quae fidem reapse constitu-
 unt, doceri et deduci debent. *Consequentia* sunt, quae ex articulis ad fidem proprie fa-
 cientibus tanquam corollaria eliciuntur, quo pertinent omnes quaestiones annatae, emer-
 gentia dubia, et dogmatum appendices. In hisce aliquid posse vel intelligere ad officium
 docendi rectius obeundum requiritur, non praecise ad salutem consequendam.
 § 66 : *Antecedentium et Consequentium* cognitio non ad quosvis pertinet, sed ad perfecti-
 ores.) § 12 : Quaestiones, quarum decisio ad pietatem aut praxin christianam, sive spe
 salutis, sive cultu divino, sive officio caritatis, sive administratione Sacramentorum, sive
 gubernatione Ecclesiae exercendam, nihil confert, omittantur, vel tanquam indifferentes
 in medio relinquuntur : ad populum autem temere nunquam proferantur. (Consideratio
 et ἐπικρισις, § 32, appended to Scripta facientia ad Colloqu. Thorun. : Iterum atque ite-
 rum moneo, theologiam nostram practicam esse, et proinde quaestiones, quae ad praxin,
 a nobis, inquam, praestandam et exercendam praxin, nihil faciant, pro indifferentibus
 habendas, nec de iis odiose et cum detrimento mutuae christianae caritatis contendendum
 esse. He divides theology, Prooem. in Aug. et Vinc., p. 3, in theologiam *ecclesi-
 asticam*, quam didacticam et positivam vocari posse, et doctrinae capita proponere et ex-
 ponere diximus ; in *exegeticam*, quae Scripturas interpretetur ; in *historicam*, quae anti-
 quitatem evolvat ; et denique in *academicam*, cujus sit disputare, doctrinam fidei adversus
 haereticos tueri, et controversias circa illam exortas 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 dexteritate refutentur, ut erga
 errantes commiseratio potius subeat, quam excitentur odia et inimicitiae. § 14 : Suffi-
 ciat consensus circa τὸ quod est mysteriorum, etiamsi τὸ quomodo non possimus pen-
 etrare. § 20 : Quae Ecclesia affirmat, quod aliae negant, et propter quod negatum eas
 communionem suam indignas iudicat, illa id ipsum probare debet. § 21 : *Probandum autem
 crit primo et principaliter ex sacra canonica Scriptura*. Quae quoniam testimonium
 perhibet Ecclesiae, quod sit *columna et firmamentum veritatis* (1 Tim. iii. 15), praecipue
 vero primitivæ, diras ab ethnica Roma persecutiones passae, quod fuerit *Ecclesia Sancto-
 rum et Martyrum Jesu* (Apoc. xvii. 6), *consequenter ex unanimitate consensu primæ et pris-
 cæ Ecclesiae id ipsum, quod controversum est, probandum venit*. (Prooem. in August. et
 Vincent., p. 48 : Deus in Scriptura—mysteria sive articulos fidei et sacramenta salutis
 nostrae necessaria tradit revelando et sciscendo, sive instituendo et mandando ; Ecclesia
 vero eadem tradit nec revelando nec instituendo, sed de revelatis ac institutis divinitus
 testificando.) § 22 : Si quod affirmatur, non proponitur ut necessarium ad salutem, nec
 ut causa scissionis vel denegatae communionis, haud opus erit de eo magnopere angere.
 Sin ut tale, necesse fuerit demonstrari, non modo quod verum sit, sed etiam quod tale
 verum, et quod tale semper habitum et agnatum. Quid autem ut tale habuerit et agno-
 verit prisca Ecclesia, immotescit ex eis, quae adulti, priusquam baptizarentur, disce-
 re et edoctos profiteri iussit. Quos enim baptizabat, non alio loco quam vere Christiano-
 rum et fidelium habebat, et mox usu sanctae Eucharistiae dignabatur. Nec ab eis aliud
 in posterum requirebat, nisi ut in ea, quam professi essent, fide constantes, coetivique
 fidelium conjuncti pie et inculpate viverent. Docebantur autem et profitebantur sum-
 mam fidei, *Symbolo, quod Apostolicum hodie vocatur*, comprehensam. (Responsum ad
 Moguntinos, P. i., § 35 : *Symbolum dictum Apostolicum*, non quidem quod ab ipsis Aposto-
 lis totidem verbis conceptum : id enim si esset, canonis biblicæ partem faceret, libris-

scher, the Hanover preacher, stood for a long time alone in his at-

que et scriptis apostolicis accenseretur: sed quod contineat summam totius doctrinae apostolicae, cuius adulto et rationis compoti ad salutem necessariae; quin nec aliis, quam quibus ipsi usi fuerunt Apostoli et Evangelistae, verbis expositam. That this symbol contains 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 *Symbola alia* ad explanationem apostolice facientia, et juxta quae idipsum capiendum, si doctiores et doctores ultra simplicitatem ad accuratorem disquisitionem progredi necessitas aliqua vel haereticorum importunitas exigat. (Digressio de arte nova, appended to *Theol. Mor.*, p. 443: Fidem nostram et doctrinam nostram complectitur: *Symb. Apostolicum; Symb. Nicacum, Constantinopolitanum et Athanasianum; Anathematismi Ephesini; Confessio Chalcedonensis; Quae Nestorianorum et Eutylichianorum reliquis quinta et sexta Synodi opposuerunt; Quae item Pelagianis Africana plenaria, sive ut vocari solet Mileritana synodus, et Arausiana secunda synodus opposuerunt.* Calixtus published the same under the title: *Sanctae Catholicae et Apostolicae Ecclesiae, ejusque primorum oecumenicorum Conciliorum Symbola et Confessiones*, 1649; also annexed to his *Widerlegung Weller's und Hülsemann's*, 1651. De sanctissimo trinitatis mysterio contra Socinianos exercitatio, *Helmst.*, 1645, § 37: Omnia symbola, unum apostolicum, quod simplicem fidem continet, si excipias, doctoribus inserviunt, non laicis, quos vocant: illorum enim est dogmata fidei uberius exponere, contra objectiones tueri, et contradicentibus os obturare; comp. Cassander, § 51, Note 6, and the English bishops Hall and Davenant, § 51, Note 26.) Accesserunt etiam *doctorum scripta*, de dogmatibus, quibus Ecclesia ejus temporis niteretur, testimonium perhibentia. *Consensu itaque priscae Ecclesiae* ex symbolis et scriptis manifestato doctrina christiana recte confirmatur. Intelligimus autem doctrinam fundamentalem et necessariam, non quasvis annatas appendices et quaestiones; aut etiam quorundam Scripturae locorum interpretationes. De talibus enim unanimis et universalis consensus non poterit erui vel proferri. Et magis apud plerosque spectandum est, quid tanquam communem Ecclesiae sententiam proponant, quam quomodo eam confirmant aut demonstrent. Comp. *Proem. in August. et Vinc.*, p. 69: Summa eorum quae diximus huc redit, non potuisse fieri, ut Ecclesia universa, imprimis Ecclesia primorum saeculorum in vicem capitum sive articulorum fidei falsitates amplecteretur et ad posteros propagaret, ut Ecclesia, inquam, universaliter antiquitus in fundamentis religionis erraret; et hoc nobis constare ea certitudine, qua sacris Scripturis divinisque promissionibus adsentimur: quae vero fuerit publica et passim recepta primorum saeculorum doctrina e priscorum doctorum consensu, quem scripta illorum inter se collata manifestum relinquant, patere certitudine morali, quae in illo quidem genere maxima sit, et fornicinem oppositi sufficienter excludat.—*Teneamus*, ait Vincentius, *quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est.* Illud *semper*, ut firmo stet talo, prima saecula et apostolicam aetatem proxime subsecuta comprehendat necesse est.—Ad summum si a primo, ad quod Apostoli ipsi et scriptores canonici pertinent, proxima quatuor saecula in tuam sententiam consenserint, praescriptione antiquitatis vicisti. Quin ad eum modum legitimae traditionis antiquitas non angustis, sed oppido laxis, *quingentorum puta ab exordio aerae christianae annorum terminis* circumscribitur. 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 Catholics; see Digressio de arte Nova, p. 241: Cum doctores posteriorum saeculorum, quidem orthodoxi sint, non dissentiant nec dissentire possint a doctoribus priorum: qui hos secum concordare demonstraverit, ei de consensu reliquorum securo esse licet. Provocant itaque, qui in superioribus auditi fuere (Catholic divines), ad *doctores primorum quinque saeculorum*.—Quam sententiam nos quoque probamus, et sic genuinam ecclesiasticam antiquitatem cancellis minime angustis includimus. P. 246: Profitemur et promittimus, quidquid ejus, quod a Christo et Apostolis descendisse et ad salutem creditu necessarium nos affirmamus, ab altera parte negatum fuerit, id totum a nobis *consensu et testimoniis primorum quinque saeculorum*, eo qui in superioribus satis descriptus est modo, demonstratum iri. Contra vero oramus et flagitamus, ut vicissim Pontifici, quod

tacks upon the Helmstadt theology.¹⁵ But then came the colloquy at Thorn,¹⁶ in 1645, at which Calixtus, repelled by the Lutherans, attached himself to the Reformed, and aroused hostility.¹⁷ His adherents were first assailed: Conrad Hornejus, professor in Helmstadt, for his doctrine of the necessity of good works;¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ At last, in 1648, began the at-

ipsi eadem in re affirmant et nos negamus, similiter demonstrant. He proposed in his polemics against the Catholics the two principles, Ad Ernest. Landgr. Hassiae responsum, 1651, p. 22: *Quidquid sacra Scriptura docet, est verum, and Quidquid primorum quinque sacculorum Ecclesia unanimitè professa fuit, est verum.* Comp. the similar views of Cassander, § 51, Note 6.

¹⁵ Crypto-Papismus Novae Theologiae Helmstadiensis, das heiml. Papstthumb, in the Neuen Helmstädtischen Theologen Schriften unter dem Schein der Evangel. Lehr hin und wieder versteckt, durch M. Statium Buscherum, in 4 vols. (Hamburg, 1640). Buseher, a disciple of Daniel Hofmann, and in philosophy a Ramist, was cited before the consistory in Hildesheim to reply to a large number of accusations, but failed to appear, fled from the city, and died soon after; see the proceedings in a work issued by order of the Duke, "Gründliche Widerlegung eines unwarhaften Gedichts unterm Titel Crypto-Papismus," etc., 2 Th., Lüneburg, 1641. 4. Schmid Gesch. der Synkret. Streitigkeiten, s. 49.

¹⁶ See Div. I., § 15, Note 31. The design of this colloquy was so harmonious with the views and wishes of Calixtus, that, before it was held, he collected the works published in reference to it, to recommend them to general consideration: Scripta facientia ad Colloquium a Ser. Poloniae Rege Vladislao IV. Torunii indictum. Accessit G. Calixti Consideratio et *ἐπίκρισις*, Helmst., 1645. 4.

¹⁷ Schmid Gesch. d. Synkr. Streitigk., s. 69.

¹⁸ Hornejus had already maintained, in his work, Diss. IX., de Justificatione, 1640, in several theses, a—necessitas bonorum operum ad aeternam salutem consequendam, and was blamed for it by Wilh. Leyser in Wittenberg, in a letter (contained in J. Hülsemanni Dialysis Apologetica Problematis Calixtini, p. 450). Hornejus defended his thesis in a disputation, De fide et bonis Operibus. Resp. M. Jo. Latermanno, 1643; and then Hülsemann, though without naming Hornejus, refuted this Majoristic doctrine (see § 37, Note 10 sq.) in his Supplementum Breviarii Theologici, Vitemb., 1644. At last Hornejus, by his Disp. de Summa Fidei, non qualislibet, sed quae per Caritatem operatur, Necessitate ad Salutem, 1646, gave occasion to the Elector of Saxony to call the attention of his theological Faculty to the matter; and then a letter of warning was sent to Calixtus and Hornejus by the Faculties of Leipsic, Wittenberg, and Jena—de phrasibus et sententiis ipsorum scandalosis, which was violently answered.

¹⁹ Latermann, under the presidency of Calixtus, had defended a thesis, De sanctissimo Trinitatis Mysterio contra Socinianos Exercit., Helmst., 1645, and in this had said, § 5: *Quaquam mysterium, de quo agimus, Patriarchis et Prophetis suo quodam modo ex peculiari Dei revelatione cognitum fuisse inficias ire nolimus; ita tamen in libris, quos instinctu Spiritus sancti ediderunt, contineri, ut a quovis ibi deprehendi aut olim potuerit, aut nunc seposito N. T. possit, id vero negamus: ibique vestigia potius quam aperta animumque convincentia dicta reperiri,—existimamus.* And then the passage, Gen. i. 26, *faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram*, was recognized as a *hinculentum vestigium*. This very unsuspecting assertion was not criticised until the vic-

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.²⁰ Making use of an expression long since in ill repute among the Lutherans, this position was denominated Syncretism. Thus began the Syncretistic Controversy.

Ient 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 Kirchengeschichte*, s. 605. Calixtus wrote about it: *De Quaestionibus, num Mysterium s. Trinitatis e solius V. T. Libris possit demonstrari, et num ejus Temporis Patribus Filius Dei in propria sua Hypostasi apparuerit*, Diss., Helmst., 1650. 4.

²⁰ Jo. Conr. Danuhaueri (professor in Strasburg) *Mysterium Syncretismi detecti, proscripti, et Symphonismo compensati*, Argentor., 1648. 4. Abrah. Calovii (preacher in Dantzie, who became (1650) professor and General Superintendent in Wittenberg, the chief opponent of the Syncretists) *Digressio de Nova Theologia Helmstadio-Regiomontanorum Syncretistarum*, Calixti, Horneji, Behmii, Dreieri, Latermanni, first published at the end of his *Prolegomenis Institutionum Theologicarum*, Dantisc., 1649. 8.; afterward in his *Systema Locorum Theologicarum*, i. 881.

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