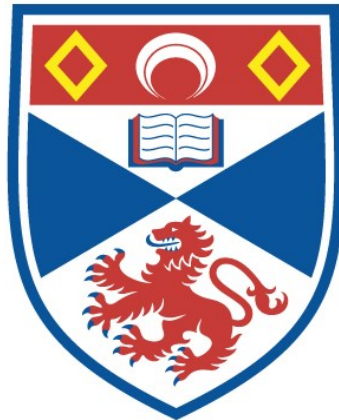


THE POLITICAL THEORIES OF MARTIN LUTHER AND  
UNLRICH ZWINGLI : A STUDY IN CONTRASTS

Edgar B. Moore

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St Andrews



1964

Full metadata for this item is available in  
St Andrews Research Repository  
at:  
<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:  
<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/13577>

This item is protected by original copyright

COTTON FIBRE CONTENT

The Political Theories of  
Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli:  
A Study in Contrasts

being a Thesis presented by  
Edgar B. Moore  
to the University of St. Andrews  
in application for the degree of Ph. D.



WATSON'S



ProQuest Number: 10171201

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10171201

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code  
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

COTTON FIBRE BOARD

Tu 5251



PLATON'S



Declaration

I hereby declare that the following Thesis  
is based on the results of research carried  
out by me, that the Thesis is my own composition,  
and that it has not previously been presented  
for a Higher Degree.

The Research was carried out in St. Mary's College.

[Redacted Signature]

o



Certificate

I certify that Edgar B. Moore  
has spent nine terms at Research Work  
in St. Mary's College,  
that he has fulfilled the conditions  
of Ordinance No. 16 (St Andrews),  
and that he is qualified  
to submit the accompanying Thesis  
in application for the degree of Ph. D.

BOND

USA

MARKSHIRE

COTTON FIBER CONTENT



50

EATON'S  
CORRASABLE  
BOARD  
USA

Career

I matriculated in the University of St. Andrews on the 1st of October, 1958, and followed a course leading to graduation in Divinity until the 8th of December 1961.

On the 1st of October, 1958, I commenced the research on "The Political Theories of Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli: A Study in Contrasts" which is now being submitted as a Ph. D. Thesis.



## PREFACE

Amidst the pangs of the new birth of Christian doctrine and morality which is known as the Reformation, two dominant characters stand out in bold relief. These two pathfinding adventurers of the first act of this drama were Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli. They caught the spirit of the Renaissance, as it had been expressed in the arts and letters and in world exploration, and fearlessly set out upon the sea of troubles which always attends revolution, in order to revive the Christian faith.

Theirs was a world of flux and change. The intricate feudal pattern of custom, rights and dues was being superseded by the emergence of centralised authority, aided by the reestablishment of Roman law. In contrast to this tendency on the local state level, the great universal claims of the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor were being challenged. In the economic realm the rise of the cities and their advanced practices added to the vision of unrest.

Before this new spirit and the changes of the age, the decadent Roman Catholic Church was woefully inadequate. New and clear voices had to speak the Christian message to this confusing age. Luther and Zwingli



were the first successful spokesmen for the biblical faith in these struggles.

The purpose of this thesis is the investigation of Luther and Zwingli's thought, motives and actions, as they sought to apply the reforming faith to the vibrant life of the early Sixteenth Century. My investigation will be limited to their political theories. Ecclesiastical, social and economic considerations will only be dealt with, as they affected their political attitudes.

It might be argued that Luther and Zwingli had no political systems of thought. This fallacy I will seek to refute. Luther's thought on political matters did vary from time to time. Despite this, a pattern can be seen. He wrote most directly on political issues in response to definite situations, as, for example, his writings concerning the Peasants' Revolt. In his correspondence his political attitudes can also be found. Although Zwingli did not write any political theory, as such, his writings and letters contain a pattern of political thought, as well.

The problem with which this thesis will deal specifically is the contrasts between their political theories. My thesis is that these differences in the political field prejudiced their opinion of one another in religious matters. The climax of this animosity was



seen at the Marburg Colloquy of 1529, where their disagreement split the reformed cause into two parties at just the time when solidarity was so important. Of course, they did have very real disagreements on matters of theology, especially with regard to the interpretation of the meaning of the presence of Christ in the Holy Communion. They approached subjects in a very different manner, as well, owing to their divergent temperaments. A third and very essential consideration in comparing them is their differing political views. This I will seek to prove.

In setting forth this thesis, I will first describe the political backgrounds of each, for the differences of the history and life of Germany and Switzerland had a great influence on their differing thought patterns. This will be the burden of the first chapter.

The second chapter will deal with their personal backgrounds. Such questions as their patriotism and their social status will be considered. Luther and Zwingli had many similarities in intellectual heritage, but greater differences. These will be studied.

Theories of a political nature will be dealt with in Chapter III. These will concern their theories of the State, the obligations of rulers and absolute obedience. In Luther's case this last most essential theory will be set within the frame work of his writings concerning the



Peasants' Revolt. These conceptions will be contrasted with Zwingli's views on obedience to the councils, as illustrated by his attitudes toward the Anabaptists.

In Chapter IV the very important question of the relation of Church and State will be raised. Luther's dependence upon the princes will be contrasted with Zwingli's dependence upon the Council of Zurich. A discussion of their theories about the interrelation of Church and State will be presented.

Their divergent theories concerning international relations and alliances will be the burden of Chapter V. In the face of the ponderous menace to the reformed states and cities, following the Second Diet of Speyer of February, 1529, Luther's negative attitude toward alliances will be examined. In contrast to this, Zwingli's international policies will be viewed. Both theories will be illustrated by a comparison of their opinions about the plans of Philip of Hesse.

The climax of their differing political views will be set against the background of the Marburg Colloquy of October, 1529, where the question of a united Protestant front was the vital issue. Beside their general differences in theology and personality, Luther's insistence on the word will be compared with Zwingli's overriding motive for unity in the theological discussions of the meeting. The con-



v

COTTON FIBER CONTENT

sequences of their disagreement will then be analysed.

In Chapter VII the aftermath of the Marburg Colloquy will be set forth in the perspective of the Diet of Augsburg and the formation of the Schmalkaldic League. The intricate question as to whether Luther changed his opinion about a defensive alliance against the Emperor following the Conference will be discussed. The consequences of the failures of the Conference will be scanned, as they tragically affected the life of Zwingli. In the conclusion of this chapter the consequences of Luther and Zwingli's political theories will be dealt with. Their political theories will be contrasted according to their conceptions of theocracy and Erastianism.

This thesis seems of importance pragmatically for two reasons. In the first place, the problems of the relation of Church and State is a vital question in every age. It is extremely illuminating to view the thoughts of these two great men of the explosive Reformation age to see how relevant their theories are to the modern situation. Secondly, the disagreement of Zwingli and Luther at Marburg should be examined, in order to understand present discussions of the ecumenical nature of the Church. All aspects of their encounter should be viewed, in order to appreciate the complex nature of such discussions. Thus, the political facet of the attempt at

BIBLIOPHILE



Christian unity in 1529 is hereby set forth.

Little has been written about the political theories of Luther and Zwingli. A few books deal directly with the subjects, and these, as well as articles in periodicals, will be used in this thesis. There are other works which border on the separate political theories of the two men or present a particular facet, and these too will be referred to. The primary writings and correspondence of Luther and Zwingli, as they pertain to political considerations, will be the basis of this study.

Even as there is a scarcity of material on the two men's political views, so too there are few books which compare them in detail. There are, however, some good periodical articles which compare and contrast their lives and thoughts.

Although there is this limited amount of material on their separate political systems and a comparison of other aspects of their lives, I have found no book, periodical article or thesis which deals specifically with a contrast of their political theories. I make this statement after a careful search for such material.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. POLITICAL BACKGROUND . . . . .	1
Luther's Political Heritage . . . . .	1
Zwingli's Political Heritage . . . . .	24
II. THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE PERSONAL AND INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUNDS OF LUTHER AND ZWINGLI . . . . .	50
Personal Backgrounds . . . . .	50
Antecedents in Political Thought . . . . .	61
III. THE THEORY OF <u>CBRIGKEIT</u> . . . . .	111
Definitions of the State . . . . .	112
Functions and Limits of the State . . . . .	125
The Calling and Duties of the Ruler . . . . .	138
The Conception of Obedience . . . . .	149
IV. THE RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE . . . . .	181
Doctrine of the Church . . . . .	182
The Coexistence of Church and State . . . . .	190
Luther and Zwingli's Dependence on the <u>Cbrigkeit</u> . . . . .	208
V. ATTITUDES TOWARD DEFENSIVE ALLIANCES . . . . .	246
The Menace to the Reformation . . . . .	246
Zwingli and International Relations . . . . .	257
Luther's Attitude toward Alliances . . . . .	267



	Attitudes toward the Objectives of Philip of Hesse . . . . .	272
VI.	LUTHER AND ZWINGLI IN CONFLICT: THE COLLOQUY OF MARBURG . . . . .	286
	Differences in Theology and Personality . . . . .	286
	The Word and the Motive . . . . .	309
	The Consequences of the Colloquy of Marburg . . . . .	327
VII.	THE AFTERMATH OF MARBURG . . . . .	341
	The Diet of Augsburg and the Schmalkaldic League . . . . .	341
	Did Luther Change His Opinion about Alliances and Obedience to the <u>Obrigkeit</u> during the Period at the End of 1529 and throughout 1530? . . . . .	354
	Zwingli's Loss of Heart and Life . . . . .	365
	Theocracy or Erastianism . . . . .	373
	BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	382



## CHAPTER I

### POLITICAL BACKGROUND

The study of the contrasts between the political theories of Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli must of necessity commence with a survey of the political background of Germany and Switzerland which affected their thought and motivations. This is not an ecclesiastical nor a sociological survey and these concerns will only be alluded to, as they interact upon the political situation. Three major items will be explored in this chapter. The first will be the historical development of the political frameworks in Germany and Switzerland. The second item will be the social delineations and class structures of the time of Luther and Zwingli, as they affected their political environments. Finally, the special problems and dangers inherent in the political realms in Germany and Switzerland on the eve of the Reformation will be viewed.

#### I. LUTHER'S POLITICAL HERITAGE

##### Historical development

Germany became a political entity for the first time consequent to the division of Charlemagne's Empire



by the Treaty of Verdun in 843 a.d. The portion of this great domain east of the Rhine and north of the Alps was to be ruled by Louis the German. 1 This area was designated as Ostfranken. 2

The political system of Charlemagne was greatly changed by this division. The centralisation of power was drastically reduced for two reasons. The margraves, counts and bishops, who had gained their appointments from the Emperor, felt that their local powers were as sacred as the powers of the ruler of the Ostfranken territory, because they stemmed from the same authority. 3 The local leaders also imagined that, because of ancient usage, whereby the war-chiefs were chosen by all of the freemen, 4 their authority came from the governed, as well as from above. Even though this suffrage was very rarely put into practice, it was part of the feudal, medieval system, that, in theory, at least, the author-

---

1 L. L. Snyder, editor, Documents of German History (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1958), p. 29, citing Annales Bertiniani (Prudentii Trecentis), in Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, G. H.ertz and others, editors (Hanover and Berlin, 1826-1925), Vol. I, p. 440.

2 J. W. Burgess, Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law (London, 1890), Vol. I, p. 109.

3 Ibid., p. 110.

4 J. Bryce, The Holy Roman Empire (Boston, 1889), p. 217.



ity to rule came from the populace. Here at the dawning of the German Empire, we can see the seeds of the problems that were to plague it up to and including the time of the Reformation. These were the struggles of the central authority against the centrifugal force of the local leaders. In this struggle the latter gradually became the masters.

After the termination of the Carolingian house in 911, the local leaders in Germany elected their king, hence conferring upon him his power to rule. They also agreed to their own local sovereignty. Germany had thus become aristocratic. Otto the Great stemmed the tide of the aristocracy momentarily by his assertion of imperial dignity. 1 Other emperors in their turn tried with less success to maintain their position of authority. Frederick II, whose reign began in 1212, had to recognize this aristocratic element in law. In 1232, in the document known as the "Statute in Favor of the Princes", he acknowledged the right of the princes to rule independently. "From the point of view of constitutional history Germany may henceforth be styled a Confederation of Princes or a Princely Oligarchy". 2

---

1 J. W. Burgess, op. cit., p. 110.

2 E. Kantorowicz, Frederick the Second 1194-1250, E. C. Lorimer, translator (New York, 1931), p. 379.



The Golden Bull confirmed at the Diets of Nürnberg and Metz in 1355-1356, under Charles IV was a milestone in the course of the assumption of power by the princes. Electoral procedure whereby select princes would vote for candidates for the office of emperor was established by this document. Frankfort was to be the place of the elections. Seven electors were named of which four were to be secular and three ecclesiastical princes. Three of the secular princes were to be from the Elbe and included the Elector of Saxony, the Elector of Brandenburg and the King of Bohemia. The Count Palatine of the Rhine area was to be the fourth. The Archbishops of Treves, Cologne and Mentz were to be the clerical electors. A simple majority of votes was sufficient for the naming of a new emperor. The Golden Bull also provided for an annual meeting of the electoral princes. <sup>1</sup> This famous document which "... became the cornerstone of the Germanic constitution, confessed and legalised the independence of the electors and the powerlessness of the

---

<sup>1</sup> L. L. Snyder, op. cit., pp. 46-49, citing Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Erläuterung der Verfassungsgeschichte Deutschlands im Mittelalter, 3rd edition, W. Altmann and E. Bernheim, editors (Berlin, 1904), pp. 54-83. Translated in: A Source Book for Medieval History, O. J. Thatcher and E. H. McNeal, translators and editors (New York, 1905), pp. 284-295.



crowns". 1

Assemblies of local rulers had been meeting for some time under the name of the "Diet", but during the reign of Frederick III and at a meeting held at Nürnberg in 1467, it was decided that the estates of the Diet should meet in three colleges. The electoral princes had the pre-eminent position. The ruling princes and nobles, both ecclesiastical and lay, and certain of the more powerful knights were considered the second estate. The third estate was made up of the representatives of the free cities, who had been included in the meetings of the Diet, because of the difficulty of extracting taxes from them without their representation. More than three hundred separate principalities and communities were represented in some fashion in this body. 2

The emperors of the second half of the Fifteenth Century were no match for the princely aristocracy. Beset by losses of power, dignity and financial support, they retreated from the struggle, and absenteeism only added to the lessening of their power. "So weit aber wie Friedrich III. hat es doch kein Anderer kommen lassen: siebenundzwanzig Jahre lang, von 1444 bis 1471,

---

1 J. Bryce, op. cit., p. 216.

2 H. C. Vedder, The Reformation in Germany (New York, 1914), p. xxvii.



ist er nie in dem Reiche gesehen worden." 1 The competition between the emperors and the princes was deep-seated and of ancient root, therefore.

Emperor Maximilian, whose reign commenced in 1493, sought to unify the Empire, as his less energetic, immediate predecessors had not. But "... this Empire, nominally one, and full of the strongest sentiments of unity, was hopelessly divided...." 2 Maximilian agreed to the constitutional wishes of the estates and in return sought certain safeguards for his authority. A public peace was declared under the name of der ewige Landfrieden in 1495. By this feuds between the princes were to be abolished. An imperial court was to judge in disputes between them. This court, designated as the Reichskammergericht, was to act as a bridle on the particularistic policies of the princes. 3 It also gave the Emperor the dignity of acting as peacemaker and arbitrator in disputes arising among the princes. Maximilian showed strength of character in confronting the princes, but

---

1 L. von Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation (seventh edition; Leipzig, 1894), Vol. I, p. 34.

2 T. M. Lindsay, A History of the Reformation (Edinburgh, 1906), Vol. I, p. 35.

3 J. W. Burgess, op. cit., pp. 111-112.



he was forced to make concessions to them.

Maximilian died suddenly on the 12th of January, 1519. There immediately followed five months of electioneering by candidates for the imperial throne. The three leading contenders for the dignity were Charles, the King of Spain and the grandson of Maximilian; Francis, the King of France; and Frederick, the Elector of Saxony. Frederick stepped down, because he favored Charles. On the 28th of June, the electors assembled in Frankfort to cast their votes. Charles was unanimously elected. There was great rejoicing throughout Germany, because Charles was of German blood. But the people were to be sorely disillusioned, for in spirit he was a Spaniard, even as his mother was Spanish. "It was the Spaniard, not the German, who faced Luther at Worms." 1

It is interesting to note that the Swiss Diet had great concern over the outcome of this election.

An 18. März fasste die Tagsatzung den förmlichen Beschluss, sich der Erhebung des französischen Königs zur kaiserlichen Krone sogar zu widersetzen, und zwar, wie sie sich ausdrückt, mit Leib und Leben, dagegen die Wahl eines deutschen Fürsten, sei es ein Kurfürst oder ein anderer, zu befördern. 2

Although this action had no great effect on the election, it is well to note the Swiss attitude against Francis

---

1 T. M. Lindsay, op. cit., p. 41.

2 L. von Ranke, op. cit., p. 253.



and their implicit support of Charles at this juncture.

The Diet of Worms of 1521 was important for more than the usual reason, for it was here that Charles agreed to accept the Reichsregiment. This was the organisational pattern of an imperial regency. A central committee was made up of a president and four members, who were named by the Emperor; six of the electors; and twelve members representing the princes. The Reichsregiment fulfilled the desire of the princes for more power. They acted as an advisory board to the Emperor, when he was within the Empire, and ruled in his stead, when he was absent. The only exception to this was the fact that the Emperor had to confirm all of their judgements.<sup>1</sup> The imperial regency was a potent factor in the hands of the princes, because of the protracted absences of Charles from the Empire, due to his international wars and intrigues. The line of least resistance for Charles was to agree to all that the Reichsregiment decreed and hope to make things right when he returned to the Empire again. Here, again, another step was taken by the princes toward their goal of aristocratic rule.

In this long history of conflict between central authority and particularistic interests, the aristocra-

---

<sup>1</sup> T. M. Lindsay, op. cit., p. 38



tic principle gradually won out. Martin Luther had to deal with the princes primarily, because they were the ruling power. They had various sentiments and persuasions, but in one thing they were united. This was the jealous guarding of their prerogatives.

The class structure as it influenced the political scene

The social situation in Germany at the time of Luther must be understood, in order to appreciate the political currents of the age and the reformer's attitudes toward them.

As has already been indicated, the princes were powerful and aggressive. Their lands lay in a scattered patchwork. Because of the acquisition of new lands by inheritance, marriage, conquest and purchase, it was common for a prince to have to cross the territory of a neighboring prince, in order to visit the various parts of his own domain. <sup>1</sup> Even as power had been decentralised in the Empire, as a whole, the territories of the individual princes had been slowly, but surely, centralised during the period of the breakdown of the feudal structure of society. They had gathered more and more territory unto themselves, and at the same time most of them gained complete autocracy within their holdings. Only

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 35



within a few states did the princes have to share their authority with the estates meeting as provincial assemblies.

The princes had standing armies and the more powerful ones determined to a great extent their own foreign policy. They had their own financial systems and coinage. In many states the princes controlled their own supreme courts from which no appeal was possible. Their power was based on their independence and they were only restrained by slight obligations of loyalty to the Empire.

Some of the princes were benevolent autocrats, but others were no more than tyrants. Even as Niccolo Machiavelli in his life and writings had divorced politics and morality,<sup>1</sup> so too did the majority of the German princes live by no other code than their own selfish interests and desires. The fruit of this evil within the states was the disastrous peasants' revolts.

Not only within their dominions, but in the Empire as a whole the princes caused the downfall of good government.

Die zeitgenössischen deutschen Geschichtschreiber, welche die handelnden Personen kannten und die Ent-

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Mackinnon, A History of Modern Liberty (London, 1906), Vol. II, p. 24.



wicklung der Dinge in der Nähe beobachten konnten, waren nicht im Unklaren darüber, wem die wesentlichste Schuld zur Last falle, dass die Hoffnungen vereitelt wurden. Nicht ein einziger derselben hat diese Schuld dem Kaiser beigemessen und nicht ein einziger die engherzige und sendersüchtige Politik der Fürsten und der Reichsstädte in Schutz genommen ..... 1

It is no justification for the action of most of the princes, but it is informative to note at this juncture, that they were no more than following the example of the Hapsburg emperors in their actions.

When Maximilian inherited the imperial Burgundian lands, a fief of the Empire, through his marriage with Mary, the heiress of Charles the Bold, he treated the inheritance as part of the family estates of his House. 2

Elector Frederick of Saxony was a typical prince. Though more enlightened than most, he was still driven by the motives of power and prestige in the assertion of his independence. When he wished to establish a university, he used the money which had been collected by the sale of indulgences throughout his territory in 1501. He had kept the money against the wishes of the Pope and the Emperor, because the money had been received from his people for a crusade against the Turks, and until this attack should be started he saw himself as the rightful

---

1 J. Janssen, Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1883), Vol. I, p. 572.

2 T. M. Lindsay, op. cit., p. 37.



custodian of it. As the crusade had not commenced, he used the money, as he saw fit. In connection with the foundation of the University of Wittenberg, it is illuminating to note that this was the first German university which did not receive its charter initially from the Pope, but it came first from the Emperor, Maximilian. According to E. G. Rupp, the Emperor approved the foundation in 1502, and the Pope confirmed this in 1503. 1

Frederick was one with the other princes in favouring the establishment of the Reichsregiment. Here he saw the means of securing his interests against those of the Emperor and the other classes. This body was ultimately liquidated, because of the particularistic jealousies of the princes, and, because of the opposition of Emperor Charles and the imperial towns.

Many of the ecclesiastical princes had no less power and independence, than their secular counterparts. Their authority also came from their local sovereignty and from ancient imperial grants. Theoretically, they ranked next to the Emperor, for it was felt to be unseemly for the clerical rulers to be ranked after the secular princes. The convener of the Electoral College was the

---

1 E. G. Rupp, Luther's Progress to the Diet of Worms (London, 1951), p. 20.



Archbishop of Mainz and the three ecclesiastical electors cast their votes before the four secular princes who were electors. In practice, however, they were equal with the lay princes. The Archbishops of Bremen, Magdeburg and Salzburg, and thirty-nine bishops, who had territorial sovereignty, and who sat in the imperial diets, could either vote separately, as proper princes, or join in a collective clerical vote. The lesser clergy often sat in the provincial assemblies, because of their position as territorial lords. 1

The knights were a dying class. The career of one of the most famous, Franz von Sickingen, and his downfall is typical of their decline. They still held some seats in the imperial diet up to the Diet of Worms (1521), when their domains warranted such recognition, but at this Diet they lost all representation. They had become the victims of the consolidation of the local territories by the princes.

The lesser nobility who had no independent territories had no place in the imperial diet. Although they were supported by fragile feudal rights, they had become to a great extent simply members of the courts of the

---

1 J. K. Bluntschli, The Theory of the State, D. G. Ritchie, F. E. Matheson and R. Lodge, translators (Oxford, 1885), p. 120.



princes. They did, however, meet in the provincial assemblies, where these existed. These assemblies assisted the princes in the governing of their territories, but generally they were dominated by the autocratic power of their princes.

The towns and cities had a measure of freedom from the authority of the princes, due to their considerable wealth. Some towns were subjected to the immediate sovereignty of princes and were represented in the provincial assemblies. But others had the independence of being imperial towns and were represented in the imperial diet. These independent municipalities often controlled territories outside of the city walls.

The hardly won autonomy of the German town was at once the offspring and the nurse of an economic revolution which, in spite of the political decline of the empire for several centuries, gave Germany a leading position as a commercial and industrial state. <sup>1</sup>

Even though these commercially and industrially active towns were represented at the meeting of the diet, they were not included in the deliberations of the Reichsregiment. The cities were chagrined that this princely body should set their taxes without their representation. Their fears materialised when the major burden of taxation was placed upon their shoulders by the institution

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Mackinnon, The Origins of the Reformation (London, 1939), pp. 306-307.



of heavy customs charges on commerce crossing the borders of the Empire. Representatives were sent by these cities to a meeting at Speyer in 1523 to consider the problem. They determined to send a delegation to Valladolid, Spain, where the Emperor was then located. Charles's attitude on this occasion was very illuminating, as to his sentiments about the princes. The representatives of the towns were well received and were told that the Emperor would take matters into his own hands, in order that justice might be done. <sup>1</sup> This alliance between the Emperor and the imperial towns marked the end of the effectiveness of the Reichsregiment and increased the tension between the princes and Charles.

The citizen body of the towns was made up of all of the merchants and artisans. They had the right of representation on the town council by virtue of their personal freedom. These citizens or burghers with their guilds and corporations had a degree of culture and freedom which no one else in the Empire enjoyed with the exception of the princes, and even these lords were jealous of their wealth and tried to emulate the luxury of the way of life of many of the merchants. The citizens of the towns came to feel that they were a class

---

<sup>1</sup> T. A. Lindsay, op. cit., pp. 38-39.



apart and they united for the defense of their common cause. <sup>1</sup> This group became a powerful new force in the political life of Germany at the time of the Reformation.

The lot of the rural peasant was one of abject serfdom. The condition of those in northern and eastern Germany was especially deplorable. Those in central and southern Germany had enough dignity left to object occasionally, but always their efforts were unsuccessful. The major cause of their state was the revival of Roman law which will be discussed later in this chapter.

#### Special political problems

Beside the seemingly unending rivalry between the emperors, the princes and the towns, there were three major problems or dangers in German life on the eve of the Reformation. The first of these was the change in the basic structure of church-state relations. The second was the transformations in the foundations of the law. The third was the ever present threat of Turkish invasion and the wars of Charles. These political problems all had a profound effect on the course of the Reformation.

---

<sup>1</sup> J. K. Bluntschli, op. cit., p. 158.



Church-state relations.

In dies allgemeine Wogen griffen in der Mitte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts doch einmal auch grossartigere Verhältnisse ein, die Gegensätze der Fürsten gegen Kaiser und Papst.... 1

The opposition of the princes to the universal claims of the emperors has already been covered. Their opposition to the universal church, though usually veiled, was no less real.

The conflict between the popes and the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire was the natural consequence of the assertion of universe sovereignty by both. Pope Gregory VII compared the Papacy to the sun and the Empire to the moon. 2 There was truth in the comparison in his age, but in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries it was no longer true. Such a personality, as Emperor Sigismund, and the actions of the Council of Constance had changed the situation. The war by Charles against the forces of the Pope had also given the situation a very different appearance. Beyond this, there was yet another dissimilarity. The power of the Empire was no longer vested in the Emperor, but in the princes, and they took up the rivalry with the Papacy which had been tradition-

---

1 L. von Ranke, op. cit., p. 45.

2 Ibid., p. 38.



al for the emperors. The Pope's pretences to power over the political realm in Germany had now become a mere illusion.

Wir haben vorhin der Emanzipation der Staaten von der universalen kirchlichen und weltlichen Idee gedacht.... Es tritt uns noch nicht die Idee des modernen Staates entgegen. Aber es werden die Voraussetzungen für dessen Praxis und Gedanken geschaffen. 1

Germany did not have the qualities of a modern state at this time. It had no centralised government of power, as did France, England and Spain, but it was approaching the modern idea in its rejection of the universal claims of authority by the popes and the emperors.

The princes opposed the temporal claims of the Pope and the ecclesiastical institutions within Germany, where they conflicted with their own interests. Some were convinced, moreover, that it was the prerogative of the secular authority to reform the Church.

It had become a current doctrine in the Church itself, which others, besides Occam and Wyclif, had voiced, that, in case of necessity, the civil authority may ignore the papal headship and take active measures for the common good in the interest of the Church as well as the State. 2

The whole question of Wyclif and Occam and their statements of this position will be dealt with in the next

---

1 G. von Below, Die Ursachen der Reformation (München, 1917), pp. 132-133.

2 J. Mackinnon, op. cit., pp. 406-407.



chapter. It is sufficient to say here that the Conciliarist Movement did advocate that the State should aid in the cleansing and correction of the Church, when necessary. This principle was the result of the struggle between the emperors and the popes. It had been developed later, because of the rivalry between the princes and the Church. This idea was to be of the greatest importance to the Reformation movement in both Germany and Switzerland.

The transformation of the basis of the law. A second problem was the change wrought in the basic foundation of the law. "Political liberty in the Middle Ages then meant primarily the supremacy of law, law which was the expression of the habit of life of the community...." <sup>1</sup> In the trend toward consolidation within the princedoms which preceded the Reformation, this liberty was subjugated. No longer could a noble plead for his ancestral rights, as being inviolable. No longer could the peasant expect their feudal due with regard to water and forest rights. Feudalism was fast disappearing and with it the checks and balances and the mutual liberties and duties. In its place Roman law was being established.

The scholars of the Renaissance had recovered

---

<sup>1</sup> A. J. Carlyle, Political Liberty: A History of the Conception in the Middle Ages and Modern Times (Oxford, 1941), p. 19.



the ancient code of Justinian. The letter and spirit of this and other codes took the place of the medieval, feudal agreements. The lawyers of the pre-Reformation age were being taught these Roman laws and the statesmen were eager to use them in order to enhance their power. The emperors believed that the Holy Roman Empire ought to be governed by Roman law and, therefore, encouraged its use. But it was the princes who gained from their establishment. It was they who assumed the prerogatives and powers of the disintegrating feudal structure and applied most effectively the explicit Roman laws to the end of furthering their centralised authority. These laws were based on the Roman idea that there were but two classes, nobles and slaves.<sup>1</sup> The princes took the place of the nobles and made the others of the gentry their servants, and the peasants became their slaves.

Wars and threats of invasion. The third of these problems in the political scene of the Reformation era was the threat of Turkish invasion and the wars of Charles. Both had a disturbing effect on the life of Germany.

From the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Turks with their aggressive leaders and fierce warriors, threatened the Empire. Their navies plundered the coasts of

---

<sup>1</sup> H. C. Vedder, op. cit., p. xli.



the Mediterranean and their armies brought death and misery to Hungary and soon threatened Vienna. <sup>1</sup> The people were often called to pray that the Empire might be delivered from this menace. The prayers were supported only by ineffectual resistance. The popes raised money for crusades against Islam, only to use it for some other project. The financially embarrassed emperors, though concerned, could never get effective help from their neighbors, France and England, because of the jealousies between the nations. Some of the princes responded, but never with enough power to turn the tide. Again, it was jealousy among the princes that so often thwarted their efforts. It was not until the heroic defense of Vienna in 1529, that the immediate danger of invasion was stemmed.

Another problem beset the Empire in the form of the wars of Charles against Francis I of France and with Pope Clement VII. The first of these wars which was fought between 1521 and 1526, was caused by Francis's adventures in Italy. The taking of Francis prisoner after the Battle of Pavia in 1525, only proved to be a lull between the storms, for the second war was fought between 1527 and 1529. In confronting another foe, the troops of Charles under the Duke of Bourbon sacked Rome on the 6th of May,

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Bryce, op. cit., p. 292.



1527, while engaged in a war with the forces of Pope Clement VII. 1

These international conflicts had the effect of keeping Charles occupied and inattentive to the religious situation in the Empire, even as the Turkish threat caused him to allow the reforming princes freedom of action, because of the need for unity.

The Empire on the eve of the Reformation and during its opening years was a welter of contending interests. The only support upon which the Emperor could rely came from his own domain, the lands of the House of Hapsburg. "... Germany was what might be termed a confederacy, consisting of a number of virtually sovereign states." 2 Hence, the Emperor struggled with the princes which in turn sought absolute power over the nobles and the peasants. The contentions of the rising towns and the claims of the clergy only added to the state of confusion.

Man könnte noch nicht eigentlich von deutschen Staaten reden; dazu war die Einheit selbst der grösseren Fürstenthümer noch nicht fest genug - man ver-

---

1 D. J. Hill, A History of Diplomacy in the International Development of Europe (London, 1905), Vol. II, p. 401.

2 L. H. Waring, The Political Theories of Martin Luther (London, 1910), p. 94.



suchte hie und da gemeinschaftliche Regierungen, was aber selten gut ging, so dass man doch immer wieder auf das Princip der Theilungen zurückkam.... 1

Yet, there were cries for unity and a sense of national destiny. The establishment of the Reichskammersgericht and the desire of the towns for a stable commercial system were manifestations of this spirit. Despite this, the overwhelming current of the first decades of the Sixteenth Century in Germany was particularism and strife. "Men continued to speak of the Holy Roman Empire, it is true, though already Voltaire's jibe was justified, and it was evidently not an empire, nor Roman, nor holy." 2

Even as the Holy Roman Empire had lost its power, so too was that other claimant to universal, political influence, the Papacy, being forced to give up its medieval prerogatives. The independence of the princes and the wealth of the cities were the greatest motivating force in this direction. Martin Luther was in the spirit of this movement toward territorial sovereignty and away from the medieval universal claims. He enhanced this trend by his life and work.

---

1 L. von Ranke, op. cit., pp. 222-223.

2 H. C. Vedder, op. cit., p. xxv.



## II. ZWINGLI'S POLITICAL HERITAGE

### Historical development

The story of the rise of the Swiss Confederation is one of drama and heroism. The first emergence of a separate political entity north of the Alps and south of the Rhine came in 1291. At this time the three small, rural areas of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden signed a document which instituted a perpetual league for mutual defense. These were semi-independent areas which all gave willing recognition to the German Empire. In 1231, Uri had secured independent, imperial status, as had the town of Zurich, from Emperor Frederick II. In 1240, Schwyz and Unterwalden received immediate attachment to the Empire from the same Emperor. ] They had been considered parts of the Empire, but their new status gave them added independence.

In a word, they acquired the first degree of liberty, the privilege of immediate dependence upon the empire (Reichsunmittelbarkeit), by the same steps as some of their neighbors, and their final, collective independence was not very different from that of the leagues of the Hanseatic, Lombard, Rhine, and Swabian cities, except that it was more enduring. 2

---

1 J. M. Vincent, Government in Switzerland (New York, 1900), p. 8.

2 W. D. McCrackan, The Rise of the Swiss Republic (London, 1892), p. 70.



The immediate danger to these areas came from the House of Hapsburg in Austria, and, thus, they sought the protection of the Empire. The members of this House had much territory within these states and many feudal rights, thus they sought to rule politically. When Rudolf of Hapsburg became the Emperor in 1273, their means of recognition and protection had fallen into the hands of their natural enemy. They could not do anything against him, but their moment of action was fast approaching.

Am 15. Juli 1291 starb König Rudolf. Siebenzehn Tage später beschworen jene Bauerngemeinden zu Schutz und Trutz einen ewigen Bund und legten durch diese That den ersten Grund zur schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft. <sup>1</sup>

The compact itself declared that it was a renewal of an earlier agreement which was, perhaps, informal in nature as historians have never been able to find its contents. The document of 1291, was simply the sworn promise of one area to help to defend another of the three states should they be attacked. The document was conservative by nature, for it stated that this aid should be given with all due regard for rank and for the need of obedience to the overlords in each state. Yet, it had democratic elements, for it stated that every man had

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Dierauer, Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft (Gotha, 1887), Vol. I, p. 78.



the right to be judged by someone from their own region, and even the right to indicate the judge before whom he ought to be tried. The object of the charter of the league was not to overthrow the ties with the Empire, but to assure the states of local rights. It was basically a declaration of independence by the native aristocracy and the peasants against the feudal claims of the Hapsburgs.

The unbelievable battle of Morgarten which took place on the 15th of November, 1315, was the first test of the ability of the three states, i.e. Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, to defend themselves. "Morgarten was one of the first occasions in the Middle Ages, perhaps the very first, on which any army of mounted knights was conquered by peasants on foot...." <sup>1</sup> With rocks, short swords and sheer courage the peasants put the knights to death and flight. There were only 1,300 of these peasants and yet they are said to have defeated 20,000 Austrians, <sup>2</sup> who had been sent to establish the claims of the House of Hapsburg. It is strange to note that among the vanquished were men from Basel, Bern and Zurich, who had been representing their cities in support of the Hapsburg cause. <sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> W. D. McCrackan, op. cit., p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> D. J. Hill, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 411.

<sup>3</sup> M. D. Hottinger, The Stories of Basel, Berne and Zurich (London, 1933), p. 8.



Fresh from the glory of the victory, the men of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden concluded a second league at Brunnen on the 9th of December, 1315. This agreement was basically the same as the first, and only served to accentuate their high resolve for freedom. The document for this league was written in German, rather than in Latin, as was the case with the first covenant. The most important difference in content was the fact that the second document added the idea that none of the states were to enter into alliances with foreigners without the consent of the other two. It was also agreed that all of the individuals within the states should obey their rightful lords, except when gross injustice was done to them. This is of significance, for it must be remembered that many of these lords were representatives of the House of Hapsburg.

Due to the surprising results of the battle, the House of Hapsburg gave up its claim of political rights in Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden and confirmed the charters of their league.<sup>1</sup> They did, however, maintain their holdings and their feudal due.

Luzern joined the league in 1332 and Zurich followed in 1351. A flag was adopted and it was, as it still

---

<sup>1</sup> W. D. McCrackan, op. cit., p. 127.



is, a white cross on a red background. The common nature of the Confederacy was expressed in their slogan, "Each for all, and all for each".<sup>1</sup> The Confederacy was not a completely independent state at this juncture, however, for it remained a part of the Empire. The emperors recognized the Swiss as free peasants with the right of mutual defense.

With the inclusion of Zurich with its fickle policies into the perpetual league, an element which tended toward disunity was established. Even in the contract for the binding of Zurich to the four existing states, this note is struck, for Zurich insisted on the provision that the states reserve to themselves the right to enter into alliances with states outside of the Confederacy. It was stated, however, that their allegiance to the confederates should come first. This tension between the right of the individual canton and its allegiance to the others became a very serious problem for the future of Switzerland.

Glarus and Zug joined the Confederation in 1352, while the town of Bern became a member in 1353. With only eight states in the Confederation the problems of federalism and states rights were already emerging. The

---

<sup>1</sup> T. M. Lindsay, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 21.



cantons were extremely different in political, social and economic structure. The three original cantons and Glarus were rural and administered by a very rude form of democratic government which consisted of open-air elections for a ruling council. Bern and Luzern were urban and aristocracies, while Zug was only partially urban and had democratic tendencies in its government. Zurich had made the greatest strides toward democracy of any of the cities. It was ruled by a council which was elected by the guilds, and all of the citizens belonged to one of these groups.

Each canton had absolute sovereignty and they were bound by no other central authority than their alliances with each other. Yet these agreements proved sufficiently strong to cement their union. Perhaps, without the ever present threat of the power of the House of Hapsburg, this union would have fallen. Another consideration in the success of the union lay in the manner in which all were allied with the original three forest cantons. <sup>1</sup> This, therefore, formed a central focus or nucleus for the Confederation. "In commemoration of the victors at Morgarten, the men of Schwyz, this union re-

---

<sup>1</sup> W. D. McCrackan, op. cit., p. 186.



ceived the name of the Swiss Confederation." 1

The reassertion of Hapsburg claims within the states was again answered by another victory by the confederates at Sempach on the 9th of July, 1386. It was here that 1,500 men of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden and Luzern defeated a more numerous Austrian army. 2 As at Morgarten, it was the heroic tale of peasant courage pitted against overburdened knights.

Again in 1393, an attempt was made by Austria to crush the power of the Confederacy, by means of bribing the chief magistrate of Zurich, Schön, and thus gain Zurich as an ally. The burghers of Zurich rose up in arms, however, and overthrew Schön. Because of this intrigue, the Convention of Sempach met. The cantons assembled here as essential parts of the Confederacy and not simply as allies of the three original states. 3 This alone was significant, but their decision to stand together despite other alliances was also important.

By 1513, the number of cantons was thirteen, as Friburg, Solothurn, Basel, Schaffhausen and Appenzell had joined the Confederation. Other districts, e.g. Valais

---

1 W. Oechsli, History of Switzerland, 1499-1914, Eden and Cedar Paul, translators (Cambridge, 1922), p. 1.

2 J. Dierauer, op. cit., pp. 323-324.

3 J. M. Vincent, op. cit., p. 17.



and St. Gallen, sought the protection of the united cantons without being actual members of their leagues. Through their numerous battles the Confederates had gained other territories which were administered jointly by the cantons involved in the conquest. This became a source of great friction among the states, and was to become a particularly serious problem with the advent of the religious disputes of the Sixteenth Century. Despite internal irritation, the growing Swiss states became widely known in Europe, because of their military prowess and freedom. Niccolo Machiavelli expressed this respect, when he said, "Rome and Sparta remained for ages armed and free. The Swiss are at once the best armed and the freest people in the world".<sup>1</sup>

Even as in Germany, where the states were virtually independent, the cantons determined their own internal and, to a great extent, their external policies. Also, as in Germany, there emerged diets to consider the common business of the states. In Switzerland this practice grew up informally and only when the need required it. There was no constitutional basis for a diet, yet it became the only central government for the Confederation. When a situation arose which indicated a time

---

<sup>1</sup> N. Machiavelli, The Prince, N. H. Thomson, translator (Oxford, 1897), pp. 87-88.



for discussion, each canton sent its representatives to the place and at the time set by the assembling canton. These diets met more and more frequently as time went on. The discussions were on matters legislative, judicial or executive, but the decisions were not binding on the cantons. Each canton had one vote and the delegates were simply the spokesmen of their home governments. "It was no more than a congress of the delegates of sovereign states, delegates bound by their instructions...." <sup>1</sup> Only slowly did the principle of majority rule become adopted, for the diets were not made up of representatives of the people, but of the states. Even after this principle was accepted, it was affirmed that the cantons were sovereign, so far as their independence was not limited by Confederate agreements which were very few in number and of a general nature.

The crudity of this confederacy should not be scorned, for it must be remembered that the Swiss were pathfinders in the intricate forest of federalism. They had, neither guide, nor example, in their experimentation. Add to this the fact that they were men who valued their freedom more highly than their lives, as shown by their most remarkable defensive battles, and one can

---

<sup>1</sup> W. Cechali, op. cit., p. 21.



appreciate what a wonder the Swiss Confederacy was. They had all of the difference of opinion that is the privilege of free men, but they remained true to their goals of liberty and unity.

Both Germany and Switzerland were confederacies of states at the dawn of the Reformation. The states in Germany, however, were autocratically governed for the most part, while the cantons had either democratic or aristocratic governments. Even the aristocratically ruled towns in Switzerland had a greater degree of popular support than existed anywhere else in German-speaking Europe. Another basic difference between the confederacies which lay to the north and to the south of the Rhine was in the tie that bound their states together. In Germany it was the shadow of supposed imperial power, while in Switzerland the tie was a national spirit and the principle of liberty.

#### The rural and urban class structures in Switzerland

The class structure in Switzerland had two very different forms depending upon whether it was rural or urban. This situation also prevailed in Germany, but was not of so great a consequence, because the cities were not as influential as they were in Switzerland.

The constitutions of the rural cantons were strongly democratic; those of the cities were aristocratic.



The most important feature of the government in one case was an assembly of all the freemen; in the other case, a council of distinguished citizens. 1

In Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Glarus and Appenzell all of the adult, male population was represented in the governing of the canton. They gathered in assemblies and together decided on matter of alliances, the waging of war and their local laws. These assemblies elected a chief magistrate and a council of officials to aid him. Every year in the spring these assemblies were held and all citizens had equal rights, regardless of wealth. 2 This primitive democracy practiced by these mountaineers created a situation which made class distinctions a very negligible factor.

In the towns the situation was very different. It was not the burghers meeting in assembly that decided on issues, but the councils. In most cases two councils existed. One was termed the small council, while the other was usually known as the great council. The members of both bodies were seldom elected by the burghers, for they were self-perpetuating groups of the leading citizens. 3 The chief magistrates met with the small coun-

---

1 B. Moses, The Federal Government of Switzerland (Oakland, California, 1889), p. 18.

2 W. Oechsl, op. cit., p. 17.

3 Ibid., p. 18.



cil and decided on almost all issues. If they decided that a particular situation was of sufficient gravity, they referred the matter to the great council. The aristocracy which controlled the towns was not entirely exclusive, however, and any freeman who was a citizen could be elected by one of the councils to its membership because of his position or reputation.

Zurich had this type of aristocratic government, and, because of the fact that it was the scene where Ulrich Zwingli did his work, it will now be given special notice. It was originally an ecclesiastical community whose history went far back before the reign of Charles the Great. It had early come under imperial control and was ruled by a bailiff which became a hereditary office held by the Zähringen family. When in 1218, Duke Berchtold V. of Zähringen died childless, Zurich became an imperial town.<sup>1</sup> With this new recognition by Emperor Frederick II, the town became self-governing. A council of burghers was soon administering the affairs of the community. This type of council governed the city for over one hundred years. Two changes did appear during this period, however. The council became self-perpetuating and the chief magistrate of the council gained a consid-

---

<sup>1</sup> M. D. Hottinger, op. cit., p. 233.



erable degree of power.

In 1336 great changes were seen. At this time three classes could be distinguished. The first was the nobility who were considered such either because of ancient rights and holdings or because they were leaders in the growing commerce of the town. The second class was made up of the lesser merchants, while the third class was that of the artisans and the common labourers. The first two of these classes were known as the "Old Burghers", and they alone had the political rights of citizens. The council of the aristocracy was thirty-six in number and was divided into three groups, each of which served for a third of a year. <sup>1</sup> The popular rising and the dictatorship of Rudolf Brun was to change radically this social and political framework.

Rudolf Brun was a member of the council of thirty-six and a member of one of the oldest families in the city. Because of a lust for power, he espoused the cause of the artisans who had long been discontented with their lack of representation in the governing of the town. Together they overthrew the old council and its members were banished from the town. Brun became the burgomaster with dictatorial powers.

---

<sup>1</sup> W. D. McCrackan, op. cit., p. 139.



On the 16th of July, 1336, a constitution for the town was adopted. This constitution was known as the "First Sworn Brief". It allowed for the representation of all classes, for it instituted thirteen guilds. One guild was made up of the knights, nobles and rich merchants. The other twelve guilds which were based upon the various occupations of the artisans and the labourers were not only regulated in matters of industry and trade by the Swore Brief, but it was also established that each guild should be represented in the town council. Twice yearly the members of the thirteen guilds, including the one of the wealthy, elected their guildmaster who became a member of the council. Beside these guildmasters, thirteen representatives of the moneyed class sat on the council. This council of twenty-six made Zurich the least aristocratic of any of the towns in the Confederation.

The burgomaster assumed great executive powers. The Swore Brief stated that he should hold his position for life and all in the town had to swear an oath of loyalty to him. 1 In the hands of Brun these rights made the burgomaster an effective dictator. 2

---

1 Ibid., p. 142.

2 E. Benjour, H. S. Offler and G. R. Potter, A Short History of Switzerland (Oxford, 1952), p. 91.



The Swore Brief remained the basic document of the constitution of the city until 1489, except for two notable changes. The extreme powers of the burgomaster became limited by the council. A second, larger council came into being, because of the fact that the council of twenty-six wished in extraordinary cases to refer matters to a more representative group. This was probably due to the example of the democratic spirit which was prevalent in the rural cantons. At times of great stress the support of a larger body seemed required.

In 1489, these changes were codified and new innovations were made in the constitution of the city. Two councils were organized. These were the "Small Council" and the "Great Council" or the "Council of Two Hundred". In this new constitution the powers of the burgomaster were sharply curtailed, as two were elected each year by the Great Council, each to serve for six months. This officer became the executive for the decisions of the two councils.

The Small Council was the administrative body for the city. It dealt with the day by day routine matters which were too petty to be acted upon by the Great Council which was now set as the supreme authority. This Small Council was composed of fifty members who were representatives of the guilds, except for six members-at-large



and the two burgomasters of the year. 1 It was composed of two sections, each serving for six months.

The Great Council was the new phenomenon which was first spelled out in this constitution of 1489. This was the real legislative body of the municipality. It even had the power to change the constitution without consulting the people. There was no general election for this group, for they all represented, either the Old Burghers, or one of the other twelve guilds, and the members were elected by these groups. This Council of Two Hundred was actually 212 in number. 2 It contained the members of that year's Small Council, eighteen other delegates from the moneyed class, twelve members from each of the twelve guilds.

This constitution provided for quite a wide popular representation. The number of the guild members on the Great Council far outweighed the number of the representatives of the Old Burghers. Another factor must be considered in this regard. The size of the Great Council, as compared with the size of the city on the eve of the Reformation, also indicates the broad base of representation.

---

1 J. M. Vincent, Switzerland at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century (Baltimore, Maryland, 1904), p. 45.

2 Ibid., p. 46.



At this time Zurich contained between 5000 and 7000 inhabitants within its walls, and controlled thirty-five dependent districts outside. Out of the combined population the state could muster about 10,000 men for war. <sup>1</sup>

Zurich was the commercial leader among the confederates and had become the political leader of the other cantons, as shown by the frequency of the meetings of the Diet of the Confederacy in Zurich. This, then, was the setting for the work of Ulrich Zwingli.

### Special political concerns of the Confederation

The Swiss Confederation had troublesome situations in the sphere of federalism and it had deep jealousies between the predominantly aristocratic cities and the democratic rural states. Beside these general problems, three special political concerns confronted the states. The first of these had to do with the relationship between the decadent Church and the paternalistic State. A second consideration is the fact that, although the Swiss were extremely well armed for their size, the thinking men among them worried about new aggression by the House of Hapsburg and wondered what their relationship to the Holy Roman Empire should be. The third concern of the Swiss at the turn of the Sixteenth Century and during the first two decades of this century was the

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 48.



great problem of mercenary service by the men of the cantons in foreign battles. These concerns all had a large part to play in setting the stage for the Reformation.

Church-state relations. The relationship between civil and ecclesiastical authorities in Switzerland for the two hundred years before the Reformation can best be demonstrated by the principles laid down in the Pfaffenbrief of 1370. Six of the eight cantons, all except Bern and Glarus, agreed that clerical, as well as lay, citizens should swear allegiance to support the Confederation. 1 It was also provided that any member of the clergy who was not a citizen of one of the cantons could not bring charges against any citizen in a foreign ecclesiastical court, but the offender had to be tried in the court where he resided. This was true in all cases, except those dealing with purely religious matters. Any priest who disobeyed this injunction was to be outlawed by the cantons. 2 This had the effect of freeing the local priesthood from foreign, secular jurisdiction and bound them in loyalty to the confederation. This "... put an end to the encroachments

---

1 E. Bonjour, H. S. Offler and G. R. Potter, op. cit., p. 102.

2 J. M. Vincent, op. cit., p. 15.



of ecclesiastical tribunals by declaring that no ban in cases of debts and other purely secular matters was to be endured". 1

In later years the papacy allowed this infringement on its prerogatives, because it wished to maintain its military and political ties with the cantons. When the papal indulgence seller, Samson, appeared on the pre-Reformation scene, he was met with indifference, because of this well-established freedom of thought in religious matters. The dissolute character of the clergy also added to this attitude on the part of the people. Here, as in Germany with the appearance simultaneously of Tetzels, popular feeling was registered against the Curia. But in Switzerland the antipathy was stronger. "Among such a people the denunciation of Roman slavery was not likely to fall on deaf ears...." 2

The function of the Church in regulating morals came more and more to be undertaken by the councils of the cantons. The wearing of ornate clothing was regulated in 1488, and dancing was prohibited in 1500, and

---

1 A. C. Flick, The Decline of the Medieval Church (London, 1930), Vol. I, p. 233.

2 J. Mackinnon, A History of Modern Liberty, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 139.



again in 1519, in Zurich. <sup>1</sup> Even in the administration of its own affairs the councils infringed upon the jurisdiction of the Church. In Zurich the government took upon itself the right of supervising the churches, as well as inspecting the monastic establishments.

For many years the government had been requiring strict accounts from the monasteries and convents of the whole territory, and in many cases had appointed managers to oversee their properties. <sup>2</sup>

These acts were taking place before the Reformation in Zurich.

While remaining, in theory, subservient to the Pope, the councils were, in fact, taking over the rights and duties of his local representatives. This situation in Switzerland was much the same as that in Germany, where the princes were following the same trend.

Relations with the House of Hapsburg. The relationship of the Holy Roman Empire and the Swiss Confederation must also be viewed, in order to understand Zwingli's political motivations and theories. The union of the cantons had come out of their common hostility to the Hapsburg rulers of Austria and to the involvement of this same family in their internal administration, due to feu-

---

<sup>1</sup> J. M. Vincent, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 47.



dal rights. With the accession of the Hapsburgs to the imperial throne, much of this antipathy was shifted toward the Empire. Such factors as the Swiss successes against Charles the Bold of Burgundy in 1476-1477, their growing friendship with France and their dislike of the aristocracy in Germany, made of their allegiance to the emperors more of a fiction, as time went on. 1

All of the efforts of Emperor Frederick III to stifle Swiss independence were unsuccessful. When Maximilian I reorganized the Empire in 1495, the Swiss refused to be considered one of its administrative units or to pay its taxes. Their military victory over the Swabian army of the Emperor at Dornach only emphasized their point. With the Peace of Basel in 1499, they became informally free of their imperial ties. The emperors still considered that the Swiss were imperial subjects. "The Confederates, however, would no longer permit themselves to be described as "members of the Empire"...." 2

Maximilian was forced to recognize the Swiss as nothing but possible imperial allies. In 1511, even the bloody wars with Austria came to a close. These wars had continued for just four years short of two hundred

---

1 W. D. McCrackan, op. cit., pp. 236-237.

2 W. Cechsl, op. cit., p. 14.



years. They had served as an incentive for Swiss unity. A league was established for the purpose of ending these wars and the Swiss pledged themselves to the maintenance of the status quo in return for an annual payment. <sup>1</sup> The fact of the involvement of the Confederation in the election of Charles in 1519 did not effect their sense of independence. The Swiss Diet resolved to electioneer for Charles of Hapsburg. Their right to do this was based on their tenuous relationship to the Empire. Their reason for wishing Charles elected was that, if Francis of France attained the imperial dignity, they would be surrounded by their untrustworthy ally. <sup>2</sup> The Swiss knew a sense of national pride and they were resolved to use their tenuous imperial connections only for their own advancement.

Mercenary service. In Germany the greatest single problem during the period immediately before the Reformation was the aggressiveness of the princes. In Switzerland it was the mercenary service of the Swiss troops and the pensions which many of the wealthier citizens received in order to maintain the system.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 60.



By the end of the Fifteenth Century the military fame of the Swiss was widely known. Their continuous line of victories since Morgarten was such an impressive record, especially in view of the fact that they were almost always outnumbered, that the kings of France and the popes wished to buy the services of the Swiss for their various wars. In the Swiss wars against Austria and the Empire, their valour was unquestioned and their success came because they were fighting for their homes and liberties. In their battles for France and the Papacy, the Swiss fought with fierce bravery, but their record of victories was tragically broken.

Behind the mercenary service were many agents in the various cantons. They received annual pensions for providing the Swiss infantry for foreign wars. It is interesting to note at this juncture that Ulrich Zwingli, up until 1520, received a pension from the Pope. He only advocated sending troops to the popes, however. This shows what a man of his age he was before his dedication to the reforming cause.

Many enlightened men in the Confederacy realised the dangers of such prostitution of the lives of the Swiss. On the 21st of July, 1503, the Diet while meeting at Baden adopted a resolution that the receipt of pensions from



foreign states was to be a criminal offense. 1 All military service without the express consent of the Diet was outlawed. This ruling of the Diet was made ineffectual by the cantons, however, because of the strong position of those who received the pensions.

In 1507 the Swiss fought for France, in order to suppress a democratic movement in Genoa. 2 This shows their lack of concern for the aspirations of others for the democracy which they themselves had, in great measure, won. They demonstrated the fickle nature of their services, when in the Italian campaign of 1510 and 1512, they fought for Pope Julius II against the French this time. For this warfare the Pope gave them the title of the "Protectors of the Freedom of the Church". 3 With the disastrous battle of Marignano in 1515, and the valiant fight, but utter defeat and slaughter of the Swiss, the tide of popular opinion in Switzerland began to turn against such service, even for the Pope. Due to the efforts of the beneficiaries of the pensions, however, the mercenary system continued.

---

1 E. Bonjour, H. S. Offler and G. R. Potter, op. cit., p. 143.

2 W. Oechsl, op. cit., pp. 29-30.

3 J. M. Vincent, op. cit., p. 36.



The Disastrous result of this system was the moral deterioration of the Swiss.

These mercenaries, demoralised by making merchandise of their lives in quarrels not their own, and by spending their pay in riotous living when they returned to their native valleys, were corrupting the population of the Confederacy. <sup>1</sup>

Despite the enactments of the Diet against such service and the rulings of the councilors of the various towns on moral issues, the condition in Switzerland was unhealthy, on the eve of the Reformation. This was due to the internal strife among the pensioners and the loose-living among the fighting men.

In surveying the political situation in Switzerland at the time of the Reformation, certain things must be emphasised. The Diet of the Confederacy might be compared with the Diet in Germany, as in both cases the assemblies were made up of virtually sovereign representatives who could either obey the dictates of these bodies or disregard them. Both were confederate types of government and had all of the contentions to which this system of government is heir. The principle of division which ruled Germany was not as apparent in Switzerland, however, as this latter land had developed more of a national

---

<sup>1</sup> T. M. Lindsay, op. cit., pp. 23-24.



spirit and its citizens were never adverse to coming to the aid of a neighbor, when another canton was attacked.

Within the cantons the sovereign governments were for the most part democratic, although some of the cities clung to an aristocratic form of government. None of the Swiss states had autocratic government, as was the general rule in Germany. In the rural cantons there was a pure form of democracy. In the cities the vestiges of the old nobility ruled in concert with the merchants. In Zurich the rule was also shared by the artisans and working men through their guilds. There was little of the problems of conflict between the nobility and the merchant class in Switzerland, as there was in Germany. In Switzerland the contentions were based on the differences between the rural and urban cantons. In both countries the slow, but sure, encroachment of the civil authorities into the domains of the Church was evident.

Switzerland's military prowess and their surrounding mountains caused the people to have little concern about invaders on the eve of the Reformation. Their major danger came from within and was made manifest by the mercenary system. Even with this danger, Switzerland was the most free and tenaciously independent nation in Europe, as the Reformation began. This, then, was the political legacy of Ulrich Zwingli.



## CHAPTER II

### THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE PERSONAL AND INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUNDS OF LUTHER AND ZWINGLI

The thought of any great man should never be viewed, as it were, in a vacuum. Thus, in this chapter the personal backgrounds of Luther and Zwingli will be surveyed. This examination will deal with the social environment out of which both emerged, as it was to bear upon their political thought. Their strong feelings of patriotism which were such important factors in their theories and actions will also be mentioned. The political aspects of Luther and Zwingli's thought will be contrasted in regard to their intellectual antecedents. Various writers and streams of thought with which they were familiar will, therefore, be noted.

#### I. PERSONAL BACKGROUNDS

##### Were Luther and Zwingli peasants?

The two great reformers, Luther and Zwingli, were definitely contemporaries, being only seven weeks apart in age. Luther was born on the 10th of November, 1483, in Eisleben in Saxony, while Zwingli was born on New Year's Day of 1484, in Wildhaus in the Toggenburg Valley of Switzerland.



Luther's parents came from Mohra which is beside the Thuringian forest. Luther described his background in this manner: "Ich bin eins bauren son".<sup>1</sup> "There was always something of the peasant about him, and the texture of his mind was of a plain, honest grain."<sup>2</sup> Soon after his birth, Luther's family moved to Mansfeld, in order that Hans Luther could engage in mining. Luther remembered that his mother had to carry wood upon her back and that their home was one of great poverty.

The lot of the Luthers was soon to improve, however. The Count of Mansfeld built small furnaces for the smelting of copper ore. Hans Luther leased one of these and then two others. He gained in the goods of this world and in the respect of his fellow citizens, for he became one of the four members of the village council in 1491.<sup>3</sup>

The Zwingli family did not know the poverty of the Luthers. Zwingli could be called a peasant only in terms of the occupation of his father, who was a sheep farmer, and not in regard to their wealth. His family lived in comfortable circumstances and his father was

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Luther, Werke (Weimar, 1883 ff.), Tischreden Vol. V, p. 255, cited by E. G. Rupp, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Rupp, ibid.

<sup>3</sup> R. H. Fife, The Revolt of Martin Luther (New York, 1957), p. 8.



the Ammann or chief magistrate of the village.

Even though Luther came from a home of poverty and Zwingli from one of relative wealth, by the time that they had reached their teens, their families were leaders in their respective communities. According to strict class distinctions, each could be said to have come from the peasantry, but in Switzerland class distinctions were not as rigid as in Germany, thus a man's wealth and leadership in the community could remove the designation of a peasant.

Zwingli's education commenced when he went to live with and be tutored by his uncle, Bartholomew Zwingli, a priest, who had joined the movement away from scholasticism. Zwingli was sent to Basel in 1494, to the school of St. Theodore's Church for four years. Gregory Buentzli was the master of the school, and the curriculum included Latin, dialectic and music.<sup>1</sup> Zwingli's education continued in Bern where he stayed for two years at the school of the Humanist, Heinrich Lupulus, "... who was the first to teach the classics in Switzerland".<sup>2</sup> The school of

---

<sup>1</sup> S. M. Jackson, Huldreich Zwingli (London, 1901), p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> C. Myconius, "The Original Life of Zwingli", The Latin Works of Huldreich Zwingli, S. M. Jackson, editor; H. Bennet and H. Freble, translators (London, 1912), Vol. I, p. 3.



Lupulus was "... organized and conducted in strict accordance with the ideas of the "New Learning"". 1

Zwingli started his higher education at the University of Vienna where he studied for two years. Here he explored a broad range of philosophy, including Scholasticism which he had previously most remarkably missed, because of his attendance at schools dedicated to Humanism. He matriculated at the University of Basel in 1502. This institution was typically scholastic in nature. 2

... he more closely studied philosophy, and followed carefully the trifling of the sophists with no other intention than that, if he should ever be fighting against them, he might know his enemy. 3

At the conclusion of Zwingli's stay in Basel, Thomas Wytttenbach came to lecture. He was learned in classical language and had a profound knowledge of the Scriptures. Not only was Zwingli's taste for the classical studies enhanced, but he became a serious student of the Bible, due to his association with Wytttenbach.

Thus, Zwingli had been prepared for the life of a parish priest by an education which was of high quality for the day. This had been made possible by the financial

---

1 S. Simpson, Life of Ulrich Zwingli (New York, 1902), p. 27.

2 S. M. Jackson, op. cit., p. 58.

3 C. Myconius, op. cit., pp 3-4.



support of his father.

Luther's education commenced at the Latin school in Mansfeld. He was sent to a school in Magdeburg in 1497. During his sojourn of one year here, he had to support himself by singing in the streets and begging. This school was conducted by the "Brethren of the Common Life". The next four years of his educational career were spent at the school of St. George in Eisenach. He studied here under a well-beloved teacher, John Trebonius. Again, he sang for his sustenance, until he became the recipient of help from the Schalbe and Cotta families. 1

Luther matriculated at the University of Erfurt in May 1501. He received his B. A. degree in September 1502, and his M. A. in 1505. At Erfurt Luther sat under professors, conspicuously Jodocus Trutvetter and Bartholomew Arnoldi, who were bound by oath to teach Aristotle, according to the via moderna of William of Occam. He did, however, obtain permission for excursions into the humanistic studies, reading Virgil, Ovid and Plato. 2 "His father having prospered financially, he was relieved of

---

1 R. H. Fife, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

2 H. Boehmer, Der Junge Luther (second edition, Leipzig, 1939), p. 42.



all further care concerning his own support..." 1 during his university studies.

The University of Erfurt and Zwingli's alma mater, the University of Basel, were similar in that Scholasticism was taught in each. The type of Scholasticism differed, however. For Zwingli it was of the Thomistic variety and was endured by him simply in order that he could refute it in the future. Luther was subjected to the via moderna of Occam. With this school of thought he was at first greatly impressed, but quickly moved away from it. Luther and Zwingli both had but a mild taste of Humanism in their university careers.

The German peasant might not hope easily to pass the line that separated him from the feudal nobility, but the way was open to him into the ranks of the aristocracy of letters. 2

E. G. Rupp suggests that Luther's father had either law or the clergy in mind for his son, but declined the latter, because of "... the sturdy anti-clericalism which Hans Luther shared with many of his class and age...." 3 This is not to say that Luther had not been brought up in a home of simple devotion to the tenets of the Christian

---

1 H. E. Jacobs, Martin Luther (London, 1898), p. 13.

2 H. C. Vedder, op. cit., p. 4.

3 E. G. Rupp, op. cit., p. 12.



faith. Luther's father was, nonetheless, intent on a career of law. As to whether this was to be in canon law or in civil law, the authorities differ greatly. Nevertheless, it has been established that Luther entered into the Faculty of Law. The preparation for this career was short-lived, however. With apparently tremendous suddenness Luther decided to enter the Erfurt monastery. "The momentous step appeared to be sudden, but subconscious forces had been long at work preparing for it." 1 During his formative years he had been exposed to the deepest spiritual influences. The simple devotion expressed in his home, living with the "Brethern of the Common Life" in Magdeburg, his association with the picus Schalbe and Cotta families in Eisenach and being in Erfurt where many great ecclesiastical foundations existed, all these influences probably had a subconscious affect on his decision.

His father was disappointed by the choice, but by the time of his son's first celebration of the mass he became reconciled. Showing his new-found wealth, Hans Luther arrived for the ceremony with twenty horsemen and gave a generous donation to the monastery.

Economically and socially Luther had risen from a state of extreme poverty to become a well educated

---

1 R. H. Fife, op. cit., p. 69.



professor, priest and monk. Zwingli's career, in contrast, had not been such an uphill battle, but had been a steady progress toward a good education with much support and aid along the way.

### The patriots

A very important consideration in dealing with the political thought of Luther and Zwingli is their intense patriotism to their respective native lands. This nationalistic spirit differed to the extent that their nations were dissimilar.

During his youth Zwingli had an ardent love of his country which was to last throughout his life. As a boy, he had such a devotion to the Confederation, that his major aim was to train himself as well as possible in order better to serve Switzerland. He also had a profound appreciation for its principles of simple democracy. In 1490, Zwingli probably saw the Abbot of St. Gallen subjugate his village with a small army.<sup>1</sup> Through his youth he had seen the process unfold whereby the people of Wildhaus had gained back one right after another. Each concession by the Abbot proved to be a struggle. Finally, they were again able to elect their own bailiff

---

<sup>1</sup> J. P. Whitney, "The Helvetic Reformation", The Cambridge Modern History (Cambridge, 1903), Vol. II, p. 307.



or ammann. Zwingli's father was the first to be elected. They won the right of choosing their own village priest and judges, as well. There must have been many a hushed conversation in the Zwingli home, as the struggle for self-government was in process. This must have impressed the young mind of Ulrich.

When Zwingli was translating the 23rd Psalm, in his devotion to his home-land, he used the words, "alpine meadow" to describe where the Lord had led him. 1 Zwingli's patriotism found concrete expression in his attack upon the mercenary service which he recognized as the most serious national problem in Switzerland. The Swiss soldiers had become famous in their wars of independence and were sought after by many of the rulers in Europe. Zwingli's first two literary efforts, Der Labyrinth and Das Fabelgedicht vom Cohsen, sought to point out the evils of the mercenary system. In his work entitled, Eine göttliche Vermahnung an die Eidgenossen zu Schwyz, he wrote,

Darzu hand ouch unser vorden nit umb Ion Christen-  
lüt zu tod geschlagen, sunder umb fryheit allein ge-  
stritten, damit ir lyd, leben, wyber, kinder, ein  
uppigen adel nit so jämmerlich zu allem mutwillen  
underwerffen were. 2

---

1 W. Köhler, Die Geisteswelt Ulrich Zwinglis (Gotha, 1920), p. 14.

2 U. Zwingli, "Sämtliche Werke", Corpus Reformatorum (Leipzig, 1905 ff.), Vol. I, p. 171.



The aristocracy to which he refers is the House of Hapsburg, the arch enemy of Swiss independence for centuries.

Luther's patriotism led him to appeal for a united Germany which could withstand the encroachment of the Papacy. T. M. Lindsay calls it the first appeal for a united Germany. <sup>1</sup> This call was not made to the people, but to the princes in his address, An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation. It was in their particularistic policies that the division of Germany had become complete.

Some historians have blamed Luther for not having appealed to the "people". But the reproach is wrong. The German people in general had no power whatever in those days. <sup>2</sup>

This particularism of the princes was the great problem in Germany. They were responsible for the situation, i.e. the divided condition of Germany, and the solution lay in their hands.

Another area in which Luther's sense of patriotism was frustrated was in the attitude of the Roman Church toward Germany. Being conscious of the background of the Holy Roman Empire, Luther wrote in his appeal, An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation:

Szo helff uns got, der solch reich (wie gesagt)  
uns durch listige tyrannen hat zugewerffen und zu

---

<sup>1</sup> T. M. Lindsay, Martin Luther and the German Reformation (Edinburgh, 1900), pp. 107-108.

<sup>2</sup> C. A. Buchheim, op. cit., pp. liii-liv.



regieren befolgen, das wir auch dem namen, titel und wapen folge thun, unnd unser freyheit erredten, die Romer ein mal lassen sehen, was wir durch sie von got empfangen haben. 1

This would have been the ideal situation for Luther, but the actuality was a far cry from this.

Wie kommen wir Deutschen dartzu, das wir solch reuberey, schinderey unserer guter von dem bapst leyden müssen? hat das kunigreich zu Franckreich sichs reweret, warumb lassenn wir Deutschen uns also narren unnd effenn? 2

In another place Luther bemoaned the fact that 300,000 guilders a year were going to Rome from Germany and all the Germans received in return was contempt and scorn. 3

C. A. Buchheim has said of Luther that,

If there had been during his time a great man in Germany, capable of achieving in politics what he had himself achieved in religion, he would undoubtedly have co-operated with him. For Luther was a true German patriot, if ever there was one, as is evident from so many of his writings, and more especially from his appeal to the "Christian Nobility of the German Nation". 4

This is a good supposition. No prince, and certainly not Charles V, was in a position to be this man. This remained a vain dream for Luther. But even in its divided state, Luther could still say of his fatherland, "Deutsch-

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 464.

2 Ibid., p. 417.

3 Ibid., pp. 417-418.

4 C. A. Buchheim, op. cit., pp. lxxv-lxxvi.



land ist allzeit das beste Land und Nation gewesen...." 1

Luther and Zwingli were patriots. Luther gloried in the customs of the German people. But Luther was not a politician and, thus, he did not see himself as the man to strengthen his country politically. Zwingli was no less a patriot, but he was a man who could put his aspirations into political action. Zwingli is well portrayed in a statue by the Wasserkirche in Zurich. Here he has a Bible under one arm and a sword in the other hand. This was the spirit of Zwingli. Driven by an intense patriotism, he was willing and did risk life itself for the sake of his nation. Luther, on the other hand, can be seen portrayed in a statue in Worms with only a Bible. Here, then, is Luther's spirit presented. If God willed a united Germany, it would come to pass, but he was not the one to carry on this fight in the political area of life.

## II. ANTECEDENTS IN POLITICAL THOUGHT

### The Greeks, the Bible and the Fathers

Both Luther and Zwingli knew the writings of Aristotle and Plato. They had become acquainted with their thought through their Scholastic studies at their univer-

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Tischreden Vol. I, p. 452, cited by F. Funck-Brentano, Luther, E. F. Buckley, translator (London, 1936), p. 276.



sities and through their excursions into the new Humanistic emphasis of the time.

Because of this knowledge, however, Luther was intent in his effort to rid the University of Wittenberg of the Aristotelian influences which were so much a part of Scholasticism. He wrote to John Lang at Erfurt on the 18th of May, 1517, and stated:

Theologia nostra et S. Augustinus prospere procedent et regnant in nostra universitate Deo operante. Aristoteles descendit paulatim inclinatus ad ruinam prope futuram sempiternam. Nire fastidiuntur lectiones sententiarum, nec est, ut quis sibi auditores sperare possit, nisi theologiam hanc, id est bibliam aut S. Augustinum alium ecclesiasticae auctoritatis doctorem velit profiteri. 1

As an example of Luther's objection to Aristotle's ideas, the subject of justice among men is illuminating. His criticism revolved typically about the matter of works. In the "Ethics" Aristotle spoke of the justice of men coming from their acts or works.

The several rules of justice and of law are related to the actions conforming with them as universals to particulars, for the actions done are many, while each rule or law is one, being universal. 2

Luther insisted in his "Commentary on Romans" that justice

---

1 Ibid., Briefwechsel Vol. I, p. 99.

2 Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, W. Rackham, translator (London, 1934), p. 297; Book V, vii.



precedes works and they are the by-product of justice. 1  
 Of course, Luther viewed a higher type of justice, that of  
 faith. He speaks of the justice that he has in mind as  
 being greater than that of Aristotle, because the philos-  
 opher's idea comes from external acts frequently repeated.  
 This Luther said is political justice and is spurious  
 before God. 2

Luther made this point clear when he speaks of  
 Plato's two conceptions of Justice.

Also schreibt auch der heide Plato: Es sey zwei-  
 erly Recht, Justum Natura, Justum Lege. Ich wils  
 das gesunde recht und das krancke recht nennen. Denn  
 was aus krafft der natur geschicht, das gehet frisch  
 hindurch auch on alles Gesetz, reisst auch wol durch  
 alle Gesetze. Aber wo die natur nicht da ist und solt  
 mit Gesetzen heraus bringen, das ist betteley und  
 flickwerke, Geschicht gleich wol nicht mehr, denn jnn  
 der krancken natur stickt. 3

Luther is here using Plato's definition in a manner which  
 approaches his idea of the two kingdoms. The justice of  
 nature is of the Kingdom of God and the justice of the law  
 is of the kingdom of men.

Zwingli with his Humanistic spirit was far less  
 critical of Aristotle and Plato. From his writing, Fidei

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. LVI, p. 172, cited by  
 F. E. Cranz, An Essay on the Development of Luther's Thought  
 on Justice, Law, and Society (Cambridge, 1959), p. 32.

2 Ibid., Vol. LVI, p. 418, cited by F. E. Cranz,  
op. cit., p. 32.

3 Ibid., Vol. LI, p. 214.



Christianae Expositio, written in 1531, it is obvious that he was familiar with Aristotle's three-fold definition of the types of governments and the abuses of the same, as it is contained in the "Politics", Book III. 1 In the section on government in this work by Zwingli he sought to put Aristotle's definitions into a Christian context by stating that the reason that monarchy is likely to become tyranny is because piety has been despised by the ruler. In the case of aristocracy becoming oligarchy, Zwingli stated that the cause of this is the fact that the nobles can lose sight of the public good and think only of their own gain. Democracy becomes tumult when the individual is governed by his own will rather than obedience to the authority of the State. 2 Zwingli was not so much disagreeing with Aristotle, as carrying his definitions into a Christian framework.

Luther must have studied the "Politics" of Aristotle, as well. He, therefore, must have been confronted with his three-fold analysis of the best form of government. If questioned about the subject, Luther would have said that the best type of government for an individual is the one under which God has ordained that he must live. As for

---

1 Aristotle, Politics, B. Jowett, translator, (New York, 1943), p. 139; Book III, Ch. 7.

2 U. Zwingli, Opera, Schuler and Schulthess, editors (Zurich, 1828-1861), Vol. IV, p. 59.



himself, Luther was content to live under the autocracy of the princes, despite the fact that he called them the greatest knaves in the world.

Zwingli's conception of justice has a relation to his idea of the best form of government. The justice of God and the justice of men should not abide in two separate spheres. The justice of God must be applied, as far as possible, among men. Thus, tyranny is a perversion of this justice, as is tumult, resulting from misguided democracy. Zwingli recognised aristocracy, as the form of government which is most likely to create "... aequitatis et pietatis..."<sup>1</sup> among the people.

The Bible was the guide for determining the Word of God for both Zwingli and Luther. They sought its truths in political matters. In this quest their most used sections of the Old Testament were those dealing with the kings and the prophets and the relationship between them. Zwingli was himself as the prophet of Zurich in his later years and was, thus, greatly impressed with the figure of the prophet in the Old Testament. Luther was particularly impressed with the story of David coming upon King Saul at night. Although he had the opportunity of having his enemy killed, while he slept, he would not "... for who

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.



can put forth his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?" 1 This became Luther's attitude in the question, as to whether the Emperor could be opposed.

Both Luther and Zwingli used the text from the New Testament, "Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's". 2 Zwingli interpreted this passage as an admonition to dedicate the State and its actions to God, for these things were God's, as well. Luther frequently used Romans. His important conception that the ruler is the "servant of God" comes from this letter. 3 The First Epistle of Peter was employed by Luther in stating that it is a person's obligation to

be subject for the Lord's sake to every human institution, whether it be to the emperor as supreme, or to governors as sent by him to punish those who do wrong and to praise those who do right. 4

This became a major emphasis in the political thought of Luther, and was only amended with the thought that "... we must obey God rather than men". 5 Zwingli also had this emphasis, and used the following passage from

---

1 I Samuel 26:9 (R. S. V.)

2 St. Matthew 22:21 (R. S. V.)

3 Romans 13:4 (R. S. V.)

4 I Peter 2:13-14 (R. S. V.)

5 Acts 5:29 (R. S. V.)



Hebrews to indicate not only the citizen's responsibility to obedience, but the ruler's mission: "Obey your leaders and submit to them; for they are keeping watch over your souls, as men who will have to give account".<sup>1</sup>

These passages of Scripture which had a great influence on the political theories of Luther and Zwingli will be referred to throughout this thesis, and, thus, will not be discussed in detail here. Although they were alike in their incessant use of the Bible, Zwingli and Luther had different interpretations of it. This will become apparent as each of their political theories are described.

The patristic writings were very familiar to both Zwingli and Luther and were often quoted in their works. Luther, however, was most influenced by them as they dealt with political matters.

St. Ambrose spoke of the coercive authority of the state as being both the consequence of and the divine remedy for sin. "Thus, the written Law, which seems superfluous, was needed to redeem sin from sin."<sup>2</sup> The state derives its authority from God. St. Ambrose spoke of the emperor as the son of the Church, because he had been

---

<sup>1</sup> Hebrews 13:17 (R. S. V.)

<sup>2</sup> Saint Ambrose, Letters, M. M. Beyenka, translator (New York, 1954), p. 466.



ordained by God to be the antidote in civil society for man's corrupt nature. 1 This thought Luther readily accepted. Zwingli did not favour it as completely, however, because he never considered sin to be so radical a malady, as did Ambrose, who dwelt upon the conception of Adam's fall.

St. Augustine's influence on Luther cannot be denied. Luther wrote in a letter to Spalatin, dated on the 19th of October, 1516, that, before he had studied the writings of Augustine, he had little interest in him. 2 After 1508, however,

he really devoured him with the rapture of a younger theologian for his first theological love, as the enthusiastic marginal comments ('Beautiful! Beautiful! ...') eloquently witness. 3

Although impressed with his doctrine of God, Luther also must have taken careful note of his thoughts about the meanness of the earthly life and the glory of mystical communion with God. Zwingli was not impressed with such a conception as the baseness of our earthly existence. Temperamentally, Zwingli was not a mystic.

Luther's enchantment with Augustine continued

---

1 R. H. Murray, Erasmus and Luther (London, 1920), p. 120.

2 M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. I, p. 70, cited by E. G. Rupp, op. cit., p. 21.

3 E. G. Rupp, op. cit., p. 21.



during his formative period. On the 18th of May, 1517, in the letter to Lang<sup>1</sup> and during the course of the Heidelberg Disputation of 1518,<sup>2</sup> he spoke of his debt to Augustine and used much of his thought in his attack on the scholastics. Although Luther's interest in him waned, due to a newer fascination with the thought of Occam, Augustine's influence on Luther was profound.

In the area of political thought a similarity of Luther's conceptions and those of Augustine can be clearly seen. Augustine's idea of the two cities is the most striking instance of this. Despite the differences in terms the theory of the two kingdoms of Luther and the thought about the two cities of Augustine are too similar to disavow the idea that Luther received the kernel of the conception from Augustine. In speaking of Luther's acceptance of the idea that the coercive authority of the state is the divine remedy for sin, R. W. Carlyle added,

... we should conjecture that Luther's development of this, into the conception of the two kingdoms, is probably derived, ultimately, from St Augustine, and especially from the 'De Civitate Dei', although we have not actually observed any direct reference to this.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. I, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 353.

<sup>3</sup> A. J. and R. W. Carlyle, A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West (Edinburgh, 1936), Vol. VI, p. 275.



Society, according to the Bishop of Hippo, is divided into two orders. The first is the ordinary society of men. The failings of this order were graphically obvious to him, as he considered the ruin wrought by the barbarian invaders in Europe. The other order is the society of men who seek to live according to God's will. In his mystical consciousness he experienced the peace that this order produces.

The whole use, then, of things temporal has a reference to this result of earthly peace in the earthly community, while in the city of God it is connected with eternal peace. 1

Paganism represented one city, Christianity the other.

"The primary distinction is always between two societies, the body of the reprobate and the communio sanctorum; not between the Church and the State." 2 Therefore, it can be stated that

Luther's distinction of the 'Kingdom of Christ' from the 'kingdom of the world' is no sharper than that by which Augustine distinguished the City of God from the earthly city. 3

The City of God and the Church are not necessarily

---

1 St. Augustine, The City of God, M. Dods, translator (New York, 1950), p. 692; Book XIX, Ch. 14.

2 J. N. Figgis, The Political Aspects of S. Augustine's City of God (London, 1921), p. 51.

3 E. G. Rupp, Martin Luther - Hitler's Cause or Cure? (London, 1945), p. 62.



synonymous terms, according to Augustine.

But he never completely resolved the inconsistency between his theory of the Church Catholic and his theological doctrine of Grace; on the one hand, the Church is the visible Society bound together by the Sacraments and the hierarchy; on the other, it is the sum total of all those who, whether within the visible Church or without, are predestined by God to eternal life. Between these two his thought wavered, and he transfers to the visible Society much of the ideal character of the final Kingdom of God. 1

Luther had the same problem at this point of distinction between the visible Church of the baptised and the gemeinde. Like Augustine, Luther said that the invisible Church was known alone to God, i.e. the elect. In this way they explained the ambivalence of their conception.

Another similarity in the thought of Augustine and Luther is in the theory of the State as being conceived as the divine remedy for sin. This idea is like unto the thought of Ambrose, as well. "The prime cause, then, of slavery is sin, which brings man under the dominion of his fellow...." 2 Sin is the reason for the State's existence, therefore.

So far is it from being true to say that Augustine destroys civil authority, that it would be fairer to say that he is like Luther. For Luther said, on the

---

1 J. H. Baxter, "Introduction", St. Augustine, Select Letters, J. H. Baxter, translator (London, 1930), p. xxi.

2 St. Augustine, op. cit., p. 694; Book XIX, Ch. 15.



one hand, that civil government is due to the Fall, but (that being granted) it is a divine ordinance; and on the other, that earthly peace and security are of such high value that no amount of civil tyranny can justify insurrection. 1

Augustine, like Luther, held that the ruler is the representative of God. Even to emperors as evil as Nero,

... power and domination are not given even to such men save by the providence of the most high God, when He judges that the state of human affairs is worthy of such lords. 2

When the ruler is a Christian, the civil power of the State becomes the servant of the Church. In this ideal situation, according to Augustine, the ecclesiastical society becomes the City of God. These ideas became the basis of much of Luther's thought about the absolute necessity of obeying the ruler, despite how evil he might be. It also was the foundation of his conception that the Christian prince should seek the establishment of the environment for the City of God.

Zwingli also had a profound respect for Augustine. He called him the "... theologorum columnen..." 3 in the Fidel Christianae Expositio. Rhenanus in a letter to Zwingli, dated the 6th of December, 1518, said that Zwingli's preaching was straight from the fountain, as expound-

---

1 J. N. Figgie, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

2 St. Augustine, op. cit., p. 172; Book V, Ch. 19.

3 U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 51.



ed by Augustine.<sup>1</sup> His divergence with Luther on the thought of Augustine came from a difference of interpretation.

No direct reference to De Civitate Dei by Zwingli has been noted by this author, but there is evidence that Zwingli was acquainted with Augustine's political ideas. Although accepting the conception of the two cities, Zwingli did not make the sharp distinction between the two that Augustine and Luther had. In another sector of political thought, Zwingli affirmed that only the Christian magistrate could demand absolute obedience of his subjects, as one who was set over them through the providence of God. Both Luther and Augustine had stated that any power, whether good or bad, was ordained to rule by God.

### The Middle Ages

A. J. and R. W. Carlyle's work, "A History of Mediæval Political Theory in the West", has as one of its major points the thesis that the intricate pattern of laws, customs, rights and dues of medieval society created a situation in which the ruler's authority came from the governed. Luther held that this view was errone-

---

<sup>1</sup> U. Zwingli, "Sämtliche Werke", Corpus Reformatorum, op. cit., Vol. VII, p. 115.



eous. According to him, the ruler's commission came directly from God, thus he ran counter to the main stream of the political thought of the Middle Ages.

We have, in spite of our best efforts, been quite unable to discover how Luther came to entertain so eccentric an opinion, whether directly from the tradition of Gregory the Great or from some unknown influence. <sup>1</sup>

Pope Gregory the Great did set forth the idea that all rulers govern as ones ordained by the Providence of God, and not by the will of the governed. From this position Gregory could argue that it is sin of the most heinous type for anyone to object to the powers that be. Augustine does not go far enough in his political thinking to come to such a conclusion. Although, according to him, the rulers have their power through the providence of God, he did not broach the subject of the will of the governed. Luther did, however, and this led to his attitude against the peasants. As to the question of where Luther got this "eccentric" opinion, he would, no doubt, have answered that he got it from the Bible. "Let every person be subject to the governing authorities. For there is no authority except from God, and those that exist have been instituted by God." <sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> A. J. and R. W. Carlyle, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Romans 13:1 (R. S. V.)



Zwingli, to the contrary, remained akin to the mid-stream of the political thought of the Middle Ages. According to him, the ruler's authority comes from the will of the governed, custom and law, or a mixture of these man-centered phenomena.

A strong exponent of the idea of the authority of the community was Marsilius of Padua (1270-1342). He was a radical thinker and was far ahead of his time. With a colleague at the University of Paris he wrote the famous Defensor pacis in 1324. He set forth the thesis that the authority of the civil power could dominate ecclesiastical institutions for the good of the Church. "Lonely in the Middle Ages was Marsilius of Padua when he taught as a principle the complete absorption of Church in State." <sup>1</sup> His Erastian view was that the Church should be a department of the State. "The Defensor is the first book which ... regards the Church as a department of the State in all matters of earthly concern." <sup>2</sup> This obviated the Church from any kind of political claim. No coercive power belongs to the Church. Thus, heretics should be tried before civil tribunals. Taxation for the Church and even the appointment

---

<sup>1</sup> O. Gierke, Political Theories of the Middle Age, F. W. Maitland, translator (Cambridge, 1922), p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> C. H. McIlwain, The Growth of Political Thought in the West (New York, 1932), p. 313.



to benefices should be administered by the secular rulers.

No bishop, therefore, should be permitted to have or be entrusted with such general, absolute, and far-reaching power to bestow and distribute temporal goods, but rather the rulers and legislators must either revoke such power entirely, or else so moderate it that goods which are set aside for the present and future welfare of the believers do not yield them continued tribulation and finally eternal torment. 1

Luther appears to have had read the Defensor during his student years. "He may even have borrowed some weapons from the scriptural armoury of the second Part of the book...." 2 He did not agree with its tenets during his formative period, but after his break with Rome and his burning of the Canon Law he had second thoughts about this radical treatise. Much of Luther's later relations with the princes can be found in principle in the Defensor. The freedom of lay powers found therein "... connects itself with that general tendency towards hereditary territorial sovereignty without which it could have had no lasting effect". 3

... since no clerical person has the right to coercive rule, all clergymen must be subject to the civil lawgiver, and may exercise jurisdiction over

---

1 Marsilius of Padua, The Defender of Peace, A. Gewirth, translator (New York, 1956), Vol. II, p. 359; Discourse II, Ch. 26.

2 J. W. Allen, A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century (third edition, London, 1951), pp. 5-6.

3 J. N. Figgis, Studies in Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius (second edition, Cambridge, 1923), p. 70.



laymen or other clergymen only in so far as this is permitted to them by that lawgiver, in whose power, moreover, it lies to deprive them of it for reasonable cause. 1

Luther's ideas about national independence from the Roman Church stem from this spirit.

With these ideas of Marsilius, Luther was in general agreement. Marsilius's conception that original sovereignty comes from the governed he rejected. This writer who had lived almost two hundred years before Luther had implied the high quality of representative government, in order that the State might have the force of the community behind its actions and the "general will" might be duly expressed. 2

The authority to make the law belongs only to those men whose making of it will cause the law to be better observed or observed at all. Only the whole body of the citizens are such men. To them, therefore, belongs the authority to make the law. 3

The authority of the ruler, therefore, remains limited by the community which is the source of his power and which can be a restraining influence, even to the point of deposing the ruler, if need be. For Luther this solution was impossible, because the ruler receives his authority

---

1 E. Emerson, The Defensor Pacis of Marsilius of Padua (Cambridge, 1920), p. 37.

2 J. N. Figgis, op. cit., p. 26.

3 Marsilius of Padua, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 47; Discourse I, Ch. 12.



directly from God.

Zwingli's thoughts on these matters would be more akin to those of Marsilius, and here we have one of the sharpest contrasts between the political thought of Luther and Zwingli. For Zwingli the State is the gift of God to men, but not as a divine remedy for sin. He favoured the idea that the purpose of the State was that men might live the abundant life. In the same spirit Marsilius had stated that it is "... the end of the state to be living and living well...." <sup>1</sup>

A contemporary of Marsilius of Padua was the Nominalist, William of Occam. Among Luther's professors at Erfurt were Jodocus Trutvetter and Bartholomew Arnoldi, who were both representatives of the Nominalist school. His textbooks were the writings of Occam and Gabriel Biel, as well as Peter d'Ailly and John Gerson, who will be referred to in their contributions to the Conciliarist movement. All of these men were Nominalists. General ideas were denied by this school of thought. According to them, it is only in particular and concrete individuals that objects can be known. This school was known to Luther, as the via moderna, and it was a criticism of the theorising of Thomas Aquinas.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. II, p. 12; Discourse I, Ch. 4.



Luther at first recognised this school as his own, but departed from its central stream, because of its lack of spirituality.

To the Nominalist philosophy with its recurring 'perhaps' and its emphasis on the power of the human will, Staupitz brought the wholesome corrective of the via antiqua, with its emphasis on the design of God, and the work of grace within the human soul. He brought the mystical emphasis of the 'modern devotion' .... 1

Johann von Staupitz was the vicar of the Augustinian order and Luther's spiritual guide. Luther agreed with him that the antidote for non-mystical Nominalism was the Bible and St. Augustine. Occam and Biel, as well as Aristotle and Scotus, were cited as philosophers who had lost sight of spiritual values.

Even though Luther had turned from the theories of these professors at Erfurt, he never was freed from the strong influence that Occam had had on him. There were always concerns in Luther's thought when he was happy to turn to Occam. Not the least of these appear in his political thought.

In the contest of the hierarchy against the civil power William, born at Occam in England, undertook to speak for the latter. He stated that the

... papal authority by no means extends regularly to the rights and liberties of others so as to be

---

1 E. G. Rupp, Luther's Progress to the Diet of Worms, op. cit., p. 31.



capable of destroying or disturbing them, especially the rights and liberties of emperors, kings, princes, and other laymen, since rights and liberties of this kind, as in the case of most, are reckoned as among secular things to which papal authority in no wise extends as a matter of course. 1

Having won the disfavour of the Pope, he had to flee to the protection of Lewis of Bavaria. Until the end of the life of this ruler, William lived under his wing. During eight years with Lewis, Occam wrote his many political treatises, e.g. the Dialogue.

Occam entered the conflict between the Pope and the Emperor which was so historic in nature. He set forth the principle that, when a pope is heretical or notoriously lax in his morals, he must be punished by a general council. This can be convoked by other authorities than the pope himself. In the last resort kings and princes can call such a council into session. He further stated that kings and princes can appear, and further may come unbidden, as emperors were present in the early councils of the Church. 2 He does state, however, that no true pope need fear being proceeded against by an emperor. It is only when he has not fulfilled the obligations of his office that he has forfeited his right to the post. As the emperor is the

---

1 C. H. McIlwain, op. cit., p. 294.

2 E. F. Jacob, "Some notes on Occam as a Political Thinker", Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol. XX, No. 2, p. 344.



the representative of God, he has power to call into action the means of denouncing and deposing the Pope, if need be. In all of this, Luther was in agreement, as was Zwingli.

Occam's main attack was on the idea of Papal supremacy over things temporal. If the Pope could deprive kings, princes and laymen of their possessions, the result would be constant strife. 1 In spiritual matters the Pope is supreme and the secular authority must be subservient to him. Any authority he may have over things temporal are conditional and may be revoked by the State, according to Occam's system of thought. This authority and any possessions of the Church belong to "the whole Christian commonwealth of clergy and laity alike". 2 Occam also suggested that bishops ought to hand over their possessions to lay administration and confine their efforts to spiritual matters. Occam declared, on the other hand, that there must be independence of kingly authority over all things mundane. He supported the claim of Edward III of England for clerical contributions in his war with France. 3 This spirit is very much akin to Zwingli's conception that the city council of Zurich held ecclesiastical property in trust for the Church

---

1 Ibid., p. 345.

2 Ibid., p. 347.

3 E. F. Jacob, Essays in the Conciliar Epoch (Manchester, 1953), pp. 100-101.



and could use it as it saw fit. Luther, as well, would give such inherent powers to the princes.

Striking similarities can be seen in the writings of Wyclif and those of Luther. The latter mentioned the former, but it seems that he knew of his writings only through the reports of John Hus and the negative comments of Eck. Luther's assailant at the Leipzig Debate charged him with holding the errors of John Wyclif, as well as those of Hus. <sup>1</sup> Again, at the Diet of Worms, Luther was charged with being a follower of Wyclif and Hus. <sup>2</sup>

What then did Luther have in common with Wyclif? The Englishman had advocated the subjection of the hierarchy of the Church to secular control. He

... demanded the confiscation of ecclesiastical property which that hierarchy had forfeited by its worldliness and luxury.... He taught men to see the Church not merely in its ministers, but in its members, and implied, if he did not expressly teach, the Lutheran dogma of the priesthood of believers. <sup>3</sup>

It is an open question, as to how much of this theory came directly from Wyclif to Luther. If not in expressed word, certainly in spirit, Luther was a follower of Wyclif.

In one other area of thought there is a marked similarity between their political views. This is in

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. VII, p. 837.

<sup>3</sup> J. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 324.



the matter of the obedience that a person owes to his secular authority. Like Luther, Wyclif witnessed a peasants' revolt. This occurred in 1381. Wyclif denounced the revolt, but with none of the brutal language of Luther. In theory and in Latin Wyclif had presented some ideas of a radical nature, e.g. that clerical authority did not have to be obeyed or tithes paid to them, if they were evil.

... just as temporal lords ought to take away lordship from priests who, against the law of the Lord, are richly endowed, thus tithing people ought to take away their offerings and tithes from such appropriated churches while the pastoral offices are notoriously and habitually withdrawn from them. 1

Wyclif never transferred this idea to the secular authority, however. In practice, Wyclif had insisted that the civil authority had to be obeyed when the matter at stake was mundane.

Historians are now agreed that the great blaze of 1381 was not due, in any appreciable degree to Wyclif's influence, and would assuredly have happened if the Reformer had never lived. 2

Wyclif did allow that if it would be sin against God to obey the secular authority, then he might be passively resisted. Luther, too, made this allowance, if the prince ordered something contrary to spiritual good, when he said

---

1 J. Wyclif, "On the Pastoral Office", F. L. Battles, translator and editor, Advocates of Reform (Vol. XIV of The Library of Christian Classics) (London, 1953), p. 39.

2 H. B. Workman, John Wyclif (Oxford, 1926), Vol. II, p. 237.



that it is better to obey God rather than man. In Wyclif's thought this principle is far more strongly stated. Like Luther, Wyclif has been accused of stirring up a rebellion with writings which tended to make the common man think that he was a free agent, and then, when a revolt occurred, of denouncing it. This is true of each, but it must be kept in mind that Wyclif gave the peasants a far greater incentive and was far less severe in his condemnation of their rising.

In the present research no direct reference by Zwingli to Wyclif has been found. Zwingli does refer to John Hus, however, in his letter to Vadianus in which he speaks of Hus's book, De Ecclesia. "At quantum primo gustu unius aut altere pagine potuimus assequi, videtur esse haud ineruditus et hominis esse, qui supra suae aetatis alios eruditione antecelluerit." <sup>1</sup> This book contains much material from Wyclif's work with the same title.

Of all the tractates of Hus there is no single one so strongly pervaded with Wyclif's ideas, or, more strictly speaking, which was so verbally transferred from Wyclif, chapter by chapter, as the tractate on the Church. <sup>2</sup>

Hus had a great influence on the thought of Luther. At the Leipzig Debate of 1519, Luther was pressed to ac-

---

<sup>1</sup> U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. VII, pp. 328-329.

<sup>2</sup> J. Loserth, Wyclif and Hus, M. J. Evans, translator (London, 1884), pp. 171-172.



knowledge the fact of the justice of the condemnation of Hus at the Council of Constance. On this occasion Luther stated that not all of the doctrines of Hus condemned by the Council were heretical. In a letter to Spalatin, written on the 14th of February, 1520, he stated:

Ego imprudens hucusque omnia Iohannis Huss et docui et tenui. Docuit eadem imprudentia et Iohannes Staupitz. Breviter: sumus omnes Hussitae ignorantes. Denique Paulus et Augustinus ad verbum sunt Hussitae. 1

According to E. G. Rupp, this consciousness came to him while he was reading the De Ecclesia of Hus and Wyclif. 2 "In 1536, Luther edited a collection of his great predecessor's letters." 3

What, then, are the similarities between Luther and Hus in the political realm? "Both trusted laymen, and both by the necessities of the case invoked the authority of the State" 4, in order to correct the abuses within the Church. Hus had high hopes in the Council of Constance which was called at the direction of Emperor Sigismund. In a letter to this Emperor written just before the Council met, Hus spoke of his safe-conduct in this manner:

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. II, p. 42.

2 E. G. Rupp, op. cit., p. 81.

3 F. Smith, The Life and Letters of Martin Luther (London, 1911), p. 343.

4 R. H. Murray, op. cit., p. 47.



... that it may please you to extend much kindness to my person that I may come in peace, and be able in the General Council itself to make a public profession of my faith. 1

Even as he appealed for the safety of himself and his cause to the Emperor, he saw the secular authority as the means of purifying the Church. This was his great hope. In this hope he was sorely mistaken and he paid for his optimism with his life.

Not only in their similar appeals to the civil authority to preserve their cause were they alike, but in their call for the princes to reform the Church. Especially in the matter of the common practice of simony did Hus invoke the support of the secular authority. He cried out in his treatise, "On Simony":

O faithful kings, princes, lords, and knights! awake from the fell dream into which the priests have lulled you and drive out the simoniacal heresy from your territories. Remember that God has entrusted you with the rule of the people in conformity with his law. Hence, restrain (the priests) from simony and other sins. 2

In one particular case Hus appealed to a ruler, King Ladislaus of Poland, about the duty of the civil authority to reform the Church, when he wrote:

---

1 J. Hus, The Letters of John Hus, R. M. Pope, translator; H. B. Workman, editor (London, 1904), p. 144.

2 J. Hus, "On Simony", M. Spinka, translator and editor, Advocates of Reform, op. cit., p. 275.



... it appears to be a prior condition alike for your Majesty, for his excellence King Sigismund, and for the other princes, that the heresy of simony should be removed from your dominions. 1

He explained that the civil authorities have the right to condemn simony, because of biblical example of rulers chastising priests.

... throughout the Old Testament (period) kings ruled the priests and bishops. For King Solomon deposed the highest bishop Abiathar from the priesthood and sent him back to his fields, and appointed Zadok in his place. And he did this in accordance with God's will, as the Scriptures testify. 2

Hus used the following judgement to account for the lack of aid from the princes in the cause of blotting out simony:

... secular princes and lords are prevented from abolishing simony because of hypocritical blindness, for priests have blinded them by their hypocritical saying, "You have no business meddling with spiritual matters!" And they, hearing that, abandon all concern for it. 3

For Luther, as well, it was the princes that held the key to the cleansing of the Church, if they would but use it. He appealed to them most dramatically, therefore. In both cases the secular authority was seen as the surest remedy for the ills of the Church.

---

1 J. Hus, The Letters of John Hus, op. cit., p. 71.

2 J. Hus, "On Simony", op. cit., p. 273.

3 Ibid., p. 272.



Hus believed that the true Church is an assembly of believers in Christ. This position can be expanded into the idea of the priesthood of all believers, as set forth by Luther. Hus, in speaking of the right and duty of laymen and the lower clergy to judge their ecclesiastical, but not civil, authorities, stated:

... it is clear that, with the zeal of a good purpose, subjects should discuss the manner of life of their superiors or think of it, so that, if the superiors are good, the subjects may imitate them, if evil, they follow not their works....<sup>1</sup>

As was indicated in the former section on Wyclif, some of the followers of Hus and Luther applied these ideas about their freedom as Christian men to the mundane realm of life, as well as to the spiritual area. This both Hus and Luther abhorred.

### The Conciliar Period

A number of educators, theologians and lawyers combined their talents in what has come to be known as the Conciliar Movement. Because of the Great Schism, when there were two, and then three, rival popes, these men spoke out for the meeting of general councils of the Church. The task of these gatherings would be the establishment of a legitimate pope, the purification of the Church of the

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Hus, The Church, D. S. Schaff, translator (New York, 1915), p. 262.



financial and personal abuses of the clergy and the restraining of heresy.

Luther, living one hundred years after the main thrust of the Conciliar Movement, followed much of their pattern in advocating the reform of the Church. By November 1518, he became aware that an appeal to the Pope through his cardinals and other representatives was fruitless. He turned to Conciliarism and wrote his Appellatio F. Martini Luther ad Concilium.<sup>1</sup> This appeal was fashioned after a call for a general council which had been issued by the University of Paris during the previous year.<sup>2</sup> Up until July 1519, he still believed in the infallibility of councils in matters of faith. Due to the Leipzig Debate with Eck and a fuller knowledge of Hus, he withdrew this stand. He had asked whether past councils had not contradicted one another. In particular he questioned the Council of Constance in the act of the condemnation of Hus, in whose writings Luther now found that which was Christian and evangelical.

... Luther had, in fact, moved beyond discussion of papal power; he had called in question the author-

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 36-40.

<sup>2</sup> B. J. Kidd, editor, Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation (Oxford, 1911), p. 40, cited by M. Spinka, "Conciliarism as Ecclesiastical Reform", Library of Christian Classics (London, 1953), Vol. XIV, p. 105.



ity of the great German Council which had so proudly achieved a reunion of the broken Christian world. 1

In August of 1520, he appealed to the Emperor and the German nobility, i.e. the princes, to reform the Church. In this act he had moved away from any idea of a basic separation of Church and State and undercut the theocratic ambitions of the clergy. His object was not the glorification of the State, but rather the purification of the Church. The third wall (contained in his address, An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation) which he stated must be destroyed was the idea that the Pope alone could call a council into session. This shows that he had not given up his former idea about the efficacy of a council in principle, but, according to him, under the circumstances of its being called by a pope, it would have small practical results for good. 2 Because of the position of power which the princes held and because of the principle of the priesthood of all believers, the secular authorities were the best ones to call such a council. His proposals and recommendations for reforms which had to be instituted by a council were also set forth in his address, An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation.

---

1 E. C. Rupp, op. cit., p. 69.

2 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 413.



For many reasons Zwingli never appealed for a general council to solve the problems of Christianity. After his break with the Pope he appealed to the Christians of Zurich in his work, Von Erkiesen und Freiheit der Speisen <sup>1</sup>, and later to the leaders of the Swiss Confederation in his treatise, Eine freundliche Bitte und Ermahnung an die Eidgenossen. <sup>2</sup> His call was not for the assembly of a general council, but for the direct action by these groups. His knowledge of the councils of Pisa, Constance and Basel did not lead him to the conclusion that anything worthwhile for the reformed cause in German Switzerland could be gained by such gatherings. Then, too, Zwingli's break with the Roman Church, once made, was irrevocable. He had none of the second-thoughts, that Luther did, which might have caused him to seek reunion with Roman Catholicism. Thus, at no time in his career could Zwingli have been called a "conciliarist".

It would be unwise to leave the subject of Conciliarism without mentioning the political ideas of some of the more important exponents of this group. Occam has already been mentioned in his role as an advocate of a general council which could be summoned by kings or princes.

---

<sup>1</sup> U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 214.



Peter d' Ailly was also a sound political thinker and a Conciliarist. In his work, Propositiones Utiles, he stated:

For the settling of the present schism a general council can be assembled by the authority of the universal Church, without the authority of the Pope, and, indeed, against his wishes. And it can be convoked, not only by the Lords Cardinal, but also, on occasion, by any of the faithful whatsoever, who, if they are able, know how to help further, either by authoritative power or loving advice, the execution of so great a good. 1

In his objection to a purely autocratic form of Church government, he used the State as a principle in point. He stated that although monarchy is the simplest type of government, a mixture of autocratic, aristocratic and democratic elements produce the best effect. 2 In this arrangement all people have some part in the authority under which they live. This reminds one of the Defensor of Marsilius. d'Ailly is advocating a mixed type of government for the Church, where the council would play a major role. Luther did not share this wider view about mixed government, because of his predilection for the benevolent autocracy of a Christian prince.

John Gerson was also an important Conciliarist.

---

1 Oakley, F. "The 'Propositiones Utiles' of Pierre D'Ailly", Church History, Vol. XXIX (December, 1960), p. 402.

2 E. F. Jacob, op. cit., p. 15.



He advocated the principle that the secular authorities ought to be called upon to aid in a solution of the problem of the Schism within the Church. In a sermon preached before the King of France, he stated: "What is a greater good than the union of Christendom; who can better achieve that union than the Most Christian King". 1 Through many pamphlets he convinced most of the rulers of Europe that both popes ought to cede their power in order that the Great Schism could be ended. If this was not accomplished, a general council should be called. Gerson complimented Charles VI for having threatened to withdraw his obedience to Benedict XIII, one of the contending popes, as one who had obeyed the command of God.

This is the inviolable basis strengthened by necessity and piety, on which the Most Christian King of the Franks, who is most upright, neither seeking his own interest nor harboring hatred against any, has supported every kind of praiseworthy activity for the restoration of peace, as his open letter De ecclesiastica demonstrates.... 2

After the calling and then the failure of the Council of Pisa to end the Schism, he again, in a series of tracts, set forth the principle that a general council could depose a pope. Emperor Sigismund approved of the

---

1 J. B. Morrall, Gerson and the Great Schism (Manchester, 1960), p. 33.

2 J. Gerson, "A Tractate on the Unity of the Church", J. K. Cameron, translator and editor, Advocates of Reform, op. cit., p. 144.



idea and the result was the Council of Constance. Gerson, thus, sought and received the aid of the secular authority in his attempt to end the Great Schism.

Gerson not only was instrumental in the gathering of the councils of Pisa and Constance, but he envisioned continuing councils to meet on both the general and provincial levels. He set forth his ideas about this representative type of Church government in a sermon which was preached at the Council of Constance. "The Church has no efficacious means for its general reformation, unless a continual meeting of General Councils be decreed, together with the assembling of provincial councils." <sup>1</sup> Luther favored this idea as long as the continuing council would not be dominated by the Pope.

A fellow country-man of Luther's and for years an influential member of the conciliar circle at the University of Paris was Henry of Langenstein. He was not only a fellow in nationality, but also was a fellow in spirit, when he declared:

Thus may the princes of this age be compelled by every means to sow the seeds of concord and truth among all to the glory of God and for the good of the people, and to banish from the city of God the crime of discord

---

<sup>1</sup> J. B. Morrall, op. cit., p. 97.



and iniquity. 1

Two other German conciliarists should be mentioned, as being part of Luther's intellectual heritage, as well. Dietrich of Niem wrote a treatise in 1410, which was entitled, De modis uniendo ac reformandi ecclesiae. In it, following Occam's idea of the distinction between the Universal Church and the Roman Church, 2 he stated: "Supposing that the Universal Church, of which Christ is the head, should have no pope, still the believer who dies in love would be saved". 3 This is very much akin to Luther's idea of the difference between the invisible Church whose constituency is known alone to God and the visible Church. There is, of course, the common ancestry of Augustine for both conceptions.

The other German conciliarist to be treated here is Nicholas of Cusa. He was a later exponent of conciliarism and his influence was felt at the Council of Basel. In his work, De concordantia catholica, he developed the idea of a representative government for the Church which was so

---

1 Henry of Langenstein, "A Letter on Behalf of a Council of Peace", J. K. Cameron, translator and editor, Advocates of Reform, op. cit., p. 111.

2 M. Spinka, "Conciliarism as Ecclesiastical Reform", Advocates of Reform, op. cit., p. 102.

3 Dietrich of Niem, "Ways of Uniting and Reforming the Church", J. K. Cameron, translator and editor, Advocates of Reform, op. cit., p. 158.



typical of the conciliarist movement. He was in favour of national councils to determine the destiny of national churches. In this his ideas were similar to Gerson. He stated that "only for strictly universal legislation is a general council necessary".<sup>1</sup> Thus, he set forth the idea of a continuing representative structure for the Church. In order to establish and maintain this system of Church government, he called upon the aid of the Emperor. The Emperor and the Pope were to have a new cooperative relationship, according to his conception. But the Emperor, who with the aid of a general council was to inaugurate this system, was also advised to set his own house in order. Nicholas suggested that the Emperor ought to rule with the aid of a civil council and do nothing in an autocratic manner. Thus, there was to be a united effort by the Pope and the Emperor. In both cases they would rule with advisory councils. Following his love of symmetry,

Nicholas urged that civil society, if peace and prosperity are to be secured, must be organized on the ecclesiastical model, the lesser nobles corresponding to bishops, and the greater nobles to archbishops, the Kings answering to the Patriarchs, and the King of the Romans answering to the Pope.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> J. N. Figgis, op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> H. Bett, Nicholas of Cusa (London, 1932), p. 18.



The comparison of Nicholas of Cusa and Luther, during his productive year of 1520, is illuminating.

It is interesting to compare the Letter to the German nobility with the De Concordantia Catholica. We can see how at this early stage Luther's views pointed... to the carrying forward of the idea of reforming the Church by the help of the Imperial power, accompanied by a reformation of the State, which was the main theme of Nicholas of Cusa....<sup>1</sup>

Although there are striking similarities here, Luther's appeal to the Emperor was always coupled with a louder call to the princes and Luther was not as interested in correcting abuses in the state, as he was in the reformation of the Church.

### Humanism

In approaching the subject of Humanism, we come to the threshold of the Reformation. R. H. Murray in his book on Erasmus and Luther categorises some of the main personalities of the Reformation in this manner: "Erasmus, Zwingli, and Melancthon were humanists, whereas Luther was primarily a theologian".<sup>2</sup>

It is true that Zwingli was no mere echo of Luther from the Swiss mountains. Can Zwingli's humanism be given a major place in comprehending their differences? In a letter from the humanist, Beatus Rhenanus, to Zwingli

---

<sup>1</sup> J. N. Figgis, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Murray, op. cit., p. 40.



the praise of the latter's preaching and knowledge of the Fathers brings out the author's consciousness of Zwingli's humanism.

De vulgo sacerdotum loquor; neque enim me latet, te tuique similes purissimam Christi philosophiam ex ipsis fontibus populo proponere, non Scoticis aut Grabrielicis interpretationibus depravatam, sed ab Augustino, Ambrosio, Cypriano, Hieronymo germane et sincere expositam. 1

This letter is but an example of the great weight of evidence which points to the fact that Zwingli was a humanist. Zwingli's place in this category accounts for many of his differences with Luther.

The Renaissance and the Reformation parted company when Luther abased reason and Liberty, when he denied the free will of man, when he insisted that he was not a co-operator with God. The humanists, with Zwingli and Melancthon, wanted a synthesis. Luther provided them with a dualism. 2

Both Zwingli and Luther put aside scholasticism. In its place Zwingli gladly accepted humanism, while Luther chose mysticism. In 1519, Zwingli bought most of the tracts written by Luther. It is interesting to note that "none of them bears a single comment in Zwingli's own hand, who was otherwise wont to cover his margins with his jottings". 3 By July 1520, in a letter to Oswald

---

1 U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. VII, p. 115.

2 R. H. Murray, op. cit., p. 382.

3 E. G. Rupp, op. cit., p. 77.



Myconius, Zwingli wrote that he then read almost nothing by Luther. 1 This process of lessening attraction came to Zwingli, as to Erasmus, in the realisation that Luther was not akin to them in their humanistic persuasions.

Luther owed much to Humanism and there is no doubt that he must have been influenced by the strong acquaintance he had with Erasmus's writings and the constant companionship of Melanchthon. He owed a special debt to the humanist, Lorenzo Valla, who in 1440, had proven that the famous Donation of Constantine was a forgery. Luther stated his agreement in a letter to Spalatin, dated the 24th of February, 1520. 2 The supposed donation was the basis of much of the claim of the Papacy to have, not only spiritual supremacy, but dominion over temporal affairs, as well. Despite these influences, Luther rejected Humanism, because it unduly glorified man and established the idea of man's free will. The argument of Luther on this plane is presented in his De servo arbitrio, written in 1525, against the thought of Erasmus.

Zwingli owed a great debt to Humanism, and to Erasmus in particular. The young Zwingli was introduced

---

1 U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. VII, p. 344.

2 M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. II, p. 48.



to Erasmus by Glareanus at Basel. 1 Zwingli had previously read many of the works of Erasmus and was an admirer of his genius.

Nachdem die Bekanntschaft des gefeiertsten Mannes seiner Zeit so glücklich eingeleitet war, besuchte Zwingli im Frühlinge 1515, nachdem Erasmus unterdessen aus den Niederlande zurückgekehrt war, Basel, und scheint auf den nicht leicht zu befriedigenden Gelehrten einen günstigen Eindruck gemacht zu haben, da derselbe ihn sehr wohlwollend aufnahm. 2

There are six letters of Erasmus to Zwingli and one of Zwingli to Erasmus in existence. These follow on their encounter at Basel and are all most complimentary in nature. After Zwingli's meeting with Melanchthon at the Marburg Colloquy of 1529, the latter wrote, "Cinglius mihi confessus est, se ex Erasmi scriptis primum hausisse opinionem suam de coena Domini". 3 It is abundantly clear that Zwingli arrived at his ideas about the Holy Communion from other sources, as well, however. This will be discussed in detail in the chapter on the Colloquy. However, W. Köhler has stated Zwingli's debt to Erasmus in this matter in the following way: "Fragt man nach den Quellen der Zwinglischen Abendmahlslehre in

---

1 S. Simpson, op. cit., p. 52.

2 J. C. Mörikofer, Ulrich Zwingli (Leipzig, 1867), p. 25.

3 F. Melanchthon, "Opera", Corpus Reformatorum (Halle, 1837), Vol. IV, p. 970.



dieser Ältesten Gestalt, so wird man an erster Stelle auf Erasmus v. Rotterdam geführt". 1

Luther and, especially, Zwingli owed debts of gratitude to Erasmus. In the case of Luther, Erasmus's influence was of a negative type in that it caused him to spell out more clearly his conceptions in opposition to those of Erasmus, e.g. De servo arbitrio, written in December 1525. In Zwingli's case it was a positive effect and one upon which he relied heavily.

In his work, Enchiridion militis Christiani, Erasmus presented a political sentiment which was similar to the thought of both Luther and Zwingli. In speaking of the obedience due to rulers, he wrote:

They must be honoured when they do their office: and if sometimes they use their power for their own pleasure or profit, yet peradventure it were the best to suffer them, lest more hurt should spring thereof.... 2

In his work, Adage, he became more precise in illustrating the danger.

But princes must be endured, lest tyranny give way to anarchy, a still greater evil. This has been demonstrated by the experience of many states; and lately the insurrection of the German peasants has taught us that the cruelty of kings is better than

---

1 W. Köhler, Zwingli und Luther (Leipzig, 1924), Vol. I, p. 49.

2 D. Erasmus, Enchiridion Militis Christiani (London, 1905), p. 19.



the universal confusion of anarchy. 1

This call to obedience, like Luther's, was coupled with a realistic view of the type of men the princes were, for the greater part. Luther's famous statement, that

"since the foundation of the world a wise prince has been a rare bird and a just one much rarer, for they have usually been the biggest fools and worst knaves on earth", is but an echo of Erasmus. 2

Because of the sin of both people and prince, Erasmus suggested a contract between them in his work, Institutio principis Christiani.

There is a common relation between the prince and the people. To you the people owe money, allegiance, and honor. That is all very well; but you in turn owe the people a good and careful prince. Before you exact taxes from your subjects as your due, question yourself first whether you have fulfilled your obligation and duties toward them. 3

Luther was to caution the princes in a very similar manner about the obligation that they had to care for the people.

A very important emphasis in the political thought of Erasmus is his objection to war. He enumerated many of its wrongs from the point of view of the Christian prince, but greatest of all is the fact that it is his people who will suffer.

---

1 P. Smith, Erasmus (London, 1923), p. 201.

2 Ibid., p. 202.

3 D. Erasmus, The Education of a Christian Prince, L. K. Born, translator (New York, 1936), p. 180.



Nothing is dearer to a good prince than to have the best possible subjects. But what greater or more ready ruin to moral character is there than war? There is nothing more to the wish of the prince than to see his people safe and prospering in every way. But while he is learning to campaign he is compelled to expose his young men to so many dangers, and often in a single hour to make many and many an orphan, widow, childless old man, beggar, and unhappy wretch. 1

When speaking of the evil of the mercenary soldiers, he described them as "... absolutely the most abject and execrable type of human being". 2 Zwingli after 1520, would describe the mercenary soldiers as such as well, but he never had the concern of Erasmus about the folly of war in general. Luther's attitude toward warfare was changeable according to the situation. During the Peasants' Revolt and at times during the fright created by the attacks of the Turks, he warmly advocated it. He, like Erasmus, saw the folly of wars such as were being waged by King Francis of France. He was generally reluctant to advocate any war, even of a defensive nature, unless it would materially support the Christian commonwealth.

Ulrich von Hutten was another humanist with whom both Luther and Zwingli were acquainted. He was a knight by birth, but a man of letters by calling. Because of his intense patriotism, he wished to end the particularis-

---

1 Ibid., p. 250.

2 Ibid.



tic control by the princes in Germany which was so weakening the nation. His two means of accomplishing this end was, first, an appeal to the Emperor Maximilian, who relished him so much that he made him the poet-laureate of Germany. <sup>1</sup> With the death of Maximilian and the election of Charles to the imperial honours, Hutten's hopes of receiving the aid of the Emperor were frustrated, because of the rebuff he received from Charles. His second method of fighting the power of the princes was through direct action by his own class, the knights. This method proved useless, when the knights were defeated by the princes in battle. The goal which he wished was a Germany strengthened by more centralised power and an emperor who was not the ruler of a foreign nation. After his change over to the cause of the Reformation, he also sought a Germany free from the Pope.

In his work, "A Remonstrance and a Warning against the Presumptuous, Unchristian Power of the Bishop of Rome and the Unspiritual Spiritual Estate", which was addressed to Frederick the Wise, he wrote:

Servitude of any sort is distasteful to all men, but especially objectionable is subjection to others in the case of those who ought to rule. We Germans ought either to refuse to subscribe to the title of

---

<sup>1</sup> H. Holborn, Ulrich von Hutten and the German Reformation, R. H. Bainton, translator (London, 1937), p. 87.



the Roman Empire and elect for ourselves an emperor - who would be such, however, only in name - or else we ought stoutly to reject the papal tyranny and liberate ourselves before helping others. 1

Luther often expressed his strong feeling of patriotism, but not at the expense of the Emperor, Charles.

Luther spoke of the freedom of Germany from the domination of the Pope, but to speak of freedom from the Emperor would be for him to degrade the powers ordained by God.

Zwingli respected Hutten for his literary genius and for his courageous pronouncements. Actually, this was the cause of the ending of the friendship of Erasmus for Zwingli, although the latter never reciprocated by cutting Erasmus from his admirers. Hutten had attacked Erasmus in his "Expostulation", because of his timidity in not speaking out for the Reformation, although he had some sympathies for it. 2 Erasmus in turn attacked Hutten and Zwingli, as well, when he befriended the knight in his hour of sickness and death.

Hutten was always wont to call upon the civil authorities in matters which dealt with the reform of the Church. Not only did he call on the emperors and the knights, but also the city councils of Basel and Zurich. This, too, was the custom of Zwingli. It can not be said

---

1 Ibid., pp. 156-157.

2 Ibid., p. 188.



that Zwingli was greatly influenced by either Hutten's humanism or his appeals to the civil authorities, but they may have had a supporting tendency in the work in which Zwingli was already engaged.

Luther's connections with Hutten can be described as one of interest. He neither condemned him, nor supported him. Hutten and his fellow knight, Sickingen, offered Luther the protection of one hundred knights should his defence by the Elector, Frederick, be withdrawn. He seemed encouraged by the suggested support of the knights and used this possibility for diplomatic purposes in asking Spalatin to inform Cardinal Riario of it. <sup>1</sup> Luther did not, however, rely on such support. In January 1521, he wrote to Spalatin, in this manner: "Quid Huttenus petat, vides. Nolle vi et cede pro Euangelio certari; ita scripsi ad hominem. Verbo victus est mundus, servata est Ecclesia, etiam verbo reparabitur". <sup>2</sup>

Hutten had appealed to Emperor Charles to shake off the power of the priests. He heartily endorsed Luther's appeal to the Emperor, as well. Hutten's hopes rested in the fact that the Emperor would come into conflict with the temporal pretensions of the Pope, as so many of

---

<sup>1</sup> R. H. Bainton, Here I Stand (New York, 1950), p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. II, p. 249.



his predecessors had. Even though Charles was to war against papal forces, he was not to have the reformation of the Church as his motive, but rather political conquest.

Even though Luther appreciated the support of the knights and even though his appeal to Caesar was much like that of Hutten, still there was a deep-seated difference between them. Hutten wanted to reduce the power of the princes by the actions of the emperors and the knights, in order that Germany might become more united. Luther, to the contrary, relied on the princes from the beginning of his career and by his constant support probably strengthened their position of power.

### Mysticism

Luther had renounced the scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas and Dun Scotus. He could not be called a humanist. Luther had moved to the mystical side of Nominalism, "since it taught that, as subjects can be known only individually, all other truths must be remitted to the domain of faith".<sup>1</sup> It is the thesis of H. A. Oberman that Gabriel Biel was this type of mystic and Nominalist at the same time. In this great teacher, then, Luther received both emphases and not, as it were, from separate sources. "Luther's enthusiasm for such mystical authors as John Tauler and Gerard

---

<sup>1</sup> H. E. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 16.



Zerbold of Zutphen can be adequately explained from his intimate knowledge of Biel's oeuvre...." 1 The one category which most fits Luther's imaginative mind would be that of Mysticism, however.

"... it was without question a matter of extreme importance to his inward development that at the monastery he became thoroughly familiar with Mysticism, in all its characteristic forms...." 2

Luther had studied Augustine and the great medieval mystics: Bernard of Clairvaux, Suso, Ruysbroeck, and, above all, Tauler. They had fascinated him. From them he learned to depend upon Grace and submit his own will to the Divine. Augustine's phrase, "In His Will is my peace", would be a clear expression of Luther's spirit.

In political thought, as well, Luther was deeply influenced by Mysticism. J. W. Allen has written: "I think it may be said that all that is really distinctive in the political thought of Luther was or might have been derived from the mystics". 3 His pacificism is an example of this debt. No fighting ought to be engaged in, unless

---

1 H. A. Oberman, "Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Mysticism", Church History, Vol. XXX (September, 1961), p. 261.

2 H. Boehmer, Luther and the Reformation in the Light of Modern Research, E. S. G. Potter, translator (New York, 1930), p. 76.

3 J. W. Allen, "The Political Conceptions of Luther", Tutor Studies, R. W. Seton-Watson, editor (London, 1924), p. 96.



it was for the direct purpose of preserving order, he stated. His tolerance also stems from his mysticism. He would not have anyone killed for his faith, not even Carlstadt. If a man could not be convinced by the Word of God, he would have to be left to the punishment of God. Again, Luther's insistence on complete obedience to the princes, whether evil or good, stems from this source. His mysticism would lead him to think that, if he were ruled by a tyrant, he must submit as this was God's will and the cross of suffering is part of his providence. Thus, the quietism in Luther's view of the political world which Zwingli found so hard to understand came from his mysticism. Zwingli did not have this mystical spirit and thus was not impressed with the Mystical school of thought. Zwingli was a man of aggressive action which was motivated, not by deep well-springs of the Spirit, but by conclusions quickly drawn from reason.

Scholars have seen in Luther a vast array of influences. I have sought to indicate some of these in relation to his political thought. In Luther, these various elements were heated in the furnace of his fury and were given to the world with a typical stamp of Luther upon them. Zwingli did not call upon so many sources, because he read less widely and less deeply than did Luther.



Zwingli's pronouncements came straight from his active, imaginative and reasoning mind.



## CHAPTER III

### THE THEORY OF OBRIGKEIT

In dealing with the subject of civil authority in the thought of Martin Luther, one truth must be kept clearly in mind. Luther was neither a politician, nor a political theorist in the strict sense of the word. He was an observer and this he might have wished to remain, but the times would not allow him such a luxury.

... let us keep in mind that the six political treatises which Martin Luther wrote were all addressed to some specific problem which had either been presented to him for an answer or was troubling the German people. 1

He, therefore, became a commentator on the political situation in which he was inexorably involved.

There was a vast difference in the thought of Ulrich Zwingli, as his theory of the Obrigkeiteit evolved. He was an observer and he could certainly be called a willing commentator. But he was also a politician and seemed to be most happy when he was up to the hilt in some political situation. To call him a political theorist would be to dignify his political thought overly much, however, because he only had the time to declare

---

1 E. G. Schwiebert, "The Medieval Pattern in Luther's Views of the State", Church History, Vol. XII (June, 1943), p. 107.



himself on certain pressing and practical problems.

### I. DEFINITIONS OF THE STATE

Some scholars would deny that Luther had any theory of the State. A. Nygren has written:

We may seek in vain for any fully-evolved doctrine of the State in Luther's thought. But he has given us what is more valuable still: he has shown us the Christian way of looking on the State and its responsibilities. 1

Thus, I do not claim to present a fully-developed theory of the State by Luther, for there is none. But he surely did have deep thoughts about the State and its origins and objects. These conceptions presented in his observations and comments can be gathered into a theory of the State, unsystematic as it must of necessity be. J. W. Allen has written of Luther: "He never thought at all in terms of the State. In the State he took no interest". 2 This is going too far in minimising Luther's interest in and pronouncements about the State. In this regard it should be mentioned that Luther's ideas of the State were closely interwoven with his theology of God and man. Therefore, it may appear that he had no thoughts about

---

1 A. Nygren, "Luther's Doctrine of the Two Kingdoms", The Ecumenical Review, Vol. I (Spring, 1949), p. 310.

2 J. W. Allen, A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century, op. cit., p. 18.



the State, but this idea is erroneous.

The State, according to the usual conception of the Middle Ages, was brought into being in the providence of God, as a direct result of Adam's Fall. There is no other reason for its existence, except as a remedy for man's sinful nature. It is a creation of God, even as man himself is a creature of the Divine. In all of this Luther concurred. In producing his tract, Von weltlicher Oberkeit, Luther stressed the idea that the State is ordained by God. He used Romans 13:1-2 in this connection, and this passage became central in all of his political thinking.

Eyn igliche seele sey der gewallt und uberkeyt unterthan, Denn es ist keyn gewallt on von Gott; die gewallt aber, die allenthalben ist, die ist von Gott verordnet. Wer nu der gewalt widderstehet, der widdersteht gottis ordnung; wer aber gottis ordnung widdersteht, der wirt yhm selb das verdammis erlangen. 1

The providence of God is not only seen in the creation of the State, but also in its manifestations in life. When Luther wrote, Ob Kriegsleute auch in selixem Stande sein können, in 1526, he made this point clear.

Denn die hand, die solch schwerd furet und wurget, ist auch als denn nicht mehr menschen hand sondern Gottes hand, und nicht der mensch sondern Got henget, redert, entheubt, wurget und krieget. 2

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XI, p. 247.

2 Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 626.



Thus, Luther stated that God is intimately involved in the life of the State.

So far from leaving politics to itself and free to make its own laws, Luther would have regarded the attempt to establish a secular state apart from the laws of God as the summit of human folly and pride. 1

These laws are made known to man through the Word of God.

... it should be observed that the religion (or irreligion) of its citizens is not a matter of sheer indifference to the State, since the relationship in which a man stands to God affects the rest of his relationships. The State, therefore, ought to be alive to the fact of human sinfulness and its character as rebellion against God; otherwise, it will not rightly understand the human situation with which it is called to deal. 2

This paraphrase of the thought of Luther demonstrates that for him the State ought to be governed by the commandments of God. Luther does not understand this as a temporary situation, either. The State will always be necessary, because society can never be thoroughly Christianised, due to original sin.

In speaking of civil law in his address, An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation, Luther stated that it is far too complicated and too voluminous. He would rather have the simple medieval pattern of law, rather than the Roman law which was being introduced in Germany.

---

1 E. G. Rupp, The Righteousness of God (London, 1953), p. 297.

2 F. S. Watson, The State as a Servant of God (London, 1946), pp. 19-20.



Es dunckt mich gleich, das landrecht und land sitten den keyserlichen geweynen rechten werden furgezogen, und die keyserlichen nur zur not braucht. und wolt got, das, wie ein yglich land seine eygen art und gaben hat, alszo auch mit eygenem kurtzen rechten geregirt wurden, wie sie geregirt sein gewesen, ehe solch recht sein erfunden, und noch on sie viel land regirt werden! 1

From these reflections it can be seen that Luther approved of the medieval structure of society whereby everyone had their respective obligations, but also compensations.

In speaking of the purposes for which the State was created by God, Luther indicated that it is for the good of the governed that it exists. It is man's defence against lawlessness and tumult, i.e. the sin of man. "All government, according to his view, is to be on behalf of the governed." 2 As the gift of God and as an association for mutual benefit, the State must keep faith with its citizens. He wrote in his address, An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation, that an oath must be respected even though the world should perish. 3 He may have had reference to the broken safe-conduct and the death of John Hus at the Council of Constance. Thus, the State is instituted by God for the governed, because of man's natural sinfulness which makes it impossible for men to live together without the

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, pp. 459-460.

2 L. H. Waring, op. cit., p. 181.

3 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 455.



State.

Luther spoke about two kingdoms: the Kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world. "The second is no less a regime of God than the first."<sup>1</sup> It is extremely important to understand his thought on this subject, for it is the key to his ideas about the State.

The Kingdom of God, or the Kingdom of Christ, as he often called it, comes through the gospel to the individual. The one who hears and accepts the Word of God through faith becomes a citizen of this kingdom. By faith the citizen is justified before God. "The spiritual regime has only the Word and must not use coercive power."<sup>2</sup>

Of the total population the true Christians will always be a small minority, scarcely one true Christian among a thousand people.<sup>3</sup> Despite this statement, Luther also occasionally had visions of a Christian commonwealth where everyone would be Christian and no laws would be necessary. In this ideal state all things would be held in common and no man would own anything. "... Dan alle Christen sein warhafftig geystlichs stands, unnd ist

---

<sup>1</sup> E. M. Carlson, "Luther's Conception of Government", Church History, Vol. XV (December, 1946), p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XVII, Part I, p. 149, cited by C. G. Schweitzer, "Luther and the State", Theology, Vol. 46 (September, 1943), p. 197.



unter yhn kein unterscheyd, denn des ampts halben allein...."1 This state will not come to pass, however, because of original sin in all mankind.

The kingdom of the world is the common society of sin in which all men live. Here the Christian is a sinner and totally condemned, because of the law. The Christian, however, must also be spoken of as being justified, as well. Therefore, in this world the Christian can be said to be both a sinner and justified. Because of the fact that the kingdom of this world is sinful and under the law, the Obrigkeitt is instituted by God as the governing principle of this world. In this kingdom there is inequality of possessions, suffering and the sword of punishment, according to Luther.

He insisted that the two kingdoms must never be confused. The Devil is always trying "... zu kochen und zu brewen..." 2 the two kingdoms into one another. The individual Christian living in the two kingdoms must avoid the temptation of mixing the grace and mercy of the Kingdom of God with the law and the sword of the kingdom of the world.

Whereas "the pope" had established a spiritual

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 407.

2 Ibid., Vol. LI, p. 239, cited by E. G. Rupp, op. cit., p. 292.



tyranny by putting Law in heaven, as Luther would say, the "Schwärmer" (antinomian extremists) threatened to produce temporal anarchy by putting the Gospel on earth. 1

A. Nygren has expressed this very important principle in Luther's political thought in the following manner:

It would be false to try to rule Christians by the Law, persuading them that through their deeds and the workings of the Law they could win justification before God. For that end God has ordained the Gospel and the forgiveness of sins. And it would be equally false to try to rule the world with the gospel, for to do that God has ordained law, rulers, power and the sword. 2

In Luther's great tract entitled, Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen, written in 1520, he clarified this view. The Christian, as a citizen of the Kingdom of God, is the most free lord of all and subject to none, but, as a citizen of the kingdom of the world, he is the most dutiful servant of all and subject to everyone.

Denn ein freyer Christen spricht also.... 'Und ob schon die tyrannen unrecht thun solche zu foddern, so schadet mir doch nit, die weyl es nit widder gott ist'. 3

Luther's premise is based on Jesus's words, "My kingdom is not of this world", and, thus, obeying a tyrant will not affect ones citizenship in the Kingdom of God.

---

1 P. S. Watson, "Luther's Doctrine of Vocation", Scottish Journal of Theology, Vol. II (December, 1949), p. 374.

2 A. Nygren, op. cit., p. 306.

3 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VII, p. 37.



In speaking against the peasants in April 1525, Luther wrote that they wanted to make all men equal. This would convert the Kingdom of Christ into a visible and earthly kingdom, but this is an impossibility. The kingdom of the earth has inequalities by its very nature; some are free, some in bondage; some rulers, and some are servants. It is only in the spiritual Kingdom of Christ that there is neither bond nor free. A. C. McGiffert has paraphrased Luther in this manner:

Earthly society cannot exist without inequalities; the true Christian finds his Christian liberty and his opportunities for Christian service in the midst of them and in spite of them. 1

The theory of the State, according to Zwingli's thought, will now be presented in order that the political theories of both men may be contrasted. Zwingli believed that the State has its authorisation directly from God. It must carry out its ordinary tasks in the name of this authority. "Zwingli läst den Staat streng von oben, aus Gottes Heilsabsicht, entstehen und hat ihn deshalb als Obrigkeitsstaat gebildet." 2 The necessity of the State is the result of the violation of ordinary human justice through the overt acts of sinful individuals. The

---

1 A. C. McGiffert, Martin Luther: The Man and his Work (London, 1911), p. 254.

2 A. Farner, Die Lehre von Kirche und Staat bei Zwingli (Tübingen, 1930), p. 54.



Obrigkeith is the gracious gift of God which provides humanity with order and protection, according to Zwingli.

In his work, Von göttlicher und menschlicher Gerechtigkeit, Zwingli explained the origin of the State by setting forth the conception of two sets of laws, both of which are instituted by God.

Darumb sind zweyerley gesatz, glych wie auch zwe grechtigkeiten sind: ein göttliche unnd ein menschliche. Ein teil der gesatzten gehend allein den inneren menschen an, als wie man got, wie man den nächsten solle lieb haben. Und dise gesatz mag nieman erfüllen; also ist auch nieman gerecht denn der einig got, und der, so durch genad, dero pfand Christus ist, gerecht würdt gemacht durch den glauben. Der ander teil der gesatzten sehen allein den usseren menschen an, und derhalb mag einer usserlich fromm und gerecht sin, und ist innerhalb nüt des sinder unfromm und got verdampft. 1

The sacrifice of Christ has made possible the higher law for one who is reconciled with God. Because of the fact that sin is ever present among men, the second, lower law was authorised by God. Because men refuse to obey these laws, the State becomes a necessity, in order that these human laws may be enforced. "Darumb sind die richter und obren diener gottes, sy sind der schulmeister; unnd wer irer gerechtikeit nit gehorsam ist, der tut auch wider got...." 2 Thus, the magistrates of the State become the servants of God.

---

1 U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 484.

2 Ibid., p. 488.



God not only authorizes the Obrigkeit, but maintains it for the good of man. In this sense Zwingli stated that the only true and just Obrigkeit is a Christian one. Only Christian secular authority will establish the order and morality of Christ. The Christian quality of this worldly authority does not come from association with the Church, however, but from the Christ-centered quality of the magistrates themselves. In his "Sixty-seven Theses", Zwingli stated as proposition number 34: "Der geistlich geneempt gewalt hat sines prachts keinen grund uss der leer Christi...." 1. The Church has no power of itself in worldly matters, but, as stated in the 35th thesis, "... der weltlich hat krafft und bevestigung uss der leer unnd that Christi". 2. God's maintenance of the Obrigkeit comes through the layman who is dedicated to Christ, according to Zwingli. In thesis 36, Zwingli stated: "Alles, so der geistlich geneempt stat in zugehören rechtes und rechtes schirm halb fürgibt, gehört den weltlichen zu, ob sy Christen ein wüllend". 3

It is a common opinion among Zwingli scholars that his theory of the Obrigkeit can be seen in two distinct

---

1 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 462.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid.



periods. Until 1525, his reforms were carried out in and through the Church. During and after this year the co-operative spirit of the councils caused him to look to them for the institution of reforms. During the first period he would have stated that the office of the Christ-heit has power over all things temporal. During the second period the State was seen to be the means by which the Word of God might be expressed in both the worldly and spiritual realms of life. In this second period the Christheit was prompted by Zwingli to enforce the abolition of the saying of the Mass and the prohibition of the use of images, among other reforms.

The State, in the early stages of Zwingli's mature thought has its authorization direct from God and follows its own laws; in the later stages it also comes under the regime of the Bible; and the Bible becomes also the law of political and economic life. 1

Zwingli also had a change in his conception of the best type of government. At the beginning of his stay in Zurich he had had a great reverence for the pure and simple democracy which was practiced in the rural districts from which he had come. He wished that democratic tendencies in the cities might be strengthened, and he even envisioned a democratic republic being established in all of Switzerland. In this early period he thought that aristocracy was the

---

1 R. E. Davies, The Problem of Authority in the Continental Reformers (London, 1946), p. 89.



ruin of any state. After he had attained a very good measure of control in Zurich, his opinion changed. In the preface to his translation of Isaiah, published in July 1529, he discussed the best form of government. 1 After describing monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, he decided on the second. Thus, Zwingli became more conservative in politics as time went on. J. Kreutzer has summarised Zwingli's change, when he wrote:

Eine jede Obrigkeit, selbst der gesteigertste Absolutismus, hat eine gewisse Rechtsgrundlage, die dem Regierungssystem entsprechend mehr oder minder das Gebiet der rein persönlichen Entscheidungen eingrenzt und statutariach normiert. 2

For the purposes of the Reformation this rising absolutism was a great boon. Zwingli's favour, therefore, swung to an oligarchical type of government. In his later years he used this form of government in Zurich to great advantage.

Both Luther and Zwingli stated that the Christianity was instituted by God for the good of men. Both believed that its prime function was the maintenance of order and the protection of the good. They differed, however, in their conceptions of why civil government is necessary. Luther said that it was because of original sin in man.

---

1 U. Zwingli, Opera, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 483, cited by S. M. Jackson, op. cit., p. 325.

2 J. Kreutzer, Zwingli's Lehre von der Obrigkeit (Stuttgart, 1908), p. 11.



Zwingli said that it is because of the violation of ordinary human justice by overt acts by individuals. It may be just a difference of emphasis, but it is a difference.

In another area the two differed. This was in the matter of what was the best type of government. Although Luther did not discuss the forms of government in their classical Greek terms, there can be little doubt that he preferred the autocracy of the princes, because of his distrust of the common people and the fear of tumult, especially after the Peasants' Revolt. Zwingli did discuss the Greek classification and decided on aristocracy as the most effective type of government. Never in his career did Zwingli favour the absolute autocracy which was the rule in the principalities in Germany.

How do the ideas of Luther and Zwingli differ in the important matter of the two kingdoms? The differentiation which Luther stated between the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of the world, is in part obliterated by Zwingli. He had stated that there are two types of law, the higher law of faith and the lower law of human association. The lower, human law is based on God's direct command for the maintenance of order, according to Zwingli. But, grace and the gospel, as far as they will be accepted, should be the guide for the State as well. Here is where Luther would differ. Zwingli did exactly what Luther had insisted



should not be done, in that he confused the Kingdom of God with the kingdom of the world. In Luther's terms Zwingli consciously "cooked and brewed" the two kingdoms into one another. Zwingli thought that the Kingdom of God ought to be an active catalysis for good in the world. He conceived that the grace and mercy of the Kingdom of God must direct and mellow the law and the sword of the worldly kingdom. Basically, Luther's ideas of the two kingdoms and Zwingli's concept of the two types of law are similar. The difference is but one of application. Zwingli departed from Luther's thought pattern in seeking to make the gospel the guiding principle for the councillors in Zurich. He sought to rule the city with the gospel. For Luther this is impossible, because of original sin.

## II. FUNCTIONS AND LIMITS OF THE STATE

The functions of the State in Luther's view follow from the fact that government is for the people. In his work, An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation, civil authority is said to have jurisdiction over the mundane matters of life; "... gelt, gut und leyp eöder ehre antrifft, den weltlichen richtern lassen".<sup>1</sup> Individual political freedom had to be sacrificed by the governed in

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 430.



Luther's view, so that order might be maintained for the protection of life and property. "Also hat die weltlich ubirkeit das schwert unnd die ruttenn in der hand, die beszen damit zustraffenn, die frummen zuschutzen." <sup>1</sup> This, then, is the positive good that is the basic function of the State.

Luther stated that it is the duty of the State to restrain those who would commit war, murder and robbery against the innocent. He used Romans 13:4, in stating that the civil authority is the avenger of God and it conducts this function at his command. <sup>2</sup> Thus, the primary function of the State is to punish the evil and to protect the good.

Beside this police function of the State, the Obrigkeit also has a duty toward the Church and the Christian Community. Following the medieval ideas of his background, Luther insisted that the State has the duty to reform the Church. This, of course, was the great plea of the Conciliarists. With them, Luther departed from the older medieval pattern that insisted that the Church is superior to the State. Luther believed that both Church and State are instituted by God and neither should dominate

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 409.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 428.



the other, unless one is obviously wanting, as in the need of the reformation of the Church.

Luther developed these ideas and the result was the Saxon visitations. Teams went out to all parts of the State under the direction of the Elector with the purpose of aiding and organising the parishes. Pastors and teachers were assigned at the suggestion of these visitors.

It is instructive to compare the government of the princes to whom Luther primarily spoke with that of the cities in the matter of religious support. When the city fathers included in their office the

... responsibility for the cultural and religious welfare of their fellow citizens, they anticipated by many years similar concerns on the part of the German territorial states. With the adoption of Lutheranism it was a relatively simple matter to enlarge their religious responsibilities to include the supply of ministers, the administration of church business, and the supervision of church discipline and even doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

This procedure on the part of the civil authorities in the cities of Germany, and then later on the part of the princes, was identical with the situation in the Swiss cities. This matter of the relationship of Church and State will be dealt with more fully in the next chapter, however.

Many other functions of the State are indicated by

---

<sup>1</sup> H. J. Grimm, "Social Forces in the German Reformation", Church History, Vol. XXXI (March, 1962), p. 10.



Luther. The State should be responsible for education, not only in secular matters, but in moral and religious concerns, as well. Luther was far ahead of his time in suggesting a school for girls, as well as for boys in each town. 1 He also called for the reformation of the German universities. 2 In a letter to Elector John, to whom Luther refers as "your Electoral Grace" which is executed in an abbreviation in the Weimar Edition, Luther suggested: "Wo nu stad oder dorff ist, die des veraugends sind, hat E. C. f. g. macht, sie zu zwingen, das sie schulen ... halten". 3

Luther called upon the State to condemn and prohibit buying on usury. 4 He suggested that the spiritual and temporal powers should unite in the defeat of social immorality which was so rampant. 5 Such other matters as marriage, prohibition against all begging, registration of and aid to the poor, enactments against extravagance in dress, and limitation of the number of saints' days were considered by Luther to be in the province of the State.

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 461.

2 Ibid., p. 457.

3 Ibid., Briefwechsel Vol. IV, p. 134.

4 Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 466.

5 Ibid., p. 467.



In these many regulations suggested by Luther, the principle that the State has jurisdiction in all mundane matters, whether of money, goods, life or honour, is made evident.

In speaking of the functions of the State, Luther did distinguish between the various departments of secular authority in practice. He appealed for the enactment of certain regulations, some of which have just been mentioned, by the princes or other legislative bodies. He appealed also for the execution of some of the existing statutes by the princes. He also mentioned the judicial area of government in its function of interpreting law, when he said after the issuance of the "Twelve Articles" of the peasants that he would leave the judgement, as to the merits of their case, to the jurists. He does not, however, enter into a detailed analysis of the nature of these departments and does not delineate the duty of one area of government from another, as a political theorist would have done.

Luther also dealt with the limitations on the powers of the State. In speaking of the extent of the powers of the civil authority in his tract, Von weltlicher Oberkeit, he stated:

Das weltlich regiment hatt gesetz, die sich nicht weytter strecken denn uber leyd und gutt und was körperlich ist auff erden. Denn uber die seele kan und will Gott niemant lassen regirn denn sich selbs



alloyne.<sup>1</sup>

The State has jurisdiction over a man's body and property, but no authority over his soul. In matters of faith, e.g. the requirement to burn certain books<sup>2</sup>, if the State makes a pronouncement, it has overstepped the limits of its authority. In matter of religion, conscience and speech the State, according to Luther, should not interfere.

Another limitation on the State is that of Christian love. If a question arises between severity and mercy, the State should seek to be merciful, if possible. But even in severity, according to Luther, love can be expressed. When a magistrate condemns a man to death who had done him no personal harm, he would not look on him with anger or as an enemy. He condemns at God's behest, for he is the guardian of God's sword.

One may properly say that the limitation upon the worldly regime is religious rather than ethical in character.... Because it is religious, it makes utterly impossible the legitimacy of the absolute state.<sup>3</sup>

By absolute State in this connection the author refers to the State without the conception of God's sovereignty over all things. Because the Obrigkeitt is ordained by God and

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> E. M. Carlson, op. cit., p. 267.



because it is for man's good, it must of necessity be limited by these two founding principles, i.e. that it only has jurisdiction over men's earthly lives and possessions, and that it should act in accordance with God's Will.

The functions and limitations of the State, as described by Zwingli, will now be presented in order that the contrasts with Luther's thought can be set forth. For Zwingli the primary task of the State is to protect the law-abiding, punish the criminal and above all to keep public order. In the 39th of Zwingli's "Sixty-seven Theses", the magistrates were spoken of in this manner: "Darumb sollend all ire gesetzt dem göttlichen willen glychförmig sin, also, das sy den beschwärten beschirmend, ob er schon nüt klagte".<sup>1</sup> The authority of the State was spoken of as the iron rod of Christ by Zwingli.

Zwingli was conscious, however, that order and protection were threatened by the system of mercenary service on Switzerland. In his work, Eine göttliche Vermahnung an die Eidgenossen zu Schwyz, written in May 1522, he deplored the situation which had been brought on by the pensioners, those who made arrangements for the delivery of Swiss troops. He also objected to the immorality of the returning mercenary soldiers. The country had been cast

---

<sup>1</sup> U. Zwingli, "Sämtliche Werke", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 463.



into such a state that the common opinion of the Obrigkeit had been weakened.

... ouch wenig des gantzen regiments, ob alle unghorsamy erwachsst und man umb die oberghheit gar nüt gibt; damit aber nach der zyt aller schirm der frommkeit nidergeleget würt und alle rach des üblen. Ouch erwachsst darus mit der zyt, das die reyser mit gewalt werdent die oberghheit under sich zwingen und hanffen, wie sy wend. 1

Zwingli spoke in this "Warning" of war's primary object. It is to punish the disobedient and to cause people to obey proper demands made on them by the rulers. The pensioners and mercenaries had used warfare for their own selfish ends and had thereby lessened the possibility of the fulfilment of the primary function of the State, i.e. that of the protection of persons and society.

The Council of Zurich called for debates on religious subjects at Zwingli's instigation. This clearly shows that he conceived that it was the rightful function of the State to judge on religious matters. After the debates the Council would judge on regulations to be passed. The Council required that all preaching must be in conformity with the Holy Scripture 2 after one of these disputations. "... it did this, on Zwingli's showing, in fulfilment of its function to preserve order in the State

---

1 Ibid., pp. 180-181.

2 Ibid., p. 471.



and prevent faction." 1 After another disputation the Council issued an edict that the Mass and the use of images should be abolished. It did this "... in virtue of its right and duty to assist the Church in a time of emergency...." 2 In order to execute this decree twelve councillors, along with three of Zurich's ministers, and with locksmiths, joiners and other workmen met on the 20th of June, 1524. They went about the town to the various churches. Locking the doors from the inside, they went to work removing images and crosses and covering up all pictures where possible. 3 It should be recognised that these proceedings took place after other images had been torn down in an unruly manner. Therefore, according to Zwingli, it was a function of the State to make decisions on such matters and then to execute them in an orderly manner, in order that tumult might be avoided.

Another example of the functioning of the State in ecclesiastical matters, as Zwingli conceived of it, was seen in the reform of the monasteries. On the 3rd of December, 1524 4 , the Council voted that all monastic

---

1 R. E. Davies, op. cit., p. 85.

2 Ibid.

3 R. Christoffel, Huldreich Zwingli (Elberfeld, 1857), p. 124.

4 S. M. Jackson, op. cit., p. 225.



establishments should be closed. By the end of the month all seven of the monasteries and convents in the city were closed. This order was personally carried out by the Council, as the monasteries were closed in their presence. Thus, both Zwingli's theory and actions with regard to the Council indicated that it was his considered opinion that ecclesiastical, as well as secular, matters were within the province of the Obrigkeit.

Among other ordinances Zwingli called for the Council to control laws relating to marriage. The magistrates administered the marriage laws and regulations which were adopted in 1525. These same ordinances dealt with divorce, as well. This was a radical departure from the past, as all matrimonial questions had formerly been decided upon by a court which was administered by the Bishop of Constance.

Zwingli was convinced that a function of the Obrigkeit was to enact and enforce sumptuary laws. Ornaments of gold, silver and precious gems were to be sold by their owners and the profit given to the poor, while extravagant clothing was to be laid aside. It was a task of the State, according to Zwingli, to create a board for moral discipline in order to control gambling, adultery, prostitution and excessive dancing. This board had the power to summon those who disobeyed the laws and regulations, give warning to them, exclude them from Holy Communion



and finally to hand them over to the magistrates for punishment should the wrong not be rectified. It is important to note that such legislation was not a new phenomenon.

It is a wide-spread belief that "blue laws" were an invention of the Puritans, but in reality they began in antiquity and continued through the Middle Ages into modern times. 1

Zwingli used the past regulations which were in existence in Zurich and added many of his own through the seat that he held in the Council. He thought that the ordinances which regulated morality were a definite part of the function of the State.

Zwingli conceived that a limitation on the rights of the Obrigkeit was that all of their acts had to conform to the Holy Scriptures. But who was to interpret the Bible in each instance? Unofficially it was the duty of each councillor to know the Scriptures himself, but it was the Church through its ministers that set their official position before the Council in a debate or a formal disputation. It was for the Council to decide, if the plan of the Church was to be accepted. This, then, was a limitation upon the authority of the State in the execution of ecclesiastical concerns, for the councillors almost without exception took the advice of the ministers. Despite this advice, the councillors were the ones who had to judge finally. Zwingli

---

1 J. M. Vincent, op. cit., p. 24.



always envisioned the Obrigkeit, as being made up of Christians who would be in a position to judge on spiritual matters. The Bible was to be their guide in this undertaking. It is amazing how completely the Obrigkeit in Zurich followed the outline of Zwingli's vision and allowed the Word of God to be a constant limiting factor on its decisions.

Luther and Zwingli agreed that the primary function of the State was to maintain order and to protect the just. In this connection they were similar in that they spoke of the sword having been given to the Obrigkeit for this purpose and this purpose alone.

Zwingli thought that the secular authority had a responsibility not only in police action, but also in the enactment and enforcement of religious practice and belief. In this Luther agreed to a point, but Zwingli went far beyond him in his suggestions. Luther's feeling for the fact that sincere faith was the only reason for religious practice led him away from the conception of the State enforcing a religious pattern on a non-believer. Luther's tolerance for those who could not conscientiously accept the preaching of the Word disallowed such forced conformity to religion, as was practiced in Zurich, e.g. in the case of the Anabaptists. Zwingli was able to go as far as he did in conceding to the realm of the State ecclesiastical



matters, because of his mixing of the authorities and the fields of interest of the two kingdoms. In Zwingli's view, as opposed to Luther's, the State had authority over men's souls as well as their life and property. Even though they differed with regard to men's conscience in matters of faith, they agreed that in matters affecting the earthly lives of men, i.e. education, morality and sumptuary regulations, the State should administer affairs.

The limitations on the State in purely secular matters, as conceived by Zwingli, coincide with those of Luther. The Obrigkeit must do everything with the good of the people in general in mind and in accordance with the individual leader's conception of the Will of God.

In considering the duties of the State, there is a basic and marked difference between Luther and Zwingli. "Luther was in no sense an iconoclast. A mystic in his mode of thinking, with deep veneration for established forms and usages..."<sup>1</sup>, he would not advocate that the Obrigkeit establish new regulations too quickly. Zwingli, on the other hand, was intent in organizing the reformed Church on primitive Christian practices with the aid of the State and as quickly as was possible without causing tumult among the people.

---

<sup>1</sup> S. Simpson, op. cit., p. 138.



### III. THE CALLING AND DUTIES OF THE RULER

Luther's idea of the calling which each person has from God is an extremely important conception in his thought pattern.

Da her es kummen ist, das man sagt zum Bapst und den seinen 'Tu ora, Du solt betten', zum keyser und den seinen 'Tu protege, Du solt schutzen', zu dem gemeynen man 'Tu labora, Du solt erbeytten'. Nit also, das nit ein yglicher betten, schutzen, erbeytten solt, den es ist allis gepet, geschutzt, geerbeyttet, wer in seynem werck sich ubet, szondern das einem yglichen sein werck zugeeygent werde. 1

Thus, like others the ruler has a particular task to fulfill in God's plan. This is primarily to protect the good by controlling the evil ones.

The ruler's profession or assigned task in life is in the area in which he is a servant of God. Luther's doctrine of "the priesthood of all believers" led him to the conclusion that in the bearing of the sword the ruler is performing a quasi-religious function. This assignment and service gives them the authority to intervene in all things temporal.

Die weyl dan nu die weltlich gewalt ist gleych mit uns getaufft, hat den selben glauben unnd Evangeln, müssen wir sie lassen priester und Bischoff sein, und yr ampt zelen als ein ampt, das da gehore und nutzlich sey der Christenlichen gemeyne. 2

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 428.

2 Ibid., p. 408.



This principle is very important, especially in the light of the fact that Luther gave to the rulers the dignity of bishops in his thought. They became like bishops, when the Protestant princes had visitors go out in their name to see to the condition of the churches. The subject of the visitations will be dealt with in the next chapter which will deal with the relations of Church and State.

In dealing with the subject of the calling of rulers, the question arises: What about a non-Christian ruler? Luther stated that a non-Christian can rule a state and do so by the ordinance of God. He was convinced that the State is the divine remedy for sin. Why then could a sinner not rule, as long as he maintained the public order? Luther admitted this possibility, but did state that it is preferable for the ruler to be a Christian. E. G. Rupp, quoting from Luther's Operationes in Psalms, has the following statement about Luther's preference for the Christian prince:

I say this not because I would teach that worldly rulers ought not to be Christians or that a Christian cannot bear the sword and serve God in a temporal government... would God they were all Christians or that no one could be a temporal prince unless he were a Christian.... 1

Luther presented another interesting view in the matter of the calling of the ruler. At certain times a

---

1 E. G. Rupp, op. cit., p. 306.



great man will be raised up by God to meet a crucial situation or to improve the fabric of government. They have an innate sense of wisdom and justice, according to Luther. "Such a prince, in point of wisdom, Luther considered Frederick the Wise to have been, but makes it clear that he takes no such view of John Frederick." <sup>1</sup> During the times between these great men, if there is any progress, it comes in patch-work fashion. Then the great one appears on the scene and the possibility for creative change is at hand, and "... das es im lande alles grunet und bluete mit fride, zucht, schutz, straffe, das es ein gesund regiment heissen mag". <sup>2</sup>

The calling of the ruler, according to Luther, is that they should hold authority over all men. God has established them and makes them gods. Luther called magistrates a sign of divine grace, for, if uncontrolled, the people of the earth would destroy each other by assassination and massacre. To bear the sword, then, is their right. But they bear it wrongfully, if they do not realize that they are established in their authority by God's Word, and, if they are not subjected, directed, punished and controlled by it.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. LI, p. 215, cited by E. G. Rupp, op. cit., p. 308.



Luther spoke of the duties of the ruler in many writings, but especially in his tract of 1523, Von weltlicher Obrigkeit. Though the prince holds the sword of State, he must not assume that he is to rule by force alone. Justice must be the ruler's criterion of judgement in the use of force, according to Luther. Let the ruler not think, "... 'land und leutt sind meyn, ich wills machen, wie myrs gefellet', sondernn also: 'Ich byn des lands und der leutt, ich solls machen, wie es yhn nutz und gut ist'".<sup>1</sup> The prince, then, according to Luther's view, should not act in a capricious manner, but always in terms of service which is the basic duty of his calling.

For as Luther never ceases to assert, government is intended for the benefit of the governed, not of the governors, and no station or office is more truly a vocation to service than that of a ruler.<sup>2</sup>

Luther often upbraided the princes for not governing for the people's welfare or for being too cruel, as he does in this work:

Es ist itzt nicht mehr eyn welt wie vortzeytten, da yhr die leutt wie das willd jagetet und triebet. Darumb lasst ewr frevel unnd gewallt und denckt, das yhr mit recht handellt und lasst Gottis wort seynen gang haben, den es doch haben will, muss und soll und yhrs nicht weren werdet.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> F. S. Watson, op. cit., p. 371.

<sup>3</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XI, p. 270.



Luther spoke of the ruler's duty in a four-fold manner in Von weltlicher Obrigkeit. The first principle was that the Christian ruler must seek the inspiration of God through prayer and trust. This would be the magistrate's guide and stay, but this would not give him the right to establish doctrine or usage in religious matters. This is the Church's duty. "He has to maintain true religion and right worship; but it is not for him to say what is true religion or what right worship." 1

The second of the duties of the Christian ruler has to do with the subjects under his care. He must seek their good in love and service. The prince must be careful to rule for the good of all, regardless of their station in life. Above all, the ruler must protect the citizen in a Christian manner.

Hie folte nw deutsche Nation, Bischoff und Fursten, sich auch fur Christen leut halten, und das volck, das yhn befohlen ist, in leyplichen unnd geistlichen guttern zuregiren unnd schutzenn, fur solchen reyssendenn wolffen beschirmen, die sich unter den schaffts kleydern dar geben als hyrten und regierer. 2

The third of the duties of the magistrate is to keep his judgement clear toward lawyers, counsellors and men of influence. He should listen to their advice but form his own opinion on the principle of the Word of God.

---

1 J. W. Allen, op. cit., p. 24.

2 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 419.



In his work, Bedenken D. M. Luthers, dass man nach Mosis Recht nicht urtheilen noch richten solle, Luther stated that the ruler ought to seek to follow the laws and customs of his own country. The law of Moses should not be substituted as the law of the German nation. In this way the ruler will be fulfilling his function as the servant of God.

The final duty which Luther sets forth in Von weltlicher Obrigkeit is that the ruler must punish the criminal or the rebel with firmness, but with justice. "Drumb fol weltlich Christlich gewalt yhr ampt uben frey unvorhyndert, unangesehen obs Bapst, bischoff, priester sey den sie trifft, wer schuldig ist der leyde...." <sup>1</sup> The office of magistrate is one of sadness for wrath and severity must be meted out, regardless of personal feelings.

The conception of Ulrich Zwingli in this area of the calling and duties of rulers will now be examined, in order that his theories can be contrasted with Luther's. Zwingli gave to the ruler or magistrate an exalted position in his thought. Their power was instituted by God and they were accountable to God for the good of the people. In the 43rd of Zwingli's "Sixty-seven Theses" he stated: "Summa: Dess rych ist aller best unnd vestest, der allein

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 409.



mitt gott herschet, und dess aller bösest unnd unstättest, der uss sinem gmüt". 1 Zwingli had the idea that all people have a calling from God and most particularly the rulers do.

Zwingli was convinced that a Christian could be a magistrate, and he stated that only a Christian would be a good magistrate. Zwingli delineated the calling of magistrate as having a quasi-episcopal quality. They are entitled to carry out the regular business of the State, using their own judgement as to what the Will of God is in certain situations. They are to assist the Church in the work of reform of religion and morals.

Zwingli stated that even an evil ruler is instituted by God and must, therefore, be obeyed. If he ordered something which was contrary to the Will of God, then he might be refused obedience and be disposed. According to Zwingli's view, the tyrant should first be warned that he is acting contrary to the apparent Will of God.

Si monitorem audit: lucrifecimus toti regno patriaeque patrem; sin contumacius vim facit, docemus eo usque impio quoque parendum esse, donec illum dominus aut magistratu imperioque amoveat, aut consilium suppeditet, quo ipsum functione exuere et in ordinem compellere possint quibus ea provincia incumbit. 2

---

1 U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 463.

2 U. Zwingli, Opera, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 59.



It is those who are over him, i.e. the council or the electorate, that may deprive him of his authority. This idea, of course, assumes that the form of government is not an autocracy. Zwingli wrote with regard to rulers in the 42nd of his "Sixty-seven Theses": "So sy aber untrüwlich und usser der schnur Christi faren wurdend, mögend sy mit got entsetzt werden". 1

The duties which the ruler must execute for the good of the governed are presented by Zwingli. He stated that protection was the basic duty of the magistrate. In his work, Eine freundliche Bitte und Ermahnung an die Eidgenossen, Zwingli asked for the protection of the magistrates against any reprisals which might be enacted by the Roman Catholic Church because of the request which he and other pastors were making to preach the Gospel and to marry.

Wir meinend euch (das wir aber on allen hochmut redend), ir syind uns söllichen schirm schuldig. Wir sind die Üweren und hand alle unsre vordren von ie welten har allweg bystand ton denen, so wider recht geschehen wolt, dannen har einer Eydgnoschafft ein hoher rum in allen landen uffgewachsen ist. 2

The other side of the coin of protection was also stated by Zwingli as the duty of the ruler to punish the evil

---

1 U. Zwingli, "Sämtliche Werke", op. cit., Vol. I, p. 463.

2 Ibid., p. 247.



persons within society. In the 40th of his theses, Zwingli stated: "Sy mögend allein mit recht tödten, ouch allein die, so offenlich verergerend...." 1

An interesting medieval-like arrangement was set forth by Zwingli in regard to the duty of the ruler to give advice to his subjects. In the 41st thesis, it is stated: "Wenn sy recht ratt und hilff zudienend denen, für die sy rechnung geben werdent vor gott, so sind ouch dise inen schuldig liblich hantreichung ze thun". 2 So it is that the governed gives to the ruler obedience and assistance in return for the fatherly benefits of protection, order and good advice.

Another type of duty that the ruler must perform is in the area of religious belief and practice. The Council voted after the First Disputation of 1523, that they should make laws which conform to the Holy Scriptures. The magistrates were under an obligation, therefore, according to Zwingli, to remove all images from the churches, to see to the abolition of the Mass and to close all monastic establishments.

The Bible was to be the guide for the fulfilment of the duties of the magistrate, both in secular concerns

---

1 Ibid., p. 463.

2 Ibid.



and in ordinances dealing with the reform of religious practices, according to Zwingli. "... he regards a scriptural proof as in all cases decisive." <sup>1</sup> The Church may advise the ruler, but in the end it was his interpretation of the Scriptures that determines the results of the decisions made by the Obrigkeit.

Luther and Zwingli were agreed in certain matters with regard to the calling and duties of the ruler. Both thought that rulers were ordained by God to their special task. Both ascribed to them a quasi-episcopal function. Luther, however, saw this as an emergency power, while Zwingli conceived that this duty was a part of the nature of their office.

Because of the ordinance of God both claimed that the ruler must be obeyed. Luther admonished people to obey the ruler, but if he ordered something that was contrary to the Word of God he could be passively resisted. Luther had used as his text the thought that it is better to obey God than man. Zwingli agreed with this idea, but added to it. He said that if passive resistance failed the ruler could be deposed. This Luther did not advocate. Zwingli, of course, was speaking from the position of Zurich where the magistrates were involved in and controlled by the

---

<sup>1</sup> R. E. Davies, op. cit., p. 69.



councils, as well as the electorate. Luther lived in an autocracy and could see no alternative to obedience, or possibly passive resistance, except rebellion. To speak of deposing the Lord's anointed was an anathema to him.

Both Luther and Zwingli thought that protection was the basic function of the ruler. In this and all of the other functions, including the reform of the Church, they both stated that the Word of God should be the ruler's guide. Zwingli's insistence that the Holy Scriptures ought to be the guide for the magistrate's ruling of the Christian community was constant. For him the letter of scripture must in every case be applied. By the Word of God, Luther meant the Bible as it was interpreted in the light of faith. Some books and passages of the Bible were suspect by Luther in that they did not teach about Christ, and, thus did not have the weight of other passages.

... Und daryn stymmen alle rechtschaffene heylige bucher ober eyns, das sie alle sampt Christum predigen und treyben, Auch ist das der rechte profesteyn alle bucher zu taddelln, wenn man sihet, ob sie Christum treyben, odder nit.... 1

Luther, therefore, saw that the Bible must be read and understood in the light of faith, and from this source the princes would receive their guidance. Beside the obvious word of the Bible, Luther thought that the ruler

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Deutsche Bibel, Vol. VII, p. 384, cited by R. E. Davies, op. cit., p. 34.



ought to be guided by natural law and his own conception of God's Will. Government by the rule of the Word of God meant for Zwingli a literal applying of the words of the Bible to the conditions of life, wherever and whenever this was possible. For Luther, on the other hand, the ruler must be guided by the spirit of the Bible and by its words, when correctly interpreted by faith.

#### IV. THE CONCEPTION OF OBEDIENCE

The Peasants' Revolt of 1524-1525, the events leading up to it and Luther's response come to mind, when one considers the theory of obedience, as promulgated by Luther. Although he had spoken about the matter of obedience to the Obrigkeit previously, it was in this emergency situation that his thoughts about the subject had their culmination.

The lot of the peasants in Germany during the period at the end of the Fifteenth Century and the beginning of the Sixteenth Century was varied. Materially they were in a more favourable condition than their predecessors. "They were, it seems better clothed and fed, and, as pictured in the popular literature of the time, had become correspondingly class conscious and self-assertive." <sup>1</sup> Legally, how-

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Mackinnon, The Origins of the Reformation, op. cit., p. 303.



ever, they were in a far worse position than they had been. With the breakdown of the feudal laws and customs and the application of the Roman Law, the nobles felt that they had unrestricted use of all their holdings, despite previous agreements with the Peasants. Thus, the customs with regard to the peasants' use of streams and woodlands were generally violated. With the lessening of these rights the peasants were forced into even greater production. This situation stemmed from the luxurious living standard which was sought by the nobles, as an imitation of the extravagance of the commercial city dwellers. The demand for longer working hours also came from the fact of a scarcity of labour caused by the Black Death which had depleted the number of peasants. As no common law or custom protected them, the result was that the lords insisted all the more on greater performance.

In their plight the peasants had little recourse. They had lost their means of bargaining with the nobles and princes, because of the breakdown of feudal agreements. The emperors were of no help to them. As a matter of fact, they had been the means of subduing their earliest revolts. During the reign of Emperor Charles V, the Emperor was generally absent and too involved in his own wars to pay much attention to the social situation in Germany. The peasants would have liked to have had the support of the



emperors, but because of their hostility or indifference, they were set to "... debating whether on the flag of the Bundschuh they should paint the eagle of the Empire or the white cross of the Swiss republic".<sup>1</sup> Sometimes they had the eagle, while at other times it was absent.

The peasants found much sympathy for their plight in the towns. There was much discontent among the masses here and many of these people had come from the rural areas. These new-comers to the towns had none of the privileges of membership in the guilds.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the peasants had the sympathy of the towns, but no consistent aid followed from this spirit. The peasants had to fight their own battles and this they did on numerous occasions.

Between 1476, when a self-styled John the Baptist, Hans Boheim, led a revolt in Franconia, until the famous climax of the movement in 1524-1525, there were many peasants' risings. The peasants often had amazing numerical support, as when 90,000 rebelled in Baden and Corinthia in 1513. Their most used symbol was the Bundschuh, or a peasant's clog. Their demand was generally for a return to their feudal rights to woodlands and streams. The

---

<sup>1</sup> F. Seebohm, The Era of the Protestant Revolution (London, 1896), p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> E. B. Eax, The Peasants War in Germany (London, 1899), pp. 7-8.



peasants were always defeated by the well-armed and organised nobles.

Even as the Revolt of 1524-1525, had its predecessors, so, too, the famous "Twelve Articles", also were not an entirely new phenomena. In June 1524, a mildly stated document of sixty-two articles set forth the abuses which the peasants felt. There is no mention of religion in it. Their grievances with regard to the rights of woodlands and streams were stated, along with those dealing with huntsmen trampling down crops, unjust and overly severe punishments and the general denial of feudal rights.

The "Twelve Articles" went beyond the demands which had already been made by the peasants. They now asked that the small tithe which was based on the number of their cattle be abolished, "... for the Lord God created cattle for the free use of man".<sup>1</sup> They asked for a fair wage for their work and a just rent for their holdings.

... we ask that the lords may appoint persons of honour to inspect these holdings, and fix a rent in accordance with justice, so that the peasant shall not work for nothing, since the labourer is worthy of his hire.<sup>2</sup>

The death-due was set forth as an unmerciful oppression

---

<sup>1</sup> B. J. Kidd, op. cit., p. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 178.



and the request made that it be done away with. 1

It is instructive to note that religious elements were definitely present in the "Twelve Articles".

... it is our humble petition and desire as also our will and resolution, that in the future we should have power and authority so that each community should choose and appoint a pastor, and that we should have the right to depose him should he conduct himself improperly. 2

In general wording and the scriptural texts which follow each article, the religious background of the articles can also be seen. In the final article the peasants agreed to withdraw any of the articles, if they could be convinced that they are contrary to God's Word.

In the twelfth place it is our conclusion and final resolution, that if any one or more of the articles here set forth should not be in agreement with the word of God, as we think they are, such article we will willingly recede from, when it is proved really to be against the word of God by a clear explanation of the scripture. 3

These articles had come out of the furore which had arisen in Memmingen, due to the preaching of Schappeler, a friend of Zwingli's. This preacher was probably the author of the articles and, if not, certainly they came from his inspiration. The place of origin of the articles is illuminating, as Memmingen was an imperial city. The

---

1 Ibid.

2 Ibid., p. 175.

3 Ibid., p. 179.



radical element in the town was here speaking for the peasants.

The appeal of the peasants went unheeded and they rebelled in the summer of 1524. Many nobles and members of the clergy were killed and much property destroyed during the following fall and spring. The princes united in the Swabian League fought and defeated the peasants, amidst a great slaughter. An approximate estimate of the number of peasants who were killed could be set at over 100,000.<sup>1</sup> Many authors have agreed that the only thing that withheld the hand of the princes from further slaughter was the fact that an already scarce peasant class was being drastically reduced and there was fear that there would be no one left to till the fields.

How did Luther react to all of this and what influence did it have on his ideas about obedience? Luther had strong feelings about the obedience that a subject owed to his lord before 1524. His opinion was not changed by the events of the great Peasants' Revolt. Luther set forth the idea that obedience was owed to every duly authorized power. He did recognize, however, that one must in the last resort obey God rather than man. Therefore, if the ruler ordered someone to do something which was contrary to their concep-

---

<sup>1</sup> H. E. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 262.



tion of God's Will, that person had one duty. He should refuse to obey on these grounds. They did not have the choice of forcible resistance to the ruler, according to Luther. If the ruler persisted in his demands, the subject had two choices, either to suffer the wrong or to flee. In no case must the subject take up arms against his ruler. Luther's

... conception is, of course, mediaeval; and it is the groundwork of all Luther's thought on government. Absolute obedience is due to the magistrate in the exercise of his proper function: forcible resistance is forbidden in all cases. 1

E. G. Rupp has pointed out that Luther probably witnessed a riot in Erfurt in 1510. This had nothing to do with the peasants, but was instead an argument between town and gown. The important fact here was the utter inability of the authorities to cope with the situation. When a similar town and gown disturbance arose in Wittenberg in 1520, Luther went to the University pulpit and spoke out against the tumult. He did not take sides, but spoke of the necessity of obedience being shown to the magistrates, because their power was instituted by God. "Here, in 1520, was Luther making the same unpopular stand that he made in 1525 against the Peasants." 2

---

1 J. W. Allen, "The Political Conceptions of Luther", op. cit., p. 101.

2 E. G. Rupp, op. cit., p. 301.



Luther's attitude to the summons to the Diet of Worms was a practical expression of his firm conviction that obedience to the powers that be is all important. He was commanded by the Emperor to come to the Diet, and, because of the position which he had, Luther saw this as the command of God. At Worms he testified that he advocated obedience to an evil ruler, as he was cross-examined by a committee headed by the Archbishop of Trier after his famous public appearance. But, according to R. H. Bainton, the forces advocating revolt were already using him as a symbol, for as the Emperor was having the Edict against Luther written, the sign of the peasants' unrest, the Bundschuh, was posted on the door of the town hall and elsewhere in Worms. 1

When Luther was in the Wartburg Castle, Thomas M $\ddot{u}$ nzer and the Zichau prophets were spreading seeds of sedition. Luther saw the depth of the danger involved. He advised the Elector of Saxony that, if they preached their communistic ideas alone, the only weapon to be used against them was the Word of God. If, however, they were planning to carry out their threats against the rulers, all the power of government should be used against them. Luther returned to Wittenberg to deal with the excesses

---

1 R. H. Bainton, op. cit., p. 187.



of the followers of Münzer. On this occasion, he again showed his great reverence for obedience to the Obrigkeit. In a letter written on the 5th of March, 1522, he apologised to the Elector for returning to Wittenberg without Frederick's permission to leave the Wartburg.

Solchs sei E. K. F. G. geschrieben der Meinung, dass E. K. F. G. wisse, ich komme gen Wittenberg in gar viel einen höhern Schutz denn des Kurfürsten. Ich hab's auch nicht im Sinn, von E. K. F. G. Schutz begehren. Ja ich halt, ich wolle E. K. F. G. mehr schützen, denn sie mich schützen könnte. 1

Through the Word of God Luther was convinced that the "prophets" would be defeated. Unless they resorted to violence, Luther advocated that they should not be suppressed.

The fact is that, even here Luther remained in advance of most of his contemporaries and friends. No catholic can afford to compare Luther's advice with the practice of the Catholic Church in regard to impenitent and obstinate heretics. Nor is there anything comparable with Zwingli's drowning of the Anabaptists or Calvin's burning of Servetus. 2

This tolerance of Luther was always accompanied with the proviso that no rebellion be fomented. In speaking of sedition in 1522, Luther wrote:

Ich halt und wills alletzeyt halten mit dem teyl, das auffruhr leydet, wie unrechte sach es ymer habe, und wydder seyn dem teyll, das auffruhr macht, wie

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. II, p. 455.

2 E. G. Rupp, Martin Luther - Hitler's Cause or Cure?, op. cit., p. 55.



rechte sach es ymmer habe, darumb das auffruhr nit kan on unschuldig blutt odder schaden ergehen. 1

This manifesto was set forth in, Eine treue Vermahnung zu allen Christen, sich zu hüten vor Aufruhr und Empörung.

This should have been sufficient warning to the peasants that they should not look for his support, if their intent was violence. In the same document he stated:

Nu ist auffruhr nicht anders, denn selbs richten und rechen, das kan gott nit leyden, darumb ists nit muglich, das auffruhr nit solt die sach alletzeyt vill erger machenn, weyll sie wydder gott unnd gott nit mit yhr ist. 2

In his work entitled, Von weltlicher Obrigkeit, published in 1523, Luther explained the times when it is appropriate to deny obedience to a ruler. The immediate cause of his writing about this point was the action of the Catholic princes in confiscating bibles from the people. Luther advised the Christians to say:

'Lieber herr, ich bynn euch schuldig zu gehorchen mit leyb unnd gutt, gepietet myr nach ewr gewalt mass auff erden, so will ich folgen. Heysst yhr aber mich glewben unnd bucher von myr thun, so will ich nicht gehorchen'.... Nympt er dyr druber deyn gutt unnd strafft solchen ungehorsam, selig bistu unnd danck Gott, das du wirdig bist umb gotlichs worts willen zu leyden.... 3

Active resistance is condemned by Luther, but under certain

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VIII, p. 680.

2 Ibid., p. 681.

3 Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 267.



circumstances passive resistance is obligatory for the Christian. In this treatise Luther applied the same standard to the princes, as well, in that they should give due obedience to the Emperor. Again, the only exception is where the prince may confess his faith, if the Emperor has commanded that which is contrary to the Word of God. In doubtful cases obedience must take precedence over passive resistance. In this document, Von weltlicher Obrigkeit, Luther makes a very important point about the princes. Obedience must be given them, regardless of the fact that, according to Luther, they do not merit such obedience.

Und solt wissen, das von anbegynn der welt gar eyn seltzam vogel ist umb eyn klugen fursten, noch viel seltzamer umb eyn frumen fursten. Sie sind gemeyniglich die grosten narren odder die ergisten buben auff erden.... 1

This has no bearing on the duty of obedience, however.

The deluge of the great Peasants' Revolt broke upon Germany and Luther after the peasants had presented their "Twelve Articles". In his writing entitled, Ermahnung zum Frieden auf die zwölf Artikel der Bauerschaft in Schwaben, which he produced in April 1525, Luther referred all detailed matters, such as the rights of the peasants in regard to game, fish, birds, woods, service, rents and

---

1 Ibid., pp. 267-268.



taxes, to the jurists. He, as a pastor, felt that his calling did not include a judgement on such subjects. Having put these legal matters aside, Luther accused both the princes and the peasants for their respective faults with regard to the revolt; the peasants for rising at all and the princes for their sinful selfishness that had caused the rebellion. The peasants were chastised for claiming that theirs was a Christian cause. Luther stated that their violence against the Obrigkeit denied this claim. From the nobles he pleaded for an amelioration of the lot of the peasants. In this exhortation he stated: "Erstlich mugen wyr niemand auff erden dancken solchs unrads und auffruhrs, denn euch fursten und herrn...." 1 A. C. McGiffert has stated the case in this manner:

Had he been a demagogue, he would have catered to popular passion and spurred the excited peasants on to war. Had he been a politician, he would have kept still and refrained from taking sides until he saw what the outcome was to be. But he was neither the one nor the other, and he spoke his mind in frankest fashion, sparing neither prince nor peasant. 2

With the conflict coming to a climax, Luther went to Eisleben. During this journey and as he passed through troubled areas, he took every opportunity to exhort the peasants to peace, even though he was in constant danger

---

1 Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 293.

2 A. C. McGiffert, op. cit., p. 253.



of bodily harm. It seemed that the more he admonished them, the more violent they became.

With his background and before he had heard that the backbone of the revolt had been crushed, Luther wrote a second pamphlet, Wider die räuberischen und mörderischen Rotten der Bauern, in May 1525. According to Luther's statement, the peasants had given up their souls to the Devil by the acts of their rebellion. They had relinquished the possibility of heaven, especially so because they had used the gospel as an excuse in their unholy revolt.

Drumb sol hie zuschmeyssen, wurgen und stechen heymlich odder offentlich, wer da kan, und gedencken, das nicht gifftigers, schedlichers, teuffelischers seyn kan, denn eyn auffrurischer mensch, gleich als wenn man eynen tollen hund todeschlahen mus, schlegstu nicht, so schlegt er dich und eyn gantz land mit dyr. 1

This, then, was the spirit of the document which was to bring to Luther extremely severe criticism.

Perhaps Luther was stricken by his conscience at the manner and degree to which the peasants were slaughtered. The lot of those who survived was far worse than it had been before the revolt. To soothe his conscience, justify his words and answer his critics, he wrote his third work dealing with the Peasants' Revolt. This document was produced in 1525, as well, and was entitled, Ein Sendbrief von dem harten Bücklein widder die Bauern. It

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XVIII, p. 358.



was addressed to the Chancellor of Mansfeld. Luther stated:

Sagt man, ich sey gar ungutig und unbarmhertzig hierynn, Antworte ich, Barmhertzig hyn, barmhertzig her, Wyr reden itzt von Gottes wort, der will den konig geehret und die auffrurischen verderbt haben und ist doch wol so barmhertzig als wyr sind. 1

Thus, Luther did not contradict his former harsh words, but explained them. Rulers must be honoured and those who rebel must be punished. The peasants received their just deserts, for Luther conceived of the Word of God as demanding order in the society of this world.

Der esel will schlege haben, und der pofel will mit gewalt regirt seyn, das wuste Gott wol, darumb gab er der oberkeyt nicht eynen fuchsschwantz sondern eyn schwerd ynn die hand. 2

Luther described the kingdom of the world which of necessity includes the sword, punishment and obedience, in contrast to the Kingdom of God. The two must be kept separate in their functioning. The peasants had sought to mix the two in their requests, e.g. in the "Twelve Articles". The princes had been following their office of the sword in their suppression of the peasants. The former were wrong in the confusing of the two kingdoms, the latter were right in fulfilling their function in the kingdom of the world.

Several important elements can be seen in Luther's

---

1 Ibid., p. 386.

2 Ibid., p. 394.



relations with the peasants. According to him, it was a Christian's duty to suffer the shame and agony of Christ, if need be. When he said to the peasants, "Leyden leyden, Creutz creutz ist der Christen recht, des und keyn anders" <sup>1</sup>, he pointed them to his conception of their Christian responsibility to the princes. This for him was a far cry from the armed rebellion in which they were engaged. <sup>2</sup> But to the average peasant this was an unfair appraisal of the situation, for the princes and the merchants of the towns were not called upon to bear the same cross of suffering. As their leaders had pointed out, in the material degradation in which the peasants found themselves spiritual pursuits were well-nigh impossible.

J. Mackinnon has called Luther's attitude toward the peasants "inconsistent". <sup>3</sup> It has been the purpose of this section to show that Luther's ideas about obedience to the powers that be were something which he persistently advocated for many years before the Peasants' Revolt. They were the logical out-growth of his thoughts about the divine origins of the Obrigkeit and his theory

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> E. G. Rupp, The Righteousness of God, op. cit., p. 302.

<sup>3</sup> J. Mackinnon, A History of Modern Liberty, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 107.



of the two kingdoms. The thoughts of J. W. Allen on this subject are more to my understanding of the evidence.

There was after 1525, more stress on the rights of Christian rulers, less on Christian liberty and the need of resistance; more on the need of order and less on the priesthood of man.... But it was a change of stress and not a change of view. 1

It is true that Luther was more suspicious of the peasants after the revolt, but it must be remembered that before the revolt he made much of the sword with which the Obrig-keit was obliged to keep order. After the Peasants' Revolt he would have been even more loath than before to admit that the people in general should have any say in their government. He had never had good thoughts about the Swiss-type democracy, but after the events of 1525, such thoughts would have been impossible for Luther.

Several important elements about Luther's attitude toward the princes in the aftermath of the Peasants' Revolt should be mentioned. Luther had often said that the princes were not free agents, but must in turn be obedient to the Emperor and ultimately to God's Word. But the charge remains that he unduly flattered the princes. E. G. Rupp has stated: "Luther never "let down" the Peasants, for he never took them up. Nor did he "go over to" or "fling

---

1 J. W. Allen, A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century, op. cit., p. 16.



himself into" the arms of the Princes afterwards".<sup>1</sup> The princes were still liable to his harsh criticism. It is true, however, that he depended on them to a greater degree and gave them a more exalted position in his thought, as time went on.

Despite the agonies of the Peasants' Revolt, Luther remained true to his principle that any man could follow his conscience, as to matters of religious belief, as long as he was not seditious. In regard to the Anabaptists he wrote in 1528, that it was not right that such wretched people should be so miserably slain, burned and cruelly put to death. He may well have had reference to the drowning of the Anabaptists in Zurich. Everyone, according to Luther, should be allowed to believe what he will, provided that he is not unruly or opposed to the temporal powers. Luther was convinced that, if the Anabaptists could not be converted by the Word of God, they ought, at worst, be banished. This showed stability on Luther's part, especially after his experiences with Thomas Muntzer.

Zwingli's conception of obedience will now be set forth, in order that it may be compared with Luther's position on this subject. In principle Zwingli advocated that the ruler must always be obeyed in matters mundane.

---

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Rupp, op. cit., p. 302.



This, of course, was the common teaching of most of the reformers. In Zwingli's case there was an ulterior motive in the fact that through his preaching and persuasive personality Zwingli's ideas became the law of the councils of Zurich. In advocating obedience to the powers that be, he was in effect commanding adherence to his own policies.

Obedience to the Obrigkeit, therefore, was set forth as a general principle by Zwingli, but in actuality he would allow an exception in that an unrighteous ruler need not be obeyed. In the 37th and 38th of his "Sixty-seven Theses", written in the year 1523, Zwingli stated with regard to the rulers: "Inen sind ouch schuldig alle Christen ghorsam ze sin, niemand ussenummen, so ferr sy nüt gebietend, das wider got ist".<sup>1</sup> Obedience is owed only to that ruler who does not command anything contrary to the command of God.

Zwingli illustrated this point in his own life. In March 1522, he preached a sermon which was later printed on the subject of the choice of foods. Here Zwingli was advocating a change in the regulation of the civil authority, in that the Lenten fast must be observed by everyone. The printer, Freschauer, had eaten meat on one of the fast-days and had offered some to Zwingli. Zwingli refused, but did

---

<sup>1</sup> U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 462.



not deny Froschauer the right of judgement of any Christian man. Froschauer was arrested and Zwingli preached his sermon. Froschauer was freed and the law was changed during the following year. Zwingli was willing to advocate a change of the law which he felt was contrary to the Word of God, and yet was unwilling to disobey the statute of the secular authority which was already in force.

In his work, Fidei Christianae Expositio, written by Zwingli in 1531, to King Francis of France and published posthumously, he stated in the preface:

Deferunt autem nos infinitis nominibus, quod religionem concludemus et sanctam sive Regum sive magistratum functionem ac maiestatem contemnamus. Quae omnia quam vere faciant, Tua quaeso aequitas pronuntiet, quum fidei nostrae fontes, ecclesiarum nostrarum leges ac mores, Principum autem reverentiam, nobis pro virili exponentibus audierit. 1

It must be recognised that Zwingli was here trying to impress King Francis with his orthodox teaching and with his due regard for the necessity of obedience to the Obrigkelt. Zwingli, however, was being true to his principle which he usually set forth in much the same manner, as he stated it to Francis.

Iro magistratu ergo orare ad dominum quum duo praecipua religionis nostrae lumina Ieremiae et Paulus iubeant, ut vitam deo dignam liceat ducere: quanto magis debent omnes, qui in quocunque regno aut populo sunt, omnia et ferre et facere ut Christiana

---

1 U. Zwingli, Opera, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 44.



tranquillitas custodiatur? Hinc tributa docemus, vectigales, redditus, decimas, deposita, credita promissaque omnia cuiuscunque generis solvi debere, et in hisce rebus omnino legibus publicis parendum esse. <sup>1</sup>

Except in the rare cases, when disobedience, or even the deposing of a ruler who ordered something contrary to the Word of God, is possible, Zwingli's conception of absolute obedience to civil authority is clearly stated.

Zwingli's thought about obedience to the Obrigkeit becomes most clear when it is seen against the background of two difficult situations which he faced. The first of these was peasant unrest and the second was the problem of the Anabaptists. These two questions were, of course, closely related, but for the sake of demonstrating Zwingli's ideas they will be treated separately.

In the Swiss Confederation serfdom had been gradually disappearing before the time of Zwingli. There were at least two reasons for this. One was the possibility of escape to the towns for the dissatisfied peasant and the other was the exodus of the Austrian nobles.

W. Oechslí wrote of the lot of the serf in this manner:

In the towns it was a general principle that residence entailed emancipation, in that a serf who dwelt for a year and a day within their walls could no long-

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 60.



er be claimed by his lord. 1

The peasant would then have full rights of citizenship after the payment of a small amount of money. This possibility had the tendency of leveling social distinctions within Switzerland.

The decline of the economic power of the Hapsburg nobles in the rural areas was an important factor in the Confederation. Because these nobles had lost their political control during the battles of the Swiss for independence, their economic position became untenable. Slowly over the years they had been leaving the Confederation.

In 1499 King Maximilian enumerated fifty castles belonging to counts, and one hundred and sixty other seats of the nobility which had been seized by the Swiss, and the rightful owners of which had been defeated or expelled by them.... 2

This caused the peasants to have a good share in the revenue of the land. They became the freest and most prosperous peasants in Europe.

The Confederation was nominally a part of the Holy Roman Empire, but generally the Swiss only used the name when it was to their advantage. By 1500, their ties with the Empire were almost non-existent. This was due to their differences in social and political life, and the

---

1 W. Oechsli, op. cit., p. 2.

2 Ibid.



fact that the emperors, i.e. members of the house of Hapsburg, had long since given up trying to subdue the Swiss by force of arms. There was a constant threat to the power of the nobility in Germany, because of the example of the free Swiss peasants. There existed a striking contrast, therefore, between these Swiss peasants with their simple democratic practices and relative wealth and the German peasants who were increasingly denied the few rights that they had enjoyed under the medieval system and who were being constantly admonished to produce more.

Not only was there wide-spread feeling in Switzerland for the peasants of Germany, but there was some active local support, as well. Early in 1525, the City of Zurich and Zwingli himself were involved in this. The City Council had advised the peasants of Klettgau to place a symbol for the Word of God upon their banners.<sup>1</sup> Zwingli was, no doubt, behind this move, as he was by this time almost without opposition in the Council. In March of 1525, the peasants met in assembly at Memmingen in southern Germany. Here they decided on common action and drafted the "Twelve Articles". The Swiss were involved in this meeting and it has been suggested that Zwingli himself had something

---

<sup>1</sup> A. F. Follard, "Social Revolution and Catholic Reaction in Germany", Cambridge Modern History, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 179.



to do with the composition of the articles. The fact that Zwingli did not condemn the peasants' risings in Germany is instructive to note. This is illustrative of the thought that Zwingli held absolute obedience in principle, but often in practice advocated the over-throw of certain rulers.

It is most enlightening to see Zwingli's attitude toward the peasants near at hand. The spirit of dissatisfaction had spread from Germany to the rural part of the Canton of Zurich. These peasants drew up a list of complaints which they submitted to the Council. The Council asked Zwingli's advice. He sided with the peasants and "... advocated the abolition of the "small tithe", i. e. the tax on vegetables, fruit, and edible roots, which was a great annoyance...." <sup>1</sup> The Council held a disputation on the subject in August of 1525, and decided that if the tithe was to be abolished new taxes would have to take their place. They exhorted the peasants to be peaceful. The Peasants' Revolt having been broken in Germany, there was no further complaint from the peasants of the Canton of Zurich. Zwingli was the impartial referee in this dispute. He advocated a lightening of the burden of the peasants and exhorted them to obedience.

If the peasants of Zurich had not obeyed the Council

---

<sup>1</sup> S. M. Jackson, op. cit., p. 239.



and broken into open rebellion, Zwingli would have been forced to advocate their suppression. The opinion that he would have advocated strict intervention is based on the fact that one of the major reasons why Zwingli had the privy council for the Canton instituted was because of this peasant unrest. <sup>1</sup> Zwingli was to carry out much of his work in secret through this special council during the rest of his career. This body consisted of the Burgomaster and a few of the members of the Small Council of the city. It was to control the peasants, the working elements and the Anabaptists, that this council was suggested by Zwingli. He, thereby, showed his fear of a revolt and the necessity of civil obedience near at hand.

The attitude and actions of Zwingli toward the Anabaptists is also instructive in an inquiry into his theory of obedience to the Obrigkeit. Early in his reforming work, Zwingli had favoured the thought that adult baptism should replace the practice of baptising infants. He concluded that this would be more true to the instruction of Holy Scripture. He found, however, that public sentiment and, more important, the favour of the members of the Council was for infant baptism. Zwingli did not wish to lose the influence which he had gained with the

---

<sup>1</sup> J. P. Whitney, op. cit., p. 322.



Council. After devoting much thought to the matter, he became a staunch supporter of infant baptism. <sup>1</sup> The crisis of decision came to Zwingli, because Thomas Muntzer had come to Switzerland and had in concert with Balthazar Hubmeier, a friend of Zwingli, and other persons of Zurich decided that the badge of unity for the various religious and social elements should be adult baptism. Their objection to infant baptism, as being unscriptural, was to serve as the rallying cry for all sorts of insurrection in Church and State. In the matter of the State Muntzer recognised no secular authority. This type of thought was the cause of Zwingli's active opposition toward them, even though they had in their ranks a few of Zwingli's former friends.

In this confusing situation Luther accused Zwingli of holding the ideas of Carlstadt, who was then living in Zurich. On the 2nd of December, 1524, Luther wrote to Amsdorf: "Nam Carlstadii venenum latissime serpit, accessit eius sententiae Zwinglius Turegi et Leo Iudaeus aliique multi...." <sup>2</sup> Luther conceived that Zwingli was just as involved with the rising of the peasants and with the doctrines of the Anabaptists as was Carlstadt and Muntzer.

---

<sup>1</sup> S. M. Jackson, Huldreich Zwingli, Selected Works (Philadelphia, 1901), p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. III, p. 397.



Zwingli, however, was abundantly conscious of the danger that his measures for reform might get out of hand. He, therefore, said that every change had to be authorized by the Council of Zurich and had to have the approval of the Chapter of the Grossmünster. In his work, Von göttlicher und menschlicher Gerechtigkeit, Zwingli set forth his principle in this matter. In the first disputation of the Council on the subject of the Anabaptists, held on the 17th of January, 1525, Zwingli convinced the Council that the practice of a second baptism was wrong. In the light of this the Council voted on the 16th of March 1, that everyone had to have the sacrament administered to all of their children who had not already been baptised. The regulation stated that this must be accomplished within eight days, or the family would be banished from the city.

On the 6th of November, 1525 2, another disputation was held, because the spread of Anabaptism had not been checked. Three of the leaders, i.e. Grabel, Manz and Blaurock, were called back from banishment, in order to debate the questions involved again. The city hall was to be the scene of the disputation, but the uproar there was

---

1 J. Horsch, "The Struggle between Zwingli and the Swiss Brethren in Zurich", Mennonite Quarterly Review, Vol. VII (July, 1933), p. 142.

2 Ibid., p. 147.



too great, and so the meeting was transferred to the Grossmünster. The leaders of the Anabaptists were asked to recant. They did not and were put into prison. Throughout the disputation they had advocated the overthrow of the Council, and for this reason, according to Zwingli, they were imprisoned. They were set at liberty again, however, but continued to preach and baptise. When they were arrested again in March 1526, Blaurock was whipped unmercifully and banished from the town, because he was not a citizen of Zurich. Felix Manz was drowned in the Limmat River on the 5th of January, 1527. <sup>1</sup> Two other Anabaptists from the rural part of the Canton were drowned on the 5th of September, 1528. <sup>2</sup> Still another minister, Conrad Winkler, was thrown into the Limmat on the 20th of January, 1530. <sup>3</sup>

How much did Zwingli have to do with the drowning of these Anabaptists? Authors differ in their answers to this question. R. Christoffel maintained:

Zwingli hatte an dieser Massregeln seinen Antheil, indem er trotz allen Anfeindungen, die er von den Wiedertäufern erfuhr, doch stets zyr Milde gegen sie gerathen, weil er allein durch das Licht und die Kraft des Wortes Gottes wicken und die Nebel des Irrthums

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 161.



vertreiben wollte. 1

R. E. Davies has stated:

The troubles with the Anabaptists in 1525 and the following years caused Zwingli to make repeated appeals for intervention to the civil authority. The order for the drowning of obdurate Anabaptists, on the 7th March 1526, though no doubt it could be defended on the ground that their activity was causing civil disorder, was dangerously like compulsion in matters of faith, against which Zwingli had declared himself in the past. 2

The present research substantiates this judgement of Davies. Zwingli was too involved in the happenings of the Council, and especially the privy council, not to have been a party to the decision.

Why were the Anabaptists drowned? Was it because of their unpopular appeal for the abolition of infant baptism, or was it because of the fact that they advocated the overthrow of the duly constituted civil authority? Zwingli said that it was because of their sedition and disobedience to the Obrigkeit. Why then were they drowned? Was this not the symbol of disapproval of their baptist beliefs? This entered into the decision, I believe. In order to have one universally recognised church, as well as one civil authority, Zwingli was willing in this instance to consent to this death penalty by the means of drowning.

---

1 R. Christoffel, op. cit., p. 251.

2 R. E. Davies, op. cit., p. 86.



Zwingli and his immediate assistants in the work of the reformation of the church believed that the best interests of the church as well as of the state required the carrying out of their reform program, which included ... the establishment and maintenance of a state church comprising the whole population. 1

It is true, however, that Zwingli did not come to these decisions easily. "Zwar kostete dieser Kampf dem Reformator, wie er es selbst bekennt, das Papstthum; jr er nennt letztern im Vergleich mit diesem nur ein Kinderspiel." 2

Zwingli had very strong feelings for the need of absolute obedience to secular authority, particularly in Zurich. In the case of Germany and its Peasants' Revolt or in the case of allegiance being due to the Roman Catholic Emperor, he allowed the option of civil disobedience. His reason for this stand was that in his view the princes and the Emperor had demanded things contrary to God's Word. But in Zurich he gave over the destiny of the Reformation to the civil authority, always with the proviso that it base its actions on the Word of God. In this manner changes could be made without the threat of sedition and disorder. We can see in Zwingli's thought about the Obrigkeit and the obedience which was due it great contrasts between the ideal which he presented and the actuality that he pursued; between his opinion of the sit-

---

1 J. Horsch, op. cit., p. 150.

2 R. Christoffel, op. cit., p. 251.



uation in Zurich which he controlled and his statements about happenings abroad over which he had no control.

Basically, both Zwingli and Luther advocated obedience to the civil authorities which were instituted by God. Luther was more true to this principle as it was applied in action, than was Zwingli. Zwingli was always more pragmatic. Zwingli to a great extent advocated civil obedience because he controlled the Council. Luther would have advocated obedience even if he had not had secular support.

In contrasting their views about obedience in the midst of the problems involved in the Peasants' Revolt, we have a firm example of Luther dogmatism and Zwingli practical swaying with the circumstances. Both were asked to judge upon the merits of requests made by the peasants of their respective areas. They both had sympathies for the lot of the peasants and both admonished them to be obedient to their rightful rulers in a fatherly manner. A difference, however, was in the fact that Luther did not feel competent to judge on the economic justice or injustice of the complaints of the peasants, while Zwingli gladly made his judgement. Luther dogmatically stated their duty to obey, while Zwingli sought to come to some compromise with regard to their grievances.

If the peasants had risen up in a great revolt in



the canton of Zurich, as they did in Germany, would Zwingli's attitude have been like Luther's? This is an open question, but it is my opinion that he probably would have exhorted the magistrates to take decisive action. His appeal, however, would not have had the vengeful quality of Luther's.

Despite Zwingli's practical considerations and ability to compromise in the case of the peasants, he was the one who assumed the dogmatic attitude in regard to the Anabaptists. In this latter case it was Luther who was the follower of tolerance. Luther in his writings and in his acts never advocated the death penalty for matters of conscience. To do this would be to mix the functions of the two kingdoms. Thus, in matters of faith and doctrine Luther was tolerant, when speaking of the duty of obedience, while Zwingli was harsh in advocating obedience to the Obrigkeit in its religious pronouncements. In matters of civil duty alone Luther was hard in his attitude toward the peasants, while Zwingli was eager to seek a mutually agreeable solution. This situation resulted from the fact that Luther advocated the division of the functions of the two kingdoms and saw that the sword was only to be used by the State to maintain order and not to punish people in matters of conscience. Zwingli consciously mixed the functions and emphasised the need of unity in religious form even more



than the need of order in society. In both cases it was the duty of the Obrigkeit to legislate and execute the ordinances. Although Luther believed that it was the duty of the prince to provide correct religious faith and practice for his people, he advocated that the sword of the kingdom of the world should not be used to bring about a situation where a unified faith was practiced.



## CHAPTER IV

### THE RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE

In medieval political thought the Church, the State and all human society were all bound up in the idea of the Christian commonwealth. The State was as much a part of this economy as the Church. Both were instituted by God. Although they had different functions, they were correlated one with the other. The medieval thinkers believed that "all western Christendom ... was naturally embraced in this Weltchristentum, which really was the mystical body of Christ".<sup>1</sup>

The thought of Luther about the two kingdoms was derived from medieval origins. It has a close connection with his ideas about the relations of Church and State. The Church is the representative of the Kingdom of God on earth, while the State represents the kingdom of the world. Both are instituted, authorised and sustained by God for the good of mankind. In this chapter the interrelationship of Church and State will be viewed, according to Luther's theories and practical thought.

Zwingli thought that the Word of God was the overarching principle which united the functions of Church and

---

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Schwiebert, op. cit., p. 100.



State. He, too, believed that in the Providence of God each is created and maintained. How the creative and active Word of God unites the spiritual world and the Obrigkeit into a commonwealth will be demonstrated, according to the thought and actions of Zwingli.

### I. DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH

In medieval thought the visible Church is the representative agency of the Kingdom of God on earth. Luther added that the true (invisible) Church of Christ should not be identified with any particular institution or group of people, for it is the sum of all of the believers in Christ. R. N. Carew Hunt has stated Luther's position when he wrote: "He breaks absolutely with the conception of the Church as a divinely appointed hierarchy through which the saving grace of God is mediated to man".<sup>1</sup> As the fellowship of saints who are but sinners saved by grace and by faith, the Church serves the need of men to be united with others of like mind. The Church is not merely a community, like other societies, of outward observances and usages; it is the community, above all, of faith and the Holy Spirit indwelling in the hearts of

---

<sup>1</sup> R. N. Carew Hunt, "Luther's Theory of Church and State", The Church Quarterly Review, Vol. CVII (October, 1928), p. 33.



its members. All within this holy fellowship have a common faith in Christ. "Haec est communio sanctorum, qua fit, ut omnium omnia sint communia." 1

Luther, of course, believed that there is a heavenly communion of saints, but it is his idea of the Church on earth that concerns us here. The earthly Church has a dual nature, according to him. There is the invisible Church whose membership is known only to God and there is the visible Church where the Word is preached, the sacraments administered and where the initiatory rite is baptism.

The invisible Church is made up of those who have been justified by faith. These then are the people of Christ and members of his spiritual kingdom. They are known to God alone, because the inward transformation of faith can not be measured by earthly judgement. These saints are members of the real Church of Christ. They are hidden from the world, even as God is hidden, according to Luther. We should not be curious, as to who are really members, for this is beyond our source of knowledge. He who in pride will seek to know will only "... brechen hals". 2 For Luther, it was sufficient to know that with-

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XIV, p. 714, cited by J. S. Whale, The Protestant Tradition (Cambridge, 1960), p. 111.

2 Ibid., Vol. XLV, p. 282, cited by T. F. Torrance, Kingdom and Church (Edinburgh, 1956), p. 22.



in Christendom few are true believers and the vast majority are but nominal Christians.

The visible Church is the other part of the "...  
duplicia regimina dei...." <sup>1</sup> This is the realm of the  
Incarnate Son of God. Even as the Son of God became flesh,  
so the Church has its visible manifestation.

Quare ubicunque 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. <sup>2</sup>

In the sacraments, as well, the Church of Christ is made visible. Thus, Luther insisted that the bodily presence of Christ is in the elements of the Holy Communion. Baptism is the visible sign of the possibility of the forgiveness of sins. In the visible Church, made up as it is of both real Christians and nominal Christians, there is the communion of both saints and sinners, because all people are prone to sin. "Es ist kein gewalt in der kirchen, den nur zur besserung." <sup>3</sup> Thus, the Church seeks to promote an ever higher form of faith among its members.

In his description of the visible Church, Luther does not go into great detail as to its organizational

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 280, cited by T. F. Torrance, op. cit., p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. II, p. 208.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 414.



appearance. "It would be a fair criticism that he has most to say about the centre of the Church, and too little about the circumference." <sup>1</sup> These slight references to organisation by Luther allowed Lutheranism, as separate churches, to develop in many varied forms. He did, however, present some guiding principles for the visible Church. An example is his word about the local congregation.

Alszo lerenn wir ausz dem Apostel klerlich, das in der Christenheit solt alszo zugahenn, das einn ygliche stat ausz der gemeyn eynen gelereten frumenn burger erwellet, dem selbenn das pfar ampt befilhe, und yhn vom der gemeyn erneret, yhm frey wilker liesz.... <sup>2</sup>

The Church, then, is made up of two parts, according to Luther following upon medieval thought, each co-existing with the other. The invisible Church is the gemeinde of saints, of the elect, the true believers and the justified. This is the inner nucleus of the visible Church which is an observable phenomenon in life and has a close association with the world and the State.

Zwingli's doctrine of the Church was based on the idea of a community of the elect and the redeemed. It was not essentially an organisation or institution. Zwingli stated in his work, Fidei Christianae Expositio: "Credimus

---

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Rupp, "Luther and the Doctrine of the Church", Scottish Journal of Theology, Vol. IX (1956), p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 440.



et unam sanctam esse catholicam, hoc est: universalem ecclesiam; eam autem esse aut visibilem aut invisibilem". 1

The invisible Church is made up of the redeemed and believing Christians. These are known to God alone. For Zwingli the members of the inward or invisible Church which is called in the Scriptures the Bride of Christ know that they themselves are numbered with the elect, but they can only know of their own election. In his work, Fidei Ratio, he stated:

Sed nihilo minus qui huius ecclesiae membra sunt, se ipsos quidem, quum fidem habeant, electos, et primae huius ecclesiae membra esse norunt; verum alia a se membra ignorant. 2

In his Fidei Christianae Expositio Zwingli wrote:

Invisibilis est, ut Paulus docet, quae coelo descendit, hoc est, quae spiritu sancto illustrante deum cognoscit et amplectitur. De ista ecclesia sunt quotquot per universum orbem credunt. 3

These two passages which were both written by Zwingli within two years of his death, i.e. in 1530 and 1531, speak of the invisible Church as being made up of those who have faith. R. N. Carew Hunt overstated the case, when he wrote concerning the thought of Zwingli about the in-

---

1 U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 58.

2 Ibid., p. 8.

3 Ibid., p. 58.



visible and visible Church.

The former he at first defined as consisting of all believers at all times, but after his experiences with the Anabaptists he narrowed its membership to the community of the predestined. <sup>1</sup>

It may be granted that Zwingli did change some of his views following his conflict with the Anabaptists, but they were not in connection with his doctrine of the Church. Zwingli held until the end of his life that the invisible Church was both the body of all believers in the world and also those who were elected by God to salvation. He simply denied that the Anabaptists were true believers.

In Zwingli's opinion the visible Church consists of all who make outward profession of the Christian faith. These are they who participate in the sacraments, even though they may be faithless. All who confess Christ's name, then, are members of the visible Church. Zwingli placed Judas and all others who had denied the Lord, but who had at one time owned him, in this visible Church. He used the parable of the ten virgins to illustrate his point that this Church is made up of both wise and foolish members. In speaking of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, Zwingli wrote:

---

<sup>1</sup> R. N. Carew Hunt, "Zwingli's Theory of Church and State", The Church Quarterly Review, Vol. CXII (April, 1931), p. 32.



Quidem enim iudicium sibi manducant et bibunt in coena, qui tamen fratres omnes latent. Ea igitur ecclesia quae visibilis est, quum habeat contumaces ac perduelles multos, qui ut fidem non habent ita nullius faciunt, si centies extra ecclesiam elician- tur.... 1

Zwingli saw baptism as the initiatory rite into the visible Church. "Non enim soli qui credunt baptizandi sunt, sed qui fatentur, qui de ecclesia ex verbi dei promissis sunt." 2 Zwingli extended this thought back into the Old Testament times by equating circumcision with baptism. The personalities of the Old Testament are members of the visible Church, because of the promise inherent in the act of circumcision. Thus, one can see the breadth which Zwingli gave to his views about the visible Church.

The genuinely redeemed and elected believer belongs to both the invisible and visible Church, according to Zwingli. For this individual the two types of the Church become one in the person's own faith. For the individual who confesses only, and does not believe, membership is only possible in the visible Church. For him the invisible Church is an unknown quantity. This latter person knows the Church only through its visible manifestations, i.e. the preaching of the Word and the administration of the

---

1 U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 58.

2 Ibid., p. 9.



sacraments.

Zwingli laid great stress on the visible Church.

Although in principle, therefore, Zwingli, quite as much as the German reformers, develops the idea of the invisible Church, yet practically he lays all stress upon the visible one, as the only instrument capable of educating man to holiness. 1

Zwingli's mind was diverted from the invisible Church, although he would never deny its presence, because of his concerns with making the visible Church a living reality in the life of Zurich.

Luther and Zwingli had very similar views as to the nature of the invisible Church. These likenesses come from the common origin of Augustine's thoughts about the invisible Church.

Both of the reformers believed that baptism was the initiatory rite of the visible Church. Except for their differences of interpretation of the nature of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper, their views of the visible Church, its nature and its sacraments, are quite similar.

The difference in their views of the Church comes at the point of the emphasis to be placed upon either the invisible or visible Church. Which is more important? Without hesitation Luther would have said the former was

---

1 H. Geffcken, Church and State, E. F. Taylor, translator (London, 1877), Vol. I, p. 319.



absolutely superior to the latter. Luther never allowed any one to forget that the Church is essentially a body of those who are justified by faith. Zwingli would have said that in principle the invisible Church was of more importance, but he spent most of his time dealing with matters concerned with the visible Church and its relation to the State.

## II. THE COEXISTENCE OF CHURCH AND STATE

Luther spoke of the family, the State and the Church as being the fundamental units of life. These institutions coexist in society. In thinking of the State and the Church, the matters which concern us here, it should be stated that Luther insisted that they have separate functions. This does not mean to say that they should be separated from one another, for their common authority comes from God and their duties impinge upon each other. "The two forces of church and state, according to the medieval pattern ... were mutually complementary, two forces in a harmonious unity." <sup>1</sup> Luther readily accepted this idea, but added that one should not be dominant over the other, as was the case in the Middle Ages. In the matter of the Church dominating the State and claim-

---

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Schwiebert, op. cit., p. 100.



ing possession of the two swords, Luther radically differed.

Luther, therefore, objected most vehemently to any suggestion that the Church should exercise control over the State.

Es folget nit, das der Bapst solt ubir den keyszer sein, darumb das er yhn kronet odder macht. dan der prophet sanct Samuel salbet und kronet den konig Saul und David ausz gotlichem befelch, und war doch yhn unterthan. 1

Luther stated this is his address, An den christlichen Adel.

He also wrote in this document:

Es gepurt nit dem Bapst, sich zurheben ubir weltliche gewalt, den allein in geistlichen ampten, als do sein predigen unnd absolvieren: in andern stucken sol er drunder sein, wie Paulus Roma. XIII. und 1. Petrus II. leren, als ich droben gesagt habe. 2

Luther demanded the emancipation of the State from the control of the Church. In worldly matters the Church ought to be inferior, rather than superior, to the State. In this objection Luther was contradicting the medieval idea of the two swords. The thought had been that the Church possessed two swords, the sword of worldly power and the sword of the Spirit. Luther denied the first sword to the Church. This sword was in the hands of the princes and they rightfully exercise it in the name of God, but not in the name of the Church. The rulers, as baptised Christians, are "priests"

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 465.

2 Ibid., p. 434.



in the execution of their God-given duties.

Luther declared that the clergy and laymen ought to be viewed as equals before the temporal authorities.

Drumb sag ich, die weil weltlich gewalt von got geordnet ist, die boszen zustraffen und die frumen zuschutzen, szo sol man yhr ampt lassen frey gehn unvorhyndert durch den gantzen corper der Christenheit, niemants angesehen, sie treff Bapst, Bischoff, pfaffen, munch, Nonnen, odder was es ist. 1

When speaking for the destruction of the first wall, i.e. that the clergy have special rights, in his address, An den christlichen Adel, he stated:

Wirt ein priester erschlagen, szo ligt ein land ym Interdict, warumb auch nit, wen ein bawr erschlagen wirt? wo kumpt her solchs grosz unterscheyd unter den gleychen Christenn? allein ausz menschen gesetzen und tichten. 2

Luther said that in matters of life and property and all other temporal matters the Church should not claim to be superior over the State. Mundane affairs ought to be handled in the normal fashion, whether the offender was a member of the clergy or a layman.

... das vorordnet werd, das keinn weltlich sach gen Rom tzogen werd, sondern die selben alle der weltlichen gewalt lassenn, wie sie selbs setzen in yhren geystlichen rechten, und doch nit halten. 3

The Church, therefore, should not be dominant over the

---

1 Ibid., p. 409.

2 Ibid., p. 410.

3 Ibid., p. 430.



State in temporal matters, nor should any of its functionaries be, according to Luther.

Yet the State should not be dominant over the Church in spiritual matters. As the Church is not to interfere in civil matters, so the State has as little right to meddle in matters which are purely ecclesiastical, except where life and property are at stake. It was Luther's theory that in concerns dealing with faith and conscience the Church and the individual Christian should be free from coercion by the State.

An Erastian situation which dated back into the Middle Ages was prevalent in the German states during Luther's life. This condition was fostered by his followers and the aggressiveness of the princes. Generally speaking, however, Luther gave to the Church its due and throughout his life insisted on freedom of conscience in religious matters.

Las den Turcken glauben und leben wie er wil,  
gleich wie man das Bapstum und ander falsche Christen  
leben lest. Des keisers schwerd hat nichts zuschaffen  
mit dem glauben, Es gehort ynn leibliche, weltliche  
sachen.... 1

As to the State dictating to the Church in spiritual affairs, he objected that this was wrong. The Church had to be independent of the State in this regard. Luther

---

1 Ibid., Vol XXX, Part II, p. 131.



allowed one great exception in his thought about the independence of the Church. If the State is Christian in the "visible" sense of his terminology, i.e. that the rulers are members of the Church by virtue of their baptism, it has the duty to come to the aid of the Church in times of emergency. This, of course, was a principle of the medieval period that was dominant with the conciliarists and was used in the calling of the Council of Constance. Such a time of emergency would be defined by Luther, as being a situation where through internal corruption or tumult the Church was no longer able to supply the spiritual services that the people required. Even in these times, the State should not act as though it was fulfilling its primary function. This aid was always to be considered as an emergency expedient, according to Luther.

In the practical matter of the appointing of a pastor "... he charged the government, which had the means, to provide good preachers and teachers, as well as to look after the general welfare of its subjects".<sup>1</sup> Here again we have an example of Luther's thought stemming from his medieval heritage. This idea was supported

---

<sup>1</sup> H. J. Grimm, "Luther's Conception of Territorial and National Loyalty", Church History, Vol. XVII (June, 1948), p. 86.



by his conception of the princes having these emergency rights, because of the "priesthood of all believers". Here then is a mixture of the medieval conception that in times of emergency the ruler can step into ecclesiastical affairs and Luther's own conception that the princes by virtue of their membership in the visible Church are ordained with this power. In normal times, of course, the pastors were to be appointed through the regular ecclesiastical channels.

Except for unusual situations, the Church should be a law unto itself in spiritual matters. This is especially true of its function in fearlessly preaching the Word of God. Luther was greatly impressed with the role of the Old Testament prophets in being the spokesmen of the Lord before the rulers. For Luther this duty of rebuking the princes is a requirement placed upon the Church by God.

Instead of exempting religious leaders from interest in and responsibility for political problems, he seems to be saying that the misuse of political power is the concern of the preacher as such even more than of the citizen. 1

The Church must confess the truth and rebuke the wrongdoings of even the magistrates, but still this does not give it superiority over them. The State can not deny to the Church its rightful function in this regard, or in

---

1 E. M. Carlson, op. cit., p. 266.



matters concerning faith and worship.

Luther intimated that neither the Church should be superior to the State, nor the State to the Church. Did he then believe in the separation of Church and State? The answer to this question is a most emphatic "No". In his destruction of the first wall in his address, An den christlichen Adel, he stated: "Christus hat nit zwey nooh zweyerley art corper, einen weltlich, den andern geistlich. Ein heubt ist und einen corper hat er".<sup>1</sup> Thus, Christ must rule over both Church and State, even though their functions differ. Because of this overarching authority, they can not be separated.

The secularised state is the direct antithesis of Luther's conception of the worldly regime. The separation of church and state or religion and politics in such a way that the state and politics are released from any obligation to the church and the spiritual regime is at odds with the total structure of Luther's thought.<sup>2</sup>

The medieval Weltanschauung had the Church and the State as two spheres within the same authority. They were not separate, independent entities. One Christian society was organised both politically and ecclesiastically. Luther accepted this view, in so far as it did not make either part of the Christian commonwealth superior to the

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 408.

<sup>2</sup> E. M. Carlson, op. cit., p. 268.



other. Thus, he never conceived that the Church should be independent of the State. Even though he felt that the State had an essentially non-religious character, he declared that it had certain duties in regard to the upholding of true religion.

The old dualism between the spiritual and the temporal is thus retained. But the elements of the mediaeval Weltanschauung have none the less undergone a revaluation. The State is no longer conceived as sanctified through its relation to the Church. <sup>1</sup>

The State is ordained by God, and not by the Church, to care for the mundane matters of life.

The Word of God was for Luther the unifying factor of the Church and the State. Both ought to be guided by its precepts. The Church must be so directed because it contains the community of saints. The State must also follow the leading of the Word of God, because it has been, likewise, ordained by God. The Church and the State must interpret the Word of God, according to each of their needs.

At the same time this does not mean that the two realms are to be separated from each other, for the visible and outward realm is also under Christ and belongs to the Kingdom of God, and therefore must listen to the Word of God's Kingdom as proclaimed in the Gospel.... Though distinct the two realms are involved in each other and must not be separated; they are differentiated and yet unified under the

---

<sup>1</sup> R. N. Carew Hunt, "Luther's Theory of Church and State", op. cit., p. 28.



overarching Regnum Dei. 1

Within the context of the overarching principle which unites Church and State, Luther described their respective functions. The State is an authority of coercive power, yet it should not have dominion over conscience. The Church should not interfere in secular matters and the State should not meddle in spiritual affairs, because God will not allow anyone but himself to rule the soul, according to Luther. In this Luther is expressing a new freedom for the State which is uncommon to medieval thought. The State should administer its concerns with justice and equity, while the Church should administer its sphere with humility and charity.

The one functions in the interests of peace and order, the other converts and redeems men. One uses coercive means to attain its ends, the other renounces all force save the force of love. Neither can dispense with the other. 2

R. H. Bainton has put this conception of the differing functions, yet the common tie of Church and State, in his way:

These distinctions all point in the direction of the separation of Church and State. But on the other hand Luther did not split God and did not split man. And if he did not contemplate a Christianized society,

---

1 T. F. Torrance, op. cit., p. 32.

2 E. M. Carlson, op. cit., p. 261.



he was not resigned to a secularized culture. 1  
 Therefore, Luther said that Church and State ought not to be separated, for each has its own functions under the influence of the Word of God. "Neither the Church nor the State can assume absolute power." 2

Luther would neither allow the Church to dominate the State, nor the State to dominate the Church, nor would he permit a separation of Church and State. Both must coexist within the framework of the Will of God. What, then, in his thought makes this Christian coexistence possible? It is his principle of the "priesthood of all believers". According to this thought and his inherited medieval conceptions, the magistrate is seen as much as a servant of God, as is the priest. In this mixture of medieval and reformation thought the peasant glorifies God as much with his work and obedience, as does the prince with his task of protecting and keeping order, and so does the priest in his duties of caring for the spiritual needs of the people.

Luther declared:

Man hats erfunden, das Bapst, Bischoff, Friester, Kloster volck wirt der geystlich stand genent, Furs-  
 ten, Hern, handtwercks und ackerleut der weltlich  
 stand, wilchs gar ein seyn Comment und gleyssen iat,

---

1 R. H. Bainton, op. cit., p. 242.

2 T. F. Torrance, op. cit., p. 31.



doch sol niemant darub schuchter werden, unnd das ausz dem grund: Dan alle Christen sein warhafftig geystlichs stands, unnd ist unter yhn kein unterscheyd, denn des ampts halben allein.... 1

The matter of common Christian baptism is for Luther the touchstone for the "priesthood of all believers".

Die weyl dan nu die weltlich gewalt ist gleyoh mit uns getaufft, hat den selben glauben unnd Evangelij, müssen wir sie lassen priester und Bischoff sein, und yr ampt zelen als ein ampt, das da gehore und nutzlich sey der Christenlichen gemeyne. 2

Because of this common baptism, the State and the Church become responsible for the other's life and well-being. They must, therefore, sustain, correct and uphold each other, because they are both ruled by "priests" whose authority comes from the same source.

Luther was careful in stating this matter of the right of mutual correction and support to keep the functions of Church and State unconfounded. The State as a spiritual estate, ordained by God and part of the Christian community, has legitimate reasons for correcting the Church, i.e. when reform and order must be established. The Church as a prophetic voice can question the actions of the State, i.e. when conscience has been abused. Despite the differences inherent in their functions, the State and the Church are fellow members of the Christian

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 407.

2 Ibid., p. 408.



commonwealth.

Zwingli's conception of the coexistence of Church and State will now be set forth in order that contrasts with Luther's theory can be drawn.

Zwingli associated the presence of nominal Christians within the Church with the need for the Obrigkeit. If all within the Church were true Christians, there would be no need for secular authority. The assumption behind this idea is that all members of society are members of the visible Church which was the case almost without exception in Zurich. Within the visible Church there are, according to Zwingli, professing, but not believing, people. "... opus habet magistratu, sive is sit princeps sive optimates, qui impudenter peccantes coerceat." <sup>1</sup> In his work, Fidei Christianae Expositio, written to solicit the good favour of King Francis of France, Zwingli stated:

... constat ecclesiam sine magistratu mancam esse ac mutilam. Tantum abest piissime Rex, ut magistratum declinemus aut tollendum esse censeamus, sicut quidam nobis imputant, ut etiam doceamus eum necessarium esse ad perfectionem ecclesiastici corporis. <sup>2</sup>

From these passages it can be seen that Zwingli closely linked the Church and the State.

Zwingli had inherited a situation in Zurich wherein

---

<sup>1</sup> U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 59.



the State had authority over ecclesiastical administration and over matters of faith. This authority was rarely used, but was, nonetheless, a reality. On the eve of the Reformation certain offenders were ordered by the Council to go to Einsiedeln to make confession of their sins. A man who had sworn by "the five wounds of God" was ordered beheaded by the Council. 1 In Zurich, therefore, there was no question as to the right of the magistrates to be involved in the matters of the spirit. The Waldmannische Concordat of 1510, whereby the clergy were compelled to pay taxes and to be judged in civil courts should they break the law, is evidence of this control by the State. The Council also made itself responsible for public morality. With the agreement of the Church, ordinances against swearing and dancing were passed and enforced. 2 Zwingli did not seek to change this situation, but instead used it for the advancement of his reforming efforts.

Zwingli's conception of the relations between Church and State can be illustrated by his views concerning excommunication. Zwingli was conscious that in the apostolic Church excommunication had been a function

---

1 R. N. Carew Hunt, "Zwingli's Theory of Church and State", op. cit., p. 34.

2 Ibid., p. 24.



of the Church. But this had been at a time when the State was not Christian. In Zurich excommunication by the Church was made unnecessary, although the elders of the Church should still warn the offender, because the Christian magistrates decreed in the name of the Church and the offender was punished by the Obrigkeit. This punishment either took the form of dismissal from the Church, or some other chastisement which the Council saw fit to mete out. "Zwingli conceives the local Church of any city as represented in the government of the city - that is, in its board of magistrates." <sup>1</sup>

The State had the definite duty, according to Zwingli, to aid the Church in the spreading of the Gospel. This does not mean, however, that the Church has no function at all in society. Beside its obvious tasks of administering the sacraments and caring for the people's spiritual lives, the Church has the duty to be the prophet of the State. In the pursuance of this task Zwingli and the leaders of the reformed Church were zealous. This made of their movement in Zurich, not a politically centered phenomenon, but a spiritual and doctrinal programme. When the Church pronounced its prophetic utterances to the State, it was often for some spiritual cause which they

---

<sup>1</sup> S. M. Jackson, Huldreich Zwingli, op. cit., p. 388.



wanted executed, rather than some complaint about the political situation. The secret of Zwingli's success was the fact that he prepared the minds of the people and, more important, the wills of the magistrates for each successive item to be reformed. He did this from the pulpit of the Grossmünster.

In 1528, Blaurer wrote to Zwingli from Constance, enquiring whether the Council of his city was justified in initiating reforms for the Church. Zwingli answered in a letter, dated on the 4th of May, 1528, that the Council could do so only with the authorisation of the Church. <sup>1</sup> Zwingli closely interrelated the Church and the State and conceived that neither could exist without the other in a Christian society. For Zwingli the mutual aid between the Church and State was a two-way street and neither should dominate the other, nor refuse the suggestions of the other. In his work, Fidei Christianae Expositio, Zwingli wrote:

... In ecclesia Christi aequè necessarius est magistratus atque prophetia; utcunque illa sit prior. Nam sicut homo non potest constare nisi ex animo et corpore, quantumvis corpus sit humilior pars atque abiectior: sic et ecclesia sine magistratu constare non potest, utcunque magistratus res crassiores et a spiritu alieniores curet ac disponat. <sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> U. Zwingli, "Sämtliche Werke", op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 457.

<sup>2</sup> U. Zwingli, Opera, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 60.



When he spoke of government in this connection, Zwingli did not refer to Church polity, but to civil authority. Thus, the State and the Church are like the body and the soul which make up the individual. They must work in harmony and of necessity be involved in one another's functions.

What then is the overarching principle that makes this uniting of Church and State possible? It is preeminently the Word of God, as contained in the Scriptures. The Church, according to Zwingli, possesses no power save that of the Word of God. With this spiritual power it directs the State whose task is to maintain true religion. The Obrigkeits is made up of those who profess Christ and seek to rule according to his command, according to Zwingli's ideal. The execution of the edicts of the Church are safe in the hands of such magistrates.

Zwingli's ideal was a situation where the Church should speak the Word of the Lord and the State execute this Word. For him the Church had no administrative function. The basic assumption behind all of his thought about this holy partnership between Church and State is that the State, as well as the Church, must be Christian in its orientation.

The Church, in his view, presented simply the spiritual, the State the secular, side of the same Christian commonwealth. Hence he arrived, by a nat-



ural process, at the idea of a Christian government in this issue - that no government should be tolerated which is not Christian, and does not direct its conduct by the exclusive standard of the Gospel. 1

According to Zwingli, the magistrates must bow themselves under the Word as interpreted by the faithful heralds of the Church. This Word, as found in the Bible, could be applied to any and all situations. It should be the law of the State. The Word of God should also be the tie that binds Church and State into a unity for the purpose of furthering the Christian commonwealth. "Die Versammlung stellt sich allein unter das Gotteswort." 2 By assembly here Zwingli is referring to the co-operative relationship of Church and State.

In the discussion of Luther's theory of the relations of Church and State in this present study, it has been stated that Luther would neither allow the Church to dominate the State, nor, at least in theory, the State to control the Church. Zwingli did not make this sharp distinction. For him the fact that both Church and State are of divine creation and authorisation and that both are to be guided by the Scriptures, made the theoretic or practical separation of their functions unnecessary.

Even as Luther had said that there should be no

---

1 H. Geffcken, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 335-336.

2 A. Farner, op. cit., p. 93.



separation of Church and State, Zwingli would have heartily agreed. But there is a difference in their thinking, however. Luther spoke of the fact that the different functions of each ought to be fulfilled in coexistence, but should not be confounded. Zwingli merged these functions into one another and saw the coexistence of Church and State as being a common and interrelated phenomenon.

In Zwingli's answer to Blaurer's letter which asked whether the Council of Constance was justified in initiating reforms for the Church, Zwingli stated that the Council could do so only with the approval of the ecclesiastical leaders. <sup>1</sup> It is instructive to compare this answer of Zwingli to Luther's answer to a similar question asked by Spalatin in Altenburg in 1525. Luther said that the State had no right to compel anyone to believe. <sup>2</sup> Perhaps, if the question had been asked of Luther later in his career, he would have given a more positive answer.

Even though Zwingli closely interrelated the Church and State and conceived that neither could exist without the other in a Christian society, he gave to the Church a more dominant position than Luther had. According to

---

<sup>1</sup> U. Zwingli, "Sämtliche Werke", op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 457.

<sup>2</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. III, p. 616.



Luther, the State could aid the Church, but the State did not have to accept the suggestions of the Church in mundane matters, as this was up to the prince's discretion. For Zwingli the prophetic function of the Church was of so great importance that the State did not dare to take its utterances lightly.

R. E. Davies wrote concerning a comparison of the views of Zwingli and Luther, that Zwingli

... goes much further than Luther in the direction of breaking up the medieval unity in which the distinction of Church and State, sacred and secular, were contained, and of preparing the way for the departmental conception of life which is characteristic of the modern world. 1

This statement is neither true of Luther, nor Zwingli. Luther was careful to indicate that although Church and State had separate functions they were fellow members of the Christian body and had mutual duties of guidance and correction. This is also true of Zwingli, who emphasised their unity in the Christian commonwealth. For both separation of Church and State was impossible, because both are in the shadow of the overarching principle of the Word of God.

### III. LUTHER AND ZWINGLI'S DEPENDENCE ON THE CEBRIGKEIT

Luther's theories of the relationship of Church and

---

1 R. E. Davies, op.cit., p. 89.



State have been presented. How were these theories applied to the difficult situations in which he was involved as a reformer? In the context of a discussion of the subject of Luther's dependence upon the princes throughout his career these theories are seen in their dynamic origins in his thought.

The principle of cujus regio eius religio was already firmly established in Germany before Luther started his reformation. In the control of churches within their territories and in the naming of bishops, the princes had vast power. The territorial churches where the princes practiced immediate rule were an accomplished fact, coming to Luther as a heritage from the medieval period. "This practice Luther accepted and blessed when Saxon visitations began in German lands." <sup>1</sup> He accepted the right of the princes to be involved in the workings of the Church in other matters as well, as will be seen.

Luther objected to the sale of indulgences from a religious point-of-view in his "Ninety-five Theses". Elector Frederick the Wise had deep reservations about papal indulgences, because of the large amounts of money that were being drained from Germany in general, and Saxony in particular. There, however, was no knowledge

---

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Schwiebert, op. cit., p. 107.



on the Elector's part that Luther was to object in October of 1517.

Due to the storm that the indulgence controversy caused and its later evolution into the question of papal authority, Luther had to defend himself at the Heidelberg Disputation against the representatives of the Pope. He had received an assurance from Frederick that he would not have to go to Rome to answer questions about his stand. After receiving the summons to appear in Rome, Luther wrote to Spalatin on the 8th of August, 1518, asking him to remind the Elector of his pledge that he would not have to go to Rome, but be tried in Germany instead. <sup>1</sup> George Spalatin, the court chaplain, was to serve as an intermediary between Luther and the Elector on many occasions. Frederick was not yet convinced that Luther was a heretic. Due to Frederick's intervention, Luther's plea was granted and he was to be heard by Cardinal Cajetan during the meeting of the Diet of Augsburg in the fall. This is the first of many times when the Elector intervened in Luther's behalf. The Elector went one step further in receiving from Emperor Maximilian a safe-conduct for his subject during the meeting of the Diet.

The Diet of Augsburg (1518) was unsuccessful for

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. I, p. 188.



Cardinal Cajetan for two reasons. First, the princes refused to pay the taxes to Rome which had been set at the Fifth Lateran Council and which the Cardinal brought before the Diet. This action showed the prince's spirit of independence.

The second reason why Cardinal Cajetan was displeased with the results of the Diet of Augsburg was because the weed, i.e. Luther, had not been removed from the vineyard of the Lord. 1 He reported to Frederick that Luther had not recanted of his errors and advised the Elector to send him to Rome or banish him. The fair-minded Frederick showed the report to Luther. The latter responded by publishing an account of his conversations with the Cardinal.

In December 1518, the Elector wrote to Cajetan explaining that many scholars in the universities said that Luther's teachings were not unjust nor unchristian. Frederick affirmed that if he was convinced that Luther's doctrine was impious, he would not defend him. As for sending him to Rome or banishing him, Frederick would only do so after he had been convinced of his heresy. 2 We have here the amazing protection offered to Luther by

---

1 R. H. Bainton, op. cit., p. 92.

2 M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. I, p. 250.



his prince. It is the type of protection which Luther was later to proclaim as being the duty of all Christian princes toward their subjects.

Luther had come to see that an appeal to the secular authority was his means of promoting the reforms which he so desired. Perhaps, this line of approach had been spurred on by the revelation which came to him in February 1520. This was the evidence discovered by Lorenzo Valla that the "Donation of Constantine" was a fraud.<sup>1</sup> By this document the Emperor Constantine was supposed to have given to the Bishop of Rome authority over temporal as well as spiritual matters. This bit of enlightenment could have caused Luther to see that the temporal claims of the popes were false. As these were used to justify their involvement in the political life of Europe, Luther considered that it was up to the secular rulers to put the Church and State in their rightful relationship. Regardless of the influence of this revelation, he did turn to a strong appeal to Caesar. This was centered, of course, in his address, An den christlichen Adel, which he composed in August 1520.

In this document Luther clearly set forth his belief that it was the duty of the secular authorities to

---

<sup>1</sup> H. E. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 154.



reform the Church, when other means had failed. Luther had appealed to the Pope and for a general council, but to no avail. Now he addressed his appeal to the rulers of the German nation. He wrote to "Der alledurchleuchtigisten, Groszmechtigisten Keyserlichen Majestet und Christlichem Adel deutscher Nation".<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that Luther addressed the Emperor, as well as the princes. Luther always had a profound respect for the position of the imperial office and in this instance hoped that Charles would aid in the reformation of the Church.

In the introduction to his appeal he stated his reason for addressing the German ruling class.

Ich hab unsern furnehmen nach zusammen tragenn  
 etlich stuck Christliche stands besserung belangend,  
 dem Christlichenn Adel deutscher Nation furtzulegen,  
 ob got welt doch durch den leyen standt seiner kirchen  
 helffen, seintemal der geistlich stand, dem es bil-  
 licher geburt, ist gantz unachtsam worden.<sup>2</sup>

Because of the indifference of the clergy, an emergency situation had been created in the Church whereby the secular authority had to intervene.

Speaking of the first wall of abuse, Luther sought to demonstrate that the clergy had sought to impose their will upon the secular authority. This should not be, for the ruler has his Christian calling, even as the clergy

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 405.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 404.



have theirs.

Drumb sol weltlich Christlich gewalt yhr ampt uben frey unvorhyndert, unangesehen obs Papat, bischoff, priester sey den sie trifft, wer schuldig ist der leyde: was geistlich recht da widder gesagt hat, ist lauter ertichtet Romisch vormessenheit. 1

The second wall which must be destroyed is the pretensions of the papacy that they are the only ones who could interpret scripture. Luther stated his conviction that every Christian man is endowed with the right to read and interpret the scriptures for himself, certainly this was the privilege of the rulers, as well. From the scripture the ruling class could receive the insight, as to what the Word of God is, in order better to govern by its precepts.

Luther's third wall of abuse concerns the conception that the Pope alone can call a general council into session. Luther appealed to the rulers to see the faultiness of this position by pointing to the Council of Nicea and other councils.

Auch das berumptiste Concilium Nicenum hat der Bischoff zu Rom noch beruffen noch bestetiget, sondern der keyszer Constantinus, unnd nach yhm viel ander keyszer desselben gleichen than, das doch die allerchristlichsten Concilia gewesen sein. 2

In making this broad statement, Luther seemed to be for-

---

1 Ibid., p. 409.

2 Ibid., p. 413.



getting that the Council of Constance which he criticised was called by Emperor Sigismund. Luther, no doubt, would have said that even though Sigismund had rightly fulfilled his function in calling the Council, he should have gone one step further in overseeing its course to be sure that its actions were for the good of the Church.

Luther also called upon the rulers of Germany in his time to summon a general council. According to his appeal, their responsibilities would not end here, however. They must also see to it that the council would be free and just, having the reformation of the Church as its purpose.

The general council for which Luther called should see to the matters of luxury, pomp and pretension of the Pope. Luther stated that the Pope could not carry out his true spiritual function, because of his concerns with worldly wealth. For example, Luther spoke against the money for a war chest to be used in stemming the tide of the Turks. This money was being sent from Germany to Rome.

Auch szo man yhe widder die Turcken wolt ein solchenn schatz samlen, solten wir billich der mal eynsz witzig werden, und mercken, das deutsche Nation den selben basz bewaren kunde den der Bapst, seyntemal deutsche Nation selb volck gnug hat zum streyt, szo gelt furhanden ist. 1

Elector Frederick had long advocated this very thing and in fact had held back some of this money against the pro-

---

1 Ibid., p. 419.



tests of the representative of the papacy. This is the type of nationalistic note which Luther often strikes in his appeal.

In the same spirit Luther called upon the rulers to see that a council, if called, should consider the violation of German benefices whose control was being transferred to Rome slowly but surely. He cried out: "O edeln fursten und hern, wie lang wolt yhr ewr land und leut solchen reyssenden wolffen offen und frey lassen?"<sup>1</sup>

Luther also suggested twenty-seven articles for the reformation of the Church and the correction of immorality which should either be instituted by a general council or by the Obrigkeit directly in his address, An den christlichen Adel. They cover a wide range of subjects. He asked the rulers to refuse to pay certain taxes which the papacy demanded. Bishops should be invested with their honours by the nearest bishops or an archbishop of the area, rather than going to Rome for their elevation. Luther said that the Council of Nicea had decreed this. Here again he was striking the note of German nationalism. He also stated that no temporal matter ought to be referred to Rome.

... das vorordnet werd, das keinn weltlich sach gen Rom tzogen werd, sondern die selben alle der weltlichen gewalt lassenn, wie sie selbs setzen in

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 421.



ihren geystlichen rechten, und doch nit halten. 1  
 In the same proposal Luther appealed to the secular arm to control the ecclesiastical courts. Only matters of faith and good morals should be dealt with by them. All other matters of money, property, life and honour should be transferred to civil courts where they rightfully belong.

Luther stated that the papacy should assume its rightful position in regard to the Emperor. "... das der Bapst ubir den Keyszer kein gewalt habe, on das er yhn auff dem altar salbe unnd krone, wie ein Bischoff einen Kunig kronet...." 2 Luther also declared: "... das sich der Bapst enthalt, die handt ausz der suppen zihe, sich keynis titels unterwinde des kunigreichs zu Neapel unnd Sicilien". 3 In both of these cases Luther is making a bid for the support of the Emperor. This effort was unsuccessful, but it shows Luther's insistance that the Church should not dominate the State in purely political matters.

He called upon the ruling class to allow the clergy to marry. This proposal shows Luther's courage in advocating something which would be revolutionary in its effect.

---

1 Ibid., p. 430.

2 Ibid., p. 433.

3 Ibid., p. 435.



This is typical, however, of almost all of his proposals. For instance, the papacy would certainly not take kindly to his suggested reductions in their privilege and sources of revenue. Regardless of this fact Luther stated:

Was widder got ist und den menschen schedlich an leyp und seel, hat nit allein ein yglich gemeyn, radt odder ubirkeit gewalt abtzu thun und weeren on wissen und willen des Bapsts odder Bischoffs, ja ist auch schuldig bey seiner seelen selickeit, dasselb zuweeren, ob es gleich Bapst und bischoff nit wolten, die doch die ersten solten sein, solchs zuweren. <sup>1</sup>

Basically, Luther is proposing in his appeal a new conception of the duties of rulers and the relations between Church and State. He may have been naive in his expectations about the spiritual quality of the princes, but it must be remembered that he had the image of a Christian and extremely fair-minded prince ever before him in Frederick the Wise. If un-Christian princes took advantage of the rights which he advocated for all princes, as many did, yet Luther was not responsible for this. The basic assumptions of his theories were that, because of baptism, all princes would act according to the Word of God. In time to come, Luther saw the problems arising from the spiritual functions being misused by some of the princes, but I doubt if he ever would have regreted making his appeal. Because the law may be broken, is no reason

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 446.



for not setting forth the law at all. Regardless of the dangers involved which Luther at the time may not have anticipated, he saw that an emergency situation existed in the life of the Church. This emergency called for drastic action.

The papal bull, Exsurge Domine, which alleged that Luther's works were heretical, was received by him shortly after he had made this appeal. Luther's writings were burned in Rome and in certain places in Germany. He in turn burned the papal bull written against him and a copy of the Canon Law. Frederick excused his actions in this manner:

After I left Cologne, Luther's books were burned, and again at Mainz. I regret this because Dr. Martin has already protested his readiness to do everything consistent with the name of Christian, and I have constantly insisted that he should not be condemned unheard, nor should his books be burned. If now he has given tit for tat, I hope that His Imperial Majesty will graciously overlook it. 1

With the approach of the Diet of Worms of 1521, Frederick agreed that the time had arrived for Luther to be heard, and heard before a secular gathering of the German nation. This was a radical departure from past custom. That Luther should be permitted to appear before such a secular tribunal to answer charges about things of

---

1 R. H. Bainton, op. cit., p. 166, citing Luther's Works, Walch edition, XV, No. 519.



the faith was very important. This was the type of situation which he had appealed for in his address, An den christlichen Adel.

Following Luther's admission that he had written the works placed before him by the Diet and his refusal to recant, the Emperor sought to secure an edict against Luther. Frederick refused to have anything to do with it. He left Worms and in his absence the edict was signed by Emperor Charles and the remaining electors. The document was pre-dated by eighteen days to make it appear that all of the Diet had favoured the edict, although many had left before its signing. <sup>1</sup> Again, we have the strange phenomenon of a most Catholic prince, Frederick, who was the collector of a great quantity of relics, refusing to act against Luther. For this favour, as for the many others, Luther was grateful.

Luther's protection by Frederick at the Wartburg Castle and his subsequent return to Wittenberg present an interesting suggestion of Luther's attitude toward the relation of ruler and subject. Frederick was fulfilling his obligation of protection. Luther was following the course of obedience, albeit impatiently. There came a point, however, when Luther felt that he must

---

<sup>1</sup> H. E. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 197.



obey God rather than man (Frederick), for the Elector had forbidden him to return to Wittenberg. In a letter of the 5th of March, 1522, to Frederick, Luther explained his decision to return. Because of the radical spirit which the reform movement had taken in Wittenberg, Luther showed that he felt compelled to return. He did not seek the Elector's protection, however. "... ich komme gen Wittenberg in gar viel einem höhern Schutz denn des Kurfürsten".<sup>1</sup> He also told Frederick that he would not be obeying the Emperor if he sought to protect him.

Für den Menschen soll E. K. F. G. also sich halten: nämlich der Oberkeit als ein Kurfürst gehorsam sein und Kaiserl. Maj. lassen walten in E. K. F. G. Städten und Ländern an Leib und Gut, wie sich's gebührt nach Reichs Ordnung, und ja nicht wehren noch widersetzen noch Widersatz oder irgend ein Hindernis begehren der Gewalt, so sie mich fahen oder töten will.<sup>2</sup>

In his work entitled, Von weltlicher Oberkeit, wie weit man ihr Gehorsam schuldig sei, written in January 1523, Luther again raised the crucial question of the freedom of conscience. It is granted by him that body and property can be commanded by the secular authority, but not conscience where man is answerable to God alone. This, then, is a limitation on the powers that

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. II, p. 455.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 456.



be. It is important to keep this view in mind, for the charge has been made that Luther departed from it, as more and more authority was given to the princes in ecclesiastical matters.

In a letter to Elector John, dated on the 22nd of November, 1526, Luther asked for the aid of the prince, in establishing churches and schools in the realm.

... wils von notten sein, auffe fodderrlichst von E. K. f. g., als die gott ynn solchem fall dazu gefoddert und mit der that befilhet, vier person lassen das land zu visitiern, zween, die auff die zinse und guter, zween, die auff die lere und person verständig sind, das die selbigen aus E. K. f. g. befehl die Schulen und pfarhen, wo es not ist, anrichten heissen und versorgen. 1

Luther proposed in this letter that the cost of this work should be defrayed by using the money that had been received from monasteries and other ecclesiastical property which had been taken over by the prince.

With the Diet of Worms and the two diets held at Nürnberg, one in 1523, and another in 1524, the practice whereby secular bodies could make ecclesiastical decisions had been confirmed. This right was soon after to pass to the territorial princes, for the Second Diet of Nürnberg decreed that the Edict of Worms should be put into effect "as far as was possible". 2 It was the princes who would

---

1 Ibid., Briefwechsel Vol. IV, pp. 133-134.

2 H. E. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 239.



judge on this possibility, according to their own outlook on the Reformation. Luther made the best of the situation and gladly accepted the help of Frederick and any of the other princes, in order that his cause might be advanced. If a prince stood in the way of the Reformation, he might be disobeyed for conscience sake; not with violence, however, but passively. Luther in 1525 and 1526 was already moving away from his view about the freedom of conscience as expressed in his tract, Von weltlicher Obrigkeit. He was now advocating that those who were friendly to reform might passively disobey a Catholic prince, but a reforming prince must be obeyed. This can be seen in his actions in Wittenberg and Saxony where the mass was abolished. If he had been true to the principle of his tract of 1523, the mass should have been kept as an option for those who wished to attend for conscience sake. Instead, with Luther's urging, the mass was outlawed by the Obrigkeit. This change in his thinking is also made apparent in a letter to the Elector, John of Saxony, dated on the 9th of February, 1526, in which he spoke about the problems arising out of the preaching of the Anabaptists.

... einem weltlichen Regenten nicht zu dulden ist, dass seine Untertanen in Uneinigkeit und Zwiespalt durch widerwärtige Prediger geführt werden, daraus zuletzt Aufruhr und Rotterei zu besorgen wäre, son-



derm an einem Ort auch einerlei predigt gehen soll. 1  
This shows Luther's departure from his formerly stated position of freedom of conscience. The opposition from the Catholics, on the one hand, and Carlstadt and Müntzer and other radicals, on the other hand, had driven him to take this stand.

It must be remembered that Luther had never stressed the fact that the Church was basically an institution. He saw it both as a gathered community and the tie that bound all of the baptised into a Christian commonwealth. The purpose of the Church was the preaching of Christ and the administration of the sacraments. It was, therefore, not a hard thing for him to turn the administration of the Church over to the princes, assuming as he did, that they were Christians. The conditions of the situation drove him to this position. Almost all of the priests had remained true to Rome. Even reformed princes were afraid of establishing bishops for the reforming cause. The old bishoprics were too closely associated with the Emperor. Luther and the evangelical pastors, therefore, could only look to the princes to act in the place of bishops. Luther insisted that the princes were to be emergency bishops alone and that the function of administering the

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. IV, p. 28.



Church was not an inherent part of their role as a ruler.

Hence if the Catholic theory of the Middle Ages subordinated the State to the Church, Luther's theory and practice tended in precisely the opposite direction. The effect was immensely to strengthen the position of the civil ruler whose authority became supreme in Church and State alike. <sup>1</sup>

The Landesherr was seen as the Notsbischof of the Church by Luther. He was to administer the Church only when the proper ecclesiastical authorities did not correctly fulfil their duties. For Luther this, of course, was the situation within the states where the princes had declared for the Reformation, but where the Catholic clergy still remained in power. Luther always insisted that there were real limitations on the actions of the Landesherr in his duty toward the Church. These were the precepts of the Word of God, as interpreted by the theologians. In the beginning the evangelical princes followed the leading of Luther and the pastors in administering ecclesiastical affairs, but as time went on they were apt to make their own decisions. Guidance by the theologians was according to Luther's plan, and the later development caused him much displeasure.

Luther endowed the princes with the right of administration, because of his conception of the "priest-

---

<sup>1</sup> R. N. Carew Hunt, "Luther's Theory of Church and State", op. cit., p. 37.



hood of all believers" and his deference for the office of the Obrigkeit. "Here Luther applied the doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers in order to free the rulers from the interdict and restraint of the Church." 1 What Luther is saying here is that the prince should in true paternalism organise the Church, not because it is his duty as a ruler, but because it is possible for him as a powerful Christian man to do so. His idea of the emergency bishop underlay his appeal, An den christlichen Adel, and to it he remained true, even though he admitted at times that the princes were neither worthy of their eminent position nor of the name of "Christian".

Regardless of these problems, Luther out of necessity continued to organise the Church under the tutelage of the princes. The idea of visitations which were to be sent out to every town and country place was originally to have the princes' support only in material affairs. Later Luther extended their rights into the spiritual realm, as well, on the theory that they were emergency bishops. The first visitation was held in February 1526. Because of the lack of specific instructions the plan was temporarily given up. Luther saw the necessity of

---

1 L. W. Spitz, "Luther's Ecclesiology and His Conception of the Prince as Notbischof", Church History, Vol. XXII (June, 1953), p. 127.



instructing the visitors. Melancthon wrote a short guide for the visitors. In 1527, however, he wrote a more complete set of instructions, entitled, Unterricht der Visitatoren an die Pfarhern ym Kurfurstenthum zu Sachsen. Luther's spirit underlies the whole work and he wrote the preface in which he stated, as explanation of the prince's involvement:

Denn ob wol S. R. F. G. zu leren und geistlich zu regirn nicht befolhen ist, so sind sie doch schuldig, als weltliche oberkeit, darob zu halten, das nicht zwitracht, rotten und auffrhur sich unter den unterthanen erheben, wie auch der Keiser Constantinus die Bischove gen Nicea foddert, da er nicht leiden wolt noch solt die zwitracht, so Arrius hatte unter den Christen ym Keiserthum angericht, und hielt sie zu eintrechtiger lere und glauben.... 1

It is instructive to note that Luther's reason for the visitations is one of preserving order in society, while the necessary changes are being made.

When the rulers carried out Luther's demand that they proceed vigorously against the Anabaptists, they punished them legally as revolutionists and disturbers of the peace, not as heretics. 2

In accordance with the findings of the visitors, pastors were appointed, the administration of the sacraments regularised and schools were established. The authority behind the visitations was the Landesherr. The visitors reported back to him and in cases of dispute he was

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XXVI, p. 200.

2 H. J. Grimm, op. cit., p. 83.



the judge of the matter in question. According to Luther's thought, both the Landesherr and the visitors must be guided by the Word of God, as interpreted by the theologians.

The visitations soon became a permanent institution of Church administration. The visitors were organised into consistories. These bodies represented the whole Church and were the source for the regular visitations. Again, it was the princes who appointed the members of these consistories.

The seeds of Erastianism had been sown in the late medieval period. Luther cultivated these seeds. It was a necessity for him, not only because of the enemies of orderly reform, both right and left, but because of the current territorialism of the German scene. In January 1527, he wrote to Spalatin:

Hactenus stulta spe praesumebam de hominibus aliud quam humanum, scilicet posse eos Euangelio duci. Sed res ipsa docet, quod Euangelio contempto volunt legibus et gladio cogi. 1

The necessity of government to direct the purity of worship and of church administration emerged, according to Luther, from an emergency and temporary situation. It became, however, an established fact. About this Luther often had qualms. He had denied many of the principles of the

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. IV, p. 153.



division of the functions of Church and State which he had set down in his tract, Von weltlicher Obrigkeit, but to one principle he held firm. Both Church and State must be governed by the Word of God, as they were both instituted and authorised by God.

Luther's dependence upon the princes and other rulers in Germany should not be minimised. Frederick the Wise and others had protected him personally. What was more important to him, however, was the fact that they were the only means by which the reform of the Church might be executed. He was mistaken about their Christian calling in many instances, but, this one thing is sure, without them his reforming movement could not have survived.

Zwingli's dependence upon the magistrates was as great as that of Luther upon the princes. Without the councillors Zwingli's movement could not have succeeded. He had a firm grip on the thought and actions of the rulers and had no hesitation in using this power for the furtherance of his reformation. It must be remembered that he was one of the councillors in that he had a seat in the Small Council of Zurich.

Zwingli became a priest at the Grossmünster in



Zurich on the 1st of January, 1519. 1 This was his 35th Birthday. Thus, stated his amazing career as the reformer of the city. On the 12th of November, 1521, he resigned his office as parish priest of the Grossmünster, because it had been conferred on him by the Bishop of Constance, and was immediately reappointed to the office by the Council. In this way he showed that the Council should have precedence in the appointment of priests.

The implications of this action were not necessarily Erastian, for Zwingli accepted the authority of the Council in ecclesiastical matters only on the understanding that the Council itself was subject to the Word of God. 2

Zwingli by this act had taken the Council into his confidence and from henceforth he would depend upon it to the greatest degree.

Zwingli's reformation preaching started almost immediately after this appointment by the Council to the major church of Zurich. An early subject that he dealt with was the marriage of the clergy. Zwingli joined on the 13th of July, 1522, with ten other priests, including Leo Jud, in an appeal to the Bishop of Constance, that they might marry. Of course, the Bishop had no power to

---

1 C. Farner, Zwingli the Reformer, D. G. Sear, translator (London, 1952), p. 29.

2 G. W. Bromley, "General Introduction", Library of Christian Classics (London, 1953), Vol. XXIV, p. 26.



grant such a request, even if he had wanted to, and he certainly did not, because of Zwingli's former action in denying the efficacy of his clerical appointments. Having made this nod to the Bishop, Zwingli received from the Council the approval of the proposal that priests could marry.

Zwingli had yet to set the foundation for his reforming plans. This would be that all measures taken by the Council in connection with the reformation should be in accordance with the Scriptures. He, therefore, had the Council call for a religious disputation of priests to be held at Zurich in the presence of the Council on the 29th of January, 1523. The Council in its invitation stated that the purpose of the meeting was to be a quest into the matter of the Scriptures as being a guide to faith and action.

Da wir mit allem fliss mit ettlichen gelertten - ab es unns bedunckt - uffmerken, unnd nachdem mit gottlicher geschriff unnd warheitt sich erfindt, werden wir ein ieder heimschicken mit bevelch fürzefaren oder abzeston, dadurch nit für unnd für ein ieder alles, das in gut bedunckt, on grund der rechten göttlichen gschrift an der kantzal predige. 1

The result of the disputation was a proclamation that one faith alone should be preached, for this was the final decision of the Council.

---

1 U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 467.



Zwingli prepared his "Sixty-seven Theses" for this convocation and was ready with many cogent arguments. The reformers and the representatives of the Bishop of Constance debated, while the Council sat as a jury to decide the verdict in the matter. Zwingli presented many of his doctrines and opened any to attack. The representatives of the Bishop of Constance took up the matter of the authority of the Church. Zwingli subdued them, always using Scripture, as the base of his argument. During the recess for dinner, the Council which had become impressed with Zwingli's erudition and the manner in which he silenced the Roman Catholics at every point brought back to the afternoon session a resolution. It stated in part:

Es sollent auch all andere ire lüt-priester, seel-sorger unnd predicanten in ired statt, lantschafften unnd herschafften anders nüt fürnemmen noch predigen, dann was sy mit dem heiligen euangelion unnd sust rechter göttlicher geschriff beweren mögen. 1

Zwingli was, of course, overjoyed by this vote of confidence and he said to the councillors:

... minen herren vonn Zürich, wirt on zweyfel der allmechtig, ewig gott in andrem auch krafft und macht verlyhen, das ir die warheit gottes, das heylig euangelium, in ũwer lantschafft handthabend und zu predigen fördert. 2

Zwingli had by this disputation set the stage for many

---

1 Ibid., p. 471.

2 Ibid., pp. 547-548.



more conquests in the future, as he indicated to the members of the councils.

Zwingli wrote the tract, Von göttlicher und menschlicher Gerechtigkeit, in July 1523, as an indication of how he conceived of the tasks of Church and State. "Man hat den Eindruck, dass Zwingli die Schranken die weltlichen Gewalt am Gebiet der geistlichen Dinge nachdrücklich betonen will."<sup>1</sup> He most emphatically sets the Church in the position of being the prophet and guide to the actions of the Obrigkeit. In this document he stated:

... das euangelium Christi nit wider die obergkeit ist, dass es umb zitlichs guts willen nitt zerrüttung gebirt, sonder ein bevestung ist der obergkeit, die recht wiset und einig macht mit dem volk, so verr sy christenlich vart nach der mass, die gott vorschribt. 2

Zwingli is, therefore, explaining how he as a preacher has the right to guide the actions of the magistrates. It is his God-given right to interpret the divine precepts.

Zwingli suggested in 1523, that yet another disputation be held. During 1522, Zwingli had preached against images in churches and some of his hearers had on their own account torn down several of these. They were put into prison by the Council. Zwingli agreed with the motive behind their action, but not with its manner of

---

<sup>1</sup> A. Farner, op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 473.



execution. It was up to the Council to make all innovations in an orderly manner, and the matter of images had not yet been decided on by the Council. The Second Disputation, as it was called, was convened to judge on the question of images. The question of the Mass was later introduced by Zwingli. He had brought this latter subject to prominence by his tract entitled, De canone missae, published in September 1523, <sup>1</sup> Again, all of the clergy of the city and canton were called to meet for the disputation on the 26th of October.

Zwingli defended the Council's right to hold such a disputation on the grounds that the Church is the community of all believers in Christ. Because the Council had advocated in the invitation that all judgements should be consonant with the Word of God <sup>2</sup>, it was enabled to judge the matters after the councillors had heard the priests discuss the issues at stake. Zwingli stated that the assembly which had come for the disputation represented the true Church, because it sought to ascertain the Word of God. On the other hand, assemblies of cardinals and bishops, because they pass resolutions which were opposed to the Word of God and true faith, are not true

---

<sup>1</sup> S. M. Jackson, op. cit., p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 204.



representatives of the Church at all.

On the first day of the three days of disputation the matter of images was discussed. Zwingli convinced the Council that their veneration is unscriptural. The Council, therefore, ruled that no one should make, set up or reverence an image, but that they should be removed from all churches. The men who had torn down the images were pardoned, but the ringleader of the iconoclasts was banished from the city for two years, because of the tumult which he had caused. <sup>1</sup>

The matter of the abolition of the Mass was debated during the last two days of the disputation. Zwingli spoke against the Mass as being a renewal of the sacrifice of Christ. Again, from biblical sources Zwingli convinced the councillors of the correctness of his opinion. It was not until April 1525, a year and a half after the Second Disputation, that Zwingli had the Council vote upon a resolution abolishing the Mass. Only then did he conduct a service of Holy Communion, according to biblical principles. Zwingli was not a person to rush things and this is one of the main reasons for his success.

Until the end of 1523, the Council of Zurich had supported Zwingli's programme of reform in a very favour-

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.



able fashion. Now a further obligation had to be assumed by them, i.e. the protection of Zwingli himself. The Diet of the Swiss Confederation isolated the Zurich delegation in 1524, because of its reforming movement in the city. The members of the Diet implored Zurich to rid itself of "Lutheran" elements.<sup>1</sup> The delegations from every other canton, except Zurich, voted for a resolution which called for the suppression of the Reformation. A delegation was sent by the Diet to Zurich to seek the deposing of Zwingli from his seat of authority and to cause the Council to desist from making further innovations. Although the Council was very much impressed with the dangers involved, they responded to the Diet that they would remain true to the Gospel.

The Bishop of Constance kept up the pressure on the Council of Zurich by writing a tract to them entitled, Vorschlag wegen der Bilder und der Messe. Zwingli was asked to reply in the name of the Council. This he did in his work: Christliche Antwort Burgermeisters und Rat zu Zürich an Bischof Hugo. The fact that Zwingli should be entrusted with the writing of a tract in the name of the Council, defending the Reformation, shows how closely aligned Church and Council were in Zurich.

---

<sup>1</sup> S. Simpson, op. cit., p. 136.



In the midst of the dangers and confusions aroused by the Reformation in Zurich, Zwingli found that the usual governmental channels of the two councils were too public. The work of reform was, therefore, transferred to a Heimliche Rat toward the end of 1524. This body consisted of six persons. The Burgomaster, four members of the Small Council and Zwingli discussed matters in secret in this privy court. In 1529, this body was made a permanent part of the administrative organisation of the city. 1

Zwingli's control over the Council became very strong in 1525, but there were other factions in the city that did not care for his policies. The major one of these was the group known as the pensioners. They received money from foreign sources in return for supplying Swiss mercenary soldiers. Due to Zwingli's strong and steady criticism of them, he was in personal danger of being harmed by them. "... the Senate (Council) in this perilous time placed watchers around his house at night." 2

As well as carrying out his ecclesiastical programme, Zwingli in the instance of the attack upon the pensioners had to deal with a purely political situation. The Battle of Favia in Italy in 1525 gave Zwingli his

---

1 R. N. Carew Hunt, "Zwingli's Theory of Church and State", op. cit., p. 32.

2 O. Myconius, op. cit., p. 18.



opportunity. Between 5,000 and 6,000 Swiss mercenaries had been killed in this engagement. Zurich fortunately had supplied a disproportionately small number of troops to King Francis, who had been defeated, because of the opposition of Zwingli to mercenary service. After this tragedy and with the aid of the Council, the mercenary system and the pensioners were finally defeated.

When the Council voted on the 15th of December, 1526, to restrict those who could or could not attend services of Holy Communion, according to their conception of the proper faith and discipline of the person, Zwingli objected. He saw this as a matter for the Church to decide. His position was that the State is simply a delegate to carry out the will of the Church. Here the interaction between Church and State is demonstrated. Each has its particular tasks in the Christian commonwealth, according to Zwingli.

For Zwingli the Church ought to foster freedom of conscience; with him as its leader, it sometimes did and sometimes did not. When the Council passed an ordinance forbidding the distribution or reading of Carlstadt's writings, Zwingli objected.

Wenn der Reformator schon an sich entschieden gegen eine solch Massnahme war, so musste er sie in diesem Falle um so mehr missbilligen, da sie mit dem Irrthum die Wahrheit unterdrücken konnte. Daher



erklärte er sich offen gegen dieselbe und bewirkte die Zurücknahme. 1

The drowning of the Anabaptist shows Zwingli's inconsistency on the matter of the freedom of conscience. He would allow Carlstadt's works to be circulated, but denied the Anabaptists the right to practice their faith. Zwingli defended himself by saying that the teachings of the Anabaptists with regard to the State would lead to tumult 2 , but his opposition against them went deeper than this. He wished to have but one form of religious practice in Zurich.

In May and June of 1526, the Council of Zurich was called upon to defend Zwingli in the greatest challenge he had faced up to that time. This was the Disputation of Baden (in Switzerland) which met without Zwingli's presence and without representation from Zurich. Dr. Eck, who had been Luther's opponent on many occasions, represented the Catholic views, while Oecolampadius of Basel and Haller of Bern defended Zwingli and the Reformation. The Zurich Council had sought to have the Disputation held in their city, because, according to Swiss law, no one was to be tried for any offence outside of the area in which he lived. Eck and the Catholic-controlled Con-

---

1 R. Christoffel, op. cit., p. 273.

2 U. Zwingli, Opera, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 66-67.



federate Diet refused to go to Zurich. The Council, therefore, refused to let Zwingli go to be tried in Baden, which proved to be the place of the meeting.

W. Köhler has described the Baden Disputation in this fashion: "Die Disputation von Baden ist der schweizerische Reichstag von Worms".<sup>1</sup> Zwingli was here tried in absentia and condemned as a heretic. Zwingli was protected in life and in doctrine by the Council of Zurich on this occasion.

Zwingli through the support of the Council was able to codify the Zurich Reformation. Zwingli gave structure to the idea that the Council was the delegate of the Church by creating a synodical assembly. This was composed of the ministers of the Canton, plus two lay representatives from each parish, and more important yet, four members from each of the councils, i.e. the Small Council and the Council of Two Hundred. J. Mackinnon has summarised the situation in this manner:

The ecclesiastical element was subordinated to the congregational; the laity, official and non-official, had a predominant voice in ecclesiastical government and discipline, and in this respect the republican differs widely from the Lutheran and Romanist Church polity.<sup>2</sup>

The support of the Council, plus the backing of the con-

---

<sup>1</sup> W. Köhler, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> J. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 138.



gregations of laymen, had always been Zwingli's means of attaining his goals. In 1528, he brought this lay support into an organised position much as Luther had done when the princes gave their consistent aid through the consistories.

The Synod of Zurich which became the organ of Church discipline was to check on the life and doctrine of ministers. It reported its findings to the Council. In this way, Zwingli and the Council was able to keep a close control on all of the pastors and thereby the Reformation.

Zwingli, therefore, set up a very efficient theoretic and practical scheme for allying Church and State for one common goal. He ruled, always with the aid of the Council, in a theocratic manner.

... just as significant as the irruption of the State into religious affairs was that of the Church, in the person principally of Zwingli himself, into secular affairs. 1

A new constitution for the city, drafted in 1528, is emblematic of this theocratic situation. The city and canton were ruled without question in both ecclesiastical and secular affairs by the Council and this body was ever guided by Zwingli, the prophet of God.

His writings from this time forth show the greater

---

1 R. E. Davies, op. cit., p. 86.



and greater influence exerted on him by the figures of the Old Testament, and in his latest writings the prophet appears as above the Church and worldly authority alike. <sup>1</sup>

In his work, Subsidium sive coronis de eucharistia, he stated that the councillors represent the Church of Zurich, as surely as Paul and Barnabas at Jerusalem had represented the Church of Antioch. <sup>2</sup> Church and State were definitely confounded in their functions by Zwingli. The State may have seemed to be lording it over ecclesiastical affairs in an Erastian sense, but this was not the case. Zurich was a theocracy, because the State was constantly serving as the errand-boy for the Church. The Council's bowing to the wishes of the Church was no formal acknowledgement of respect. It was a real effort to receive the correct interpretation of the Word of God. Thus, Church and State were united, confounded in their functions and led by the Scriptures, as interpreted Ulrich Zwingli.

There are many striking similarities in the thought of Luther and Zwingli with regard to the relationship between Church and State. The most important one is the fact that both regarded the separation of Church and State

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> U. Zwingli, "Sämtliche Werke", op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 480.



to be out of the question. Luther held that, although they have differing functions, they should aid and correct one another. Zwingli went further than this in that he mixed their functions and blurred any clear line of distinction between the worldly and the spiritual realms. This tendency Luther denounced.

Both Luther and Zwingli were forced by circumstances to call on the civil authorities more and more. It is instructive to compare the consistories instituted in Germany with the synodical assemblies of Zurich. In both cases they were the result of the need to codify ecclesiastical practices and a means by which the Obrigkeit could maintain a strong control on the Church.

Like Zwingli, Luther granted to the rulers the duty of correcting and sustaining the Church, because of their eminent position and their supposed Christian character. Like Luther, Zwingli based their obligations on the fact of their baptism, i.e. their membership in the visible Church.

Without the aid of the secular authorities neither Luther nor Zwingli would have succeeded in their reforming work. Their dependence was not only for the fostering of their movements, but for their personal safety, as well. Even as Luther was protected by Frederick the Wise against the rising tide of papal opposition, so too



Zwingli in Zurich had to be protected by the Council. Luther was sheltered after Worms, even as Zwingli was kept from harm following the Baden Disputation.

Even though the two reformers were similar in their reliance on the Obrigkeit, the result of this dependence had differing natures. Luther's reformation took on an Erastian tendency, while Zwingli's Zurich became a theocracy. Luther had qualms about invoking the power of the princes at times, but Zwingli, who had a firm grip on the thought and actions of the councillors, had no hesitation in appealing for their authority. Zwingli had control of the situation, while Luther could not control the contrary nature of the princes. Luther, therefore, asked the help of the princes in an emergency situation and the assumption was that they would no longer be asked to intervene in ecclesiastical affairs should the emergency pass. They did not fulfil this function of aiding the Church as rulers, according to Luther, but simply as "elder brothers" within the community. For Zwingli, on the other hand, the right of the magistrates to enter into ecclesiastical affairs was inherent in their office as rulers.

Luther wrote a letter to Elector John of Saxony on the 9th of February, 1526, in which he stated: "...



an einem Ort auch einerlei Predigt gehen soll".<sup>1</sup> In the same connection, Zwingli wrote in his treatise of 1525, entitled, De vera et falsa religione, that the Council had the obligation to establish the one true faith. "Nulla ergo civitas beatior erit, quam in qua vera religio simul degit."<sup>2</sup> Zwingli, as well as Luther, lost some of his emphasis upon the fact that in matters of faith, a person should not be forced to practice a religion contrary to his conscience. Luther had toned down his emphasis to this ideal mainly because of the Peasants' Revolt, while Zwingli diminished his stress upon this point, because of the difficult time he had had with the Anabaptists. In both cases the reason for their lessening of their views about tolerance was more than the tumults caused by these groups. It was also the close attachment they were forming with the rulers. This caused both of them to lose some of their ardour, because of the need for order. This was the cost to each for their dependence upon the Obrigkeit. It would be untrue to say that they abandoned their positions on the freedom of conscience entirely, however. They both referred back to it at times after 1525-1526.

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. IV, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 868.



## CHAPTER V

### ATTITUDES TOWARD DEFENSIVE ALLIANCES

As the Reformation movement in Switzerland and Germany grew numerically and became more organized, the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church increased. This resistance was not expressed as a steadily increasing phenomenon, but had an undulating course which depended upon the political intrigues of the time and the pressure of the Turks. To counteract the strengthening opposition from Rome the princes, who were dedicated to the reform of the Church, and the magistrates in some of the cities of Switzerland and Germany, who supported either Luther or Zwingli, considered that a defensive alliance between themselves was advisable.

Zwingli's thought about alliances in general and his activities in creating them will be studied in this chapter. These will be contrasted with Luther's thought on the subject and his objections to the suggested alliances. The ideas of both reformers will be compared in a study of their attitudes toward the particular plans of Prince Philip, Landgrave of Hesse.

#### I. THE MENACE TO THE REFORMATION

"Martin Luther lived in an age of profound inter-



national tensions. Europe's political situation was in a state of flux." 1 In the midst of this confusion Luther had appealed to the rulers of the German nation for the reform of the Church, and he had received aid from some of them. Zwingli sought the support of not only the Council of Zurich, but also of the Diet of the Swiss Confederation. The former gave him amazing support, but in his appeals to the latter he accomplished nothing more than the disruption of the Confederation. The appeals of both Luther and Zwingli were directed to the ruling classes and had strong nationalistic flavour. The statement of D. J. Hill in this regard is appropriate.

In the Sixteenth century, religion had no safeguard except the state, and every form of it which did not manage to procure state protection was persecuted to the death. The Anabaptists, who repudiated the supremacy of civil authority over the spiritual life, were doomed to extinction by Zwingli in Switzerland as well as by the disciples of Luther in Germany. 2

The success of both Luther and Zwingli was due in no small measure, therefore, to the political aid which they received from the rulers. This support involved them in the great struggle of their age. This was between the ancient universal claims of the Emperor and the Pope,

---

1 G. W. Forell, "Luther and Politics", Luther and Culture (Decorah, Iowa; 1960), p. 24.

2 D. J. Hill, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 461.



on the one hand, and the particularistic interests of kings, princes and the cities, on the other hand. An example of this struggle can be seen in the career of Emperor Charles V.

... he would appear to have been inspired rather by the Mediaeval Conception of his office than by ideas more in harmony with the actual situation of the Empire of his time. ... keen-sighted Venetian ambassadors saw that it was the concentrated might of France rather than the scattered forces of the Hapsburgs which really threatened the liberties of Europe. 1

The age was one of the rise of territorial sovereignty and with this movement both Luther and Zwingli were in tune.

Luther's loyalty to the territorial state, in which he grew up and which provided him protection, was so far from being unusual, that none of his contemporary enemies accused him of supporting it. 2

The pretensions of the Emperor and the Pope in international affairs, therefore, went against the grain of the movement of political thought. This is not to say, however, that the death-rattles of medieval titles and powers did not call forth a great struggle with territorialism. The conflict produced a real menace for the Reformation of the Church, and yet a great opportunity at the same time. The menace was not only from the side of the Emperor and the

---

1 T. A. Walker, A History of the Law of Nations (Cambridge, 1899), Vol. I, p. 141.

2 H. J. Grimm, op. cit., p. 89.



Pope, but also came from the independence of Roman Catholic princes and cities. The opportunity was presented to the reformers of extending and organising their movement during times of respite in the midst of the confused struggle. An opportunity for the Reformation was inherent in the fact of the greater independence of those princes and cities which espoused the cause.

At the Diet of Augsburg in 1518, Cardinal Cajetan sought to inspire the rulers of Germany to unite for a crusade against the Turks and he presented new taxes by which the effort was to be financed.

A moment more inopportune could not, however, have been chosen; for Germany, on the point of insurrection against the Papacy, was not in a mood to accept the plans of Leo X.... 1

Even in this suggestion of joining against a common enemy, the papal representative was rebuffed. This illustrates the attitude of particularism in Germany. The Swiss, who had repudiated the claims of the Emperor in 1499, and whose secular rulers were constantly encroaching upon the privileges of the clergy, had the same attitude of defiance against the ancient claims of the Emperor and the Pope. During the events at Worms in 1521, the Emperor had made it plain that he was against Luther and the Reformation. He delivered to the princes on the day after Luther's

---

1 D. J. Hill, op. cit., p. 328.



famous appearance before the Diet a statement of his views. He had decided that he must defeat the new movement and stated: "I have therefore resolved to stake upon this cause all my dominions, my friends, my body and my blood, my life and soul".<sup>1</sup>

This resolve on the part of the Emperor was incorporated into the Edict of Worms. This placed upon Luther the ban of the Empire and thus he became outlawed. It stated that he was not only a heretic, but had been disobedient to civil authority. Everyone was forbidden to assist him. His books were to be burned and no more of his writings were to be printed. This Edict not only put Luther in grave danger, but was emblematic of the rising menace against all who would advocate the reformation of the Church.

The Pope made his opposition to the reform movement abundantly apparent at the First Diet of Nürnberg (November 1522 - March 1523). The new pope, Hadrian VI, admitted some of the abuses within the Church and promised their correction, but at the same time he insisted on the suppression of heresy. The Pope called for the immediate enforcement of the Edict of Worms against Luther and his teach-

---

<sup>1</sup> B. J. Kidd, op. cit., p. 86.



ings. 1 The Diet after due deliberation refused to execute the Edict. It presented instead a list of grievances against the papacy and demanded a free general council. The Diet did resolve, however, that controversial books and preaching should be discouraged. 2 This First Diet of Nürnberg gave to the reformers a time for further development of their cause.

The Second Diet of Nürnberg (January - April 1524) was stronger in its condemnation of the Reformation. It decreed that the Edict of Worms should be put into effect "as far as possible". It again called for a general council. Preaching must be made to conform to the teachings of the doctors recognised by the Roman Catholic Church. 3 Luther was angered by these resolutions, even as he had been gratified with the results of the First Diet of Nürnberg. Despite the fact that it was up to the princes ultimately to decide how far the Edict of Worms could be enforced within their territory, this Diet was much more straightforward in its appeal for an attack upon the reform movement than its predecessor. The spirit of the First and Second Diets of Nürnberg can be compared

---

1 Ibid., pp. 108-109.

2 Ibid., pp. 110-113.

3 Ibid., pp. 135-137.



with the First and Second Diets of Speyer, in the fact that in each case the second issued a stronger statement against the Reformation, than did the first.

The edict of this Second Diet of Nürnberg and, therefore, the Edict of Worms were carried out by some Catholic princes, following a convocation of these rulers in Regensburg in June 1524. "The meeting in Regensburg proved, in fact, the beginning of the disruption of Germany into two organised religious parties." <sup>1</sup> From this time dates the growth of alliances and associations for the advancement of their causes among both the Roman Catholic and Reformation groups.

The persecution of Lutherans within the dominions of Roman Catholic princes became severe in places and the forbidding of evangelical preachers became common. The Reformation party under the leadership of Elector John of Saxony and Philip of Hesse met in the spring of 1526 to construct a system for common defence. This was a wise move, for at the First Diet of Speyer which was convened on the 25th of June, 1526, they were able to present a united front against the Roman Catholic party which was weakened by the absence of some of its most out-spoken members. Led by the elector, John of Saxony, and Philip

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Mackinnon, Luther and the Reformation (London, 1925-1930), Vol. III, p. 158.



of Hesse, the reformed princes were emboldened to speak out for the Reformation cause in the presence of the Diet. In contrast to this spirit of the reformed party, the Roman Catholics were embarrassed by the growing enmity between the Emperor and the Pope. The Pope, Clement VII, had formed an alliance with the King of France against the Emperor, because he feared Charles's powerful position, following the Battle of Pavia. 1 The added fact of the threat from the Turks was also important. In the battle of Mohacz of 1526, the Turks routed the Hungarian army and terrorised all of Christendom. 2 In the face of this threat the Catholics did not want to do anything that would further divide the Empire.

The Diet decided that further dissensions about religion should be avoided by not demanding the enforcement of the Edict of Worms. The result of the First Diet of Speyer was that freedom for each religious party was established. They should each conduct their affairs with only the restraint that they would be answerable to God and the Emperor. This decision

... foreshadowed the principle on which the religious problem in Germany was ultimately to be settled - the principle of territorial sovereignty - and was in accordance with the dominant political

---

1 C. A. Buchheim, op. cit., p. lxxvii.

2 G. W. Forell, op. cit., p. 25.



tendency in the empire. 1

H. J. Grimm agrees with this position of J. Mackinnon.

He has written:

The principle Cuius regio eius religio, which was accepted at the close of the Schmalkaldic War, had already been accepted in fact at the Diet of Speyer in 1526. 2

The policy of the suppression of the Reformation in Switzerland was instituted later than in Germany, due to the Pope's desire for Swiss mercenary troops. Once started, however, it was more steady in its opposition, than in Germany. The Emperor was not involved in the Swiss situation, but his brother, Ferdinand of Austria, who was guided by Faber, an ardent representative of the papacy, was constantly seeking to unify the Roman Catholic cantons against Zurich. After the Baden Disputation of 1526, Zurich was completely isolated from the other cantons, because of its Reformation. Other cities came over to the reform faith in a short time, however. These were notably Bern and Basel. Two definite parties, therefore, emerged within the Confederation which were increasingly antagonistic to one another.

Ferdinand was seeking to incite the Roman Catholic cantons to war against Zurich. He, no doubt, saw that

---

1 J. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 278-279.

2 H. J. Grimm, op. cit., p. 88.



the defeat of Zurich could mean the reestablishment of Austrian supremacy in Switzerland. He, therefore, concluded an alliance with five of the Roman Catholic cantons in April 1529. <sup>1</sup> Zwingli realised that the time had come for the defence of the Reformation by force of arms. He urged the cities to send contingents to Zurich, in order that an attack could be made before the Roman Catholics had time to organise the strength of their alliance. On the 8th of June, 1529, the reformed cities declared war on the Catholic alliance. Zwingli's purpose was to break the Austrian alliance and safe-guard those who held the reformed faith and who lived within Roman Catholic cantons. Zwingli marched with his men who were thirty thousand strong <sup>2</sup> to Cappel. There they confronted a Catholic army of smaller size. Instead of attacking them, negotiations were begun with the Catholics. The result was a peace which was signed without any actual combat. It gave to the reformed party their objectives, i.e. that evangelical preachers should not be molested and that the alliance which bound the Roman Catholic cantons to Austria should be forsworn. <sup>3</sup> Zwingli, how-

---

<sup>1</sup> J. C. Mörkofer, op. cit., Part II, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> S. M. Jackson, op. cit., p. 302.

<sup>3</sup> B. J. Kidd, op. cit., p. 470.



ever, looked with disfavour on the situation. He saw that a golden opportunity had been lost and that the battle which had been suspended would be carried out at some future time, when the situation was not to the advantage of the reformed cantons.

Meanwhile in Germany the Second Diet of Speyer had met in March of 1529. The situation was very different from the one that had existed at the First Diet of Speyer. Now the Roman Catholic party was well represented and united in their determination to defeat the Reformation. The Emperor's differences with the Pope had been resolved. Thus, Ferdinand, who was representing his brother at the Diet, pressed for a strong decision against the reformed states and cities. He and a commission sent by the Emperor had their plans well laid. Thus, the majority resolution of this Diet called for the enforcement of the Edict of Worms within Catholic territories. Within reformed areas Roman Catholics should be free to follow their own consciences in matters of faith. <sup>1</sup> This statement of approval of the suppression of the Reformation in Roman Catholic areas and the toleration of Catholicism within reformed territories is what caused the protest by the princes and the cities. This protest gave "Protestantism" its name.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 242.



The electors, princes, and delegates of the free cities rather than the theologians were called upon to say, "Here I Stand". Luther himself was not so much the confessor as the mentor of confessors. 1

These confessors were both Lutheran princes and Zwinglians from the south Germany cities.

The menace to the Reformation had grown in strength and organisation in both Germany and Switzerland. In the spring of 1529, the future looked dark for the Protestants in Germany. They were out-numbered by the Roman Catholics who were drawn together by military alliances. In Switzerland the reformed cities had lost their opportunity at Cappel and now had to view the growing strength of the Austrian alliance with five of the Catholic cantons. In both Germany and Switzerland military alliances threatened the new faith. Was the response of the Protestants to be the creation of defensive alliances of their own? This question which was heatedly discussed by Protestant theologians and statesmen was to become a point of discord within the evangelical cause.

## II. ZWINGLI AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Zwingli's opinions about international relations and defensive alliances are complicated, because of the fact that he so completely reversed his conceptions.

---

1 R. H. Bainton, op. cit., p. 315.



During his early years at Glarus he showed himself as a child of his times. He saw no harm in becoming involved in international relations and in Swiss troops going about Europe as mercenary soldiers. He accompanied them to Italy on three occasions<sup>1</sup> and received a pension from the Pope for his services in recruiting Swiss soldiers.

There is evidence that he began to change his opinion in the autumn of 1510, because of his writing of Das Fabelgedicht vom Ochsen. In this poem Zwingli is commenting on current events. He pictures Switzerland as an ox which grazes happily in an Alpine meadow. Beside the ox is the ever faithful dog, which represents Zwingli. The ox had been attacked by a lion, the House of Hapsburg, in the past and had always been victorious. The lion had eventually given up the attempt to conquer the ox. But a new danger became apparent in the form of the leopard, the French King, whose agents were cats, the pensioners. The leopard praises the ox for his past victories. Through the cats to whom the leopard gives gifts, the ox is persuaded to make an alliance with the leopard. To this the dog barks his protest, but to no avail. The ox is led away from his meadow and becomes involved in many battles, in order that the leopard may grow wealthy. The lion sees

---

<sup>1</sup> S. M. Jackson, op. cit., p. 71.



the use to which the leopard is putting the ox and he, too, seeks to use him. The ox, therefore, serves first the leopard and then the lion, but always to their advantage and his hurt. The herdsman, the Pope, finally intervenes. This causes the dog to bark for joy and causes the cats much pain.

Do das der prüdernpundt enpfint,  
vermarcktend sy den list gar gschwind  
und sagend an dem ochsen krieg,  
wo er von stund an nit entfug  
den knopff, damit er punden was  
zum hirten, das er auch ein hass  
ann ochsen wurff, dass er verlan  
wer allenthalb, bloss müste stan  
iren zenen scharpff, und werden spiss  
ir beyder schlund nach irer wyss. 1

But the ox remains faithful to the herdsman. The ox is finally persuaded to realise that he must resist bribes and dissolve his alliances with the leopard and the lion.

This fable was Zwingli's first work written against foreign intervention in the affairs of Switzerland. He spoke through it against the practice of sending mercenary soldiers to either the Emperor or the King of France. He also chastised the cats for accepting pensions from these sources. It is strange that Zwingli did not apply his principle to himself. He received a pension from the Pope until 1520. He stated that this was an exception. Only for the defence of the Pope's possessions should mercenary

---

1 U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 19,21.



soldiers go forth. Zwingli had started on his course of objection to foreign involvement, but had not made the principle universal enough to cover mercenary soldiers being hired by the Pope.

"Zwingli went three times to Italy as chaplain of the Glarus contingent, in 1512, in 1513, and again in 1515." <sup>1</sup> As with Luther's trip to Rome, his expeditions may have had the effect of disillusioning the young man, because of the secularism of the Pope's domain. While fighting for the Pope during the first two of these engagements, he saw the Swiss mercenaries win remarkable victories. It was as a result of these triumphs that he received his papal pension.

The result of the campaign of 1515 was the severest disillusionment, however. While in Italy, agents for the French King bribed some of the Swiss mercenaries in a lavish manner. They sought to win them over to their side in the struggle against the Pope. Zwingli preached to the troops at Monza, pointing out that they should only fight for the Pope.

But the French bribe was in so many cases successful that quite serious defection was caused in the Swiss ranks, with the result that the papal troops were badly beaten in the battle of Marignano, ten miles south-east of Milan, upon September 14th and

---

<sup>1</sup> S. M. Jackson, op. cit., p. 71.



15th, and their reputation as Ever Victorious gone for ever. 1

After returning home from this great defeat, Zwingli wrote his second work against the mercenary system. This was entitled, Der Labyrinth, and was the product of Zwingli's interest in humanistic studies. It is based on the mythical tale of Theseus, who went into the Labyrinth to kill the monster. Zwingli saw himself as Theseus and the monster as the evil involved in the mercenary system. The Pope was no longer represented as the good herdsman and it seems that Zwingli was now placing him in the same category as the other rulers who sought mercenary troops. He stated in this poem:

Sich, wie wir umb ein kleinen ländt  
 unser läben gar verschätzend.  
 Drum wir den nechsten ouch hetzend,  
 betrubend all naturlich recht  
 mit kriegen, zanggen, andrem gfächet,  
 das wir die hellschen wuterin  
 mögend dencken abbrochen sin.  
 Sag an, wass hand wir Cristen mer  
 dann den namen? Der wärcken lär,  
 niemans ghein geduld, ghein lieb weist.  
 Warlich die fürsten allermeist,  
 die nütz hand glernt dann mutwillen;  
 so bald inn in kopf ein grillen  
 kumpt, so muss es nur gewutet sin. 2

Because of his objection to foreign involvement which now had become complete, Zwingli was forced to resign as the

---

1 Ibid., p. 76.

2 U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 60.



priest in Glarus, because of the pressure of the pensioners there.

Due to the activities of Cardinal Schinner, the Confederation became involved in the intrigues attendant to the election of the Holy Roman Emperor in 1519.

Zwingli aber war gegen jede Einmischung in diese Angelegenheit, indem er mit prophetischem Blicke voraussah, welche Gefahren der Sache des Evangeliums aus der Wahl Karls zum Kaiser erwachsen würden. 1

Zwingli advocated no involvement in foreign affairs whatsoever, for "... ebenso entschieden war es auch gegen eine Verwendung zu Gunsten Franz I. ". 2

Even though Zwingli had been appealing for the complete destruction of the mercenary system after 1516, he had continued to draw his papal pension for the procurement of mercenary troops for the Pope. He ended this duplicity in 1520, when he finally resigned his pension. Zwingli's career as a reformer can be dated from this act. He was now free not only to preach reform, but to attack the mercenary system unashamed.

In 1521, he preached boldly against all forms of foreign service, including that for the benefit of the Pope. "... ich wölt, sprach er, der Zwingli, das man durch des bapsts vereinigung ein loch gestochen und dem

---

1 R. Christoffel, op. cit., p. 41.

2 Ibid., p. 42.



botten uff den ruggen gäben hätte heym zu tragen." 1

Because of this stand, the Council of Zurich forbade all mercenary service and admonished the citizens of the Canton to give up their pensions and not receive gifts from foreign rulers.

In May 1522, Zwingli proclaimed his most complete warning against foreign involvement in his work which was entitled, Eine göttliche Vermahnung an die Eidgenossen zu Schwyz. In this document he wrote: "... sust ze besorgen ist, es werdind die herren, die uns mit ysen unnd hallbarten nie hand mögen gwünnen, mit weychem gold überwinden..."<sup>2</sup> Zwingli recalled the glory of Switzerland's fight for independence at Morgarten, Sempach, and Näfels, where 350 men attacked a force of 15,000 eleven times and finally routed them completely.<sup>3</sup> In contrast to this, he pointed out the recent defeats which the Swiss mercenaries had suffered.

Wir haben in menschen gedechtniss ze Napels, Novarien, Meyland grösseren schaden in der herren dienst empfangen, denn die wyl ein Eiggnoschaft gstanden ist, und sind in eygnem krieg allweg sig-hafft xin, in frönden dick sigloss. 4

---

1 U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 73.

2 Ibid., p. 166.

3 Ibid., p. 171.

4 Ibid., p. 174.



Five dangers inherent in mercenary service were promulgated by Zwingli. The danger of being found to be in opposition to the Will of God. The peril that ordinary justice will be despised. The third threat is that foreign money and contacts would implant evil seeds at home. The fourth danger is that jealousy will be bred among the Confederates. The fifth reason which Zwingli used to point out the folly of the mercenary system is that the Swiss might fall into the bondage of foreign princes, whether those allied with the Confederates, or those who are their enemies. His final word of warning is simply this: "Hut dich, Schwytz, vor fr̄ubden heren;/ Sy br̄achtend dich zu uneeren". 1

A radical about-face was done by Zwingli sometime after this strong statement against foreign involvement contained in his work, Eine göttliche Vermahnung an die Eidgenossen zu Schwyz, written in May 1522. Up until this time he had persistently admonished the Council of Zurich and the Confederation to avoid at any cost all international alliances. He was now to advocate alliances, as a means of extending and protecting the Reformation.

Zwingli drastically left his former position

---

1 Ibid., p. 188.



against foreign involvement, when he guided the Council of Zurich to contract a defensive alliance with the Imperial City of Constance, which had been won to the reformed cause. Constance had been threatened by the Emperor, because of its denial of the papacy. An alliance for mutual defence was concluded in December 1527, and was designated by the term, Burgrechte.<sup>1</sup> Some other Swiss cities, including Basel and Bern, as well as Mühlhausen joined this alliance. Thus, Zwingli had created an alliance of both Swiss and south German cities which were pledged to defend each other if attacked.

This arrangement, however, was not extensive enough for Zwingli. In 1529, two forces confronted the Protestants; in Switzerland the alliance between Austria and five of the Roman Catholic cantons and in Germany the renewed vigour of the Roman Catholic party. Zwingli viewed this situation with alarm. He sought, therefore, a wider union with the Lutheran cities and states. He was pleased by the prospects of the Marburg Colloquy, because this could be the means of securing a strong defensive alliance among all of the Protestants.

He had large political plans, and hoped to secure a permanent place for Protestantism in Europe by a coalition of the German Protestant states with Switzerland and France against the emperor and the

---

<sup>1</sup> B. J. Kidd, op. cit., p. 469.



popes. More a man of the world than Luther, he cared as much for changing the map of Europe as for saving the souls of men. 1

This statement by A. C. McGiffert contains the truth that Zwingli had for a long time before 1529 thought of the possibility of engaging King Francis of France as an ally. In 1525, he had dedicated his greatest work, De vera et falsa religione commentarius, to King Francis. 2 Zwingli did not shun the possibility of making an alliance with a non-protestant power, if by this means the areas where the Reformation had taken root could be protected. Of course, Luther would have balked at even the suggestion of such a plan.

A. C. McGiffert stated that Zwingli "... cared as much for shaping the map of Europe as for saving the souls of men". 3 Zwingli would have objected to such a criticism. His alliance-making was a means toward the goal of safe-guarding the evangelical cause, rather than an end in itself. But as a means and a motive for action, it was pursued by Zwingli with great consistency.

Zwingli's attitude toward international involvement and alliances showed an interesting course, therefore.

---

1 A. C. McGiffert, op. cit., pp. 327-328.

2 U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 628.

3 A. C. McGiffert, op. cit., p. 328.



Until the time when he had control in the Council of Zurich, he advocated that no alliances should be honoured by Zurich, except the ancient alliances that bound the Canton to the other cantons of the Confederation. After his attainment of control and with the rapid spread of the Reformation and in the face of the growing hostility by the Roman Catholics, his attitude changed completely. He, now, no longer warned against foreign alliances, but was actively engaged in their creation. His change of opinion was a matter of expediency and came from his strong desire that the Reformation might be protected and extended by whatever means might prove necessary.

### III. LUTHER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD ALLIANCES

A strong emphasis in Luther's political thought was his aversion to any international involvement by the German states. He had a distaste for any alliances, even for the purpose of defence and even though they might provide a common front for Protestants against the alliances of the Roman Catholics. In each case, Luther conceived that the Emperor and the other rulers of Germany were ordained by God. There should be no interference with their powers, either from within or without. This



was consistent with his oft-stated conception that rulers should not be resisted. 1 For him the powers that be are ordained by God and interference in their decisions is both unwise and unholy.

In his appeal of 1520, An den christlichen Adel, he set forth the principle that the German rulers were to resist foreign intervention and govern their lands themselves. L. H. Waring wrote on this subject and expressed the opinion that Luther

... stood for a united Germany, with a government by the Germans and for the Germans, as against all foreign interference or domination. His is one of the strongest pleas in the history of the world for the government of the people of one race by their own rulers, without hindrance or dictation from without.... 2

In his appeal of 1520, Luther was mainly speaking to the phenomenon of papal interference, but he later extended this conception to include all military alliances, whether with Zurich, or with France, or with any other area or among the princes. In his appeal he stated that the Pope "... all deutsche stiftt on gewalt und recht zu sich reysset, und die selben zu Rom frembden, die nichts in deutschen landen dafur thun, gibt unnd vorkeufft...." 3

---

1 Romans 13:1-7 and I Peter 2:13-14.

2 L. H. Waring, op. cit., pp. 126-127.

3 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 428.



Luther's encounter with Emperor Charles V at the Diet of Worms was a further expression of the conception that Germany was for the Germans. Luther had the support of some of the knights and was for many of the common people a national hero, even though he had not sought the admiration of these groups. He had, however, addressed himself to the princes. Even though he appeared at Worms as a theologian, Luther was the embodiment of the idea that sought the freedom of the German Church from the power of the papacy. Luther, however, was never in open revolt against the Emperor. This was contrary to his principle of respect for the powers that be, but in Worms he set himself against the Emperor, because of Charles's support of the papacy. The Emperor's

... encounter with Luther placed in violent contrast the powers of Rome and the aspirations of Germany, the mediaeval past and the instincts of modern freedom, the terror of mandates deriving their authority from the absolutism of Pope and Emperor and convictions based upon the reason and conscience of one fearless man. 1

The freedom that Luther sought was not freedom for the common man in any worldly sense, as has been made manifest in modern thought, but freedom for his own convictions and freedom for Germany to determine its own destiny in the spiritual realm.

---

1 D. J. Hill, op. cit., p. 356.



In his tract of 1523, Von weltlicher Oberkeit, Luther made it plain that he espoused obedience to the civil authority.

... sage ich, das keyn furst widder seynen uberherrn als den konig und keyser oder sonst seynen lehen herrnn kriegen soll, ssondernn lassen nehmen, wer da nympt. Denn der uberkeyt soll man nicht widderstehen mit gewallt, ssondern nur mit bekentnis der warhey.... 1

Although armed resistance was forbidden by Luther, he does set forth his principle that the Christian is under obligation to obey God rather than man. This, then, explains Luther's stand against the Pope, and, therefore, against the Emperor. He was obeying God rather than man, but in this obedience to God he did not advocate armed resistance, but rather passive resistance.

As his reforming movement gained strength and the support of some of the princes of Germany, an inevitable problem presented itself. Should these reformed princes obey the Roman Catholic Emperor in his opposition to the Lutheran cause? In 1525, Luther wrote to the Count of Mansfeld, answering his question as to whether a league of reformed princes for the mutual defence of their new-found faith was permissible. Luther stated that this would be wrong. "Denn Gott will die Oberherrn, sie seien

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XI, pp. 276-277.



böse oder gut, geehret haben...." 1 Thus, Luther expressed his opinion on a matter that was to try him and the Reformation in the succeeding years.

A crisis was caused when Philip of Hesse and Prince John, Elector of Saxony, formed with other princes the League of Torgau in 1526. This was designed as a military alliance for mutual defence. In his tract of the same year, Ob Kriegsleute auch in seligem Stande sein können, he again stated his position that "... das widder die oberperson kein fechten noch streit recht sein konne". 2

Despite the growing menace to the Reformation during the period immediately before and during the Second Diet of Speyer, Luther remained firm in his resolve that a military alliance, even of a defensive nature, against the Emperor should not be countenanced. The princes and representatives of the cities saw it as an absolute necessity, however. In answer to their position Luther stated:

Denn wir in unserm Gewissen solch Verbündnis nicht mügen billigen noch raten, angesehen, wo es fortginge und etwa ein Blutvergiessen oder sonst ein Unglück draus erfolgete, dass, ob wir alsdenn dern heraus wollten sein, nicht könnten kommen, und alles solchs Unfalls ein unleidliche Beschwerung tragen müssten, dass wir lieber möchten zehenmal tot sein, denn solchs Gewissen haben, dass unser Evangelium sollte ein Ursache gewesen sein einiges Bluts oder Schadens, so

---

1 Ibid., Briefwechsel Vol. III, p. 416.

2 Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 645.



von unserwegen geschehe; weil wir sollen die sein, die da leiden und, wie der Prophet sagt Ps. 44, wie die Schlachtschafe gerechent sein und nicht uns selbs rächen oder verteidigen.... 1

The contrast between Luther and Zwingli on this matter of alliances is sharper than in any other aspect of their political differences. Zwingli was in favour of any type of alliance, whether it be against the Emperor or with a Roman Catholic king, such as Francis of France, that promised the defence of Protestantism. Neither did Zwingli stop in advocating defensive alliances. If the conditions were right, he would call for an army of the reformed cause to take the initiative, as he did in the case of the First Cappel "war" of 1529. Even though the two armies did not become engaged in battle, Zwingli's opinion was that they should have done so and that the Zurichers had lost a great opportunity. Luther's opinion was in the opposite extreme, however. For him the gospel must never be defended or extended by the sword. Zwingli's attitudes and actions made for a very negative opinion in Luther's mind. Luther felt that this showed a basic lack of faith in the power of the Holy Spirit on Zwingli's part.

#### IV. ATTITUDES TOWARD THE OBJECTIVES OF PHILLIP OF HESSE

---

1 Ibid., Briefwechsel Vol. V, p. 182.



Prince Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, had been won to the reformed cause by Melancthon<sup>1</sup>, who later bitterly opposed his plans for political alliances against the Roman Catholics. The inclusion of Philip in the ranks of the reformed princes was a great help to the cause of the Reformation. Even though he at times embarrassed Luther and Melancthon with his political adventures, e.g. his intrigues on behalf of Ulrich, Duke of Württemberg, and because of his questionable morals, e.g. his bigamy, he was a tower of strength and energy. There is no doubt that, despite all of his political concerns, he was sincere in his advocating of the Reformation. His retention of this faith even against tremendous odds and his intense interest in the theological discussions at Marburg in 1529, are evidence of this fact.

Philip was a follower of Luther and yet he had strong sympathies for Zwingli and his theological and political point of view. Even in the matter of the organisation of the evangelical Church which he was establishing in Hesse, Philip expressed his basically un-Lutheran ideas. He had convened an assembly of clergy and laymen in Homberg in 1526 to set up the organisation for the Church. Francis Lambert, who had been won to the Reformation by Zwing-

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 275.



li 1 and who was Philip's chief theologian, provided a representative and democratic plan for the Church. Pastors, elders and deacons were to be elected by the congregations and a territorial assembly was to be made up of clerical and lay representatives from each church. Philip would only have control over the Church in that he would be allowed to speak at the deliberations of the assembly and would have a single vote, as did the other delegates. Philip was pleased with this programme for Church organisation and described it to Luther. The latter felt that it was unsuited to the needs of the German princedoms and advised Philip to institute his system of visitations, whereby he would have control over the Church. This Philip did, but it is interesting to see how, for a time, he was taken with this idea that J. Mackinnon described as "... an anticipation of the Presbyterian system of polity".<sup>2</sup> This episode shows that Philip had much sympathy for ideas which were more akin to those being evolved in Switzerland. He always had the quality of being in both the Lutheran and Zwinglian parties of the evangelical cause at the same time. Because of this, he was to become a central figure which both of the reformed groups wished to have as an uncom-

---

1 Ibid., p. 288.

2 Ibid.



promising adherent.

Before the First Diet of Speyer, Philip had been the means of drawing together a counter-league against the Roman Catholics at meetings at Torgau and Gotha.

Man nennt ihn gewöhnlich den Torgauer Bund; in Torgau hat man ihn aber nur von sächsischer Seite ratificirt: geschlossen ward er gegen Ende Februar 1526 zu Gotha. 1

This League of Torgau comprised, beside the Elector of Saxony and Philip, the Dukes of Lüneburg, Grubenhagen, and Mecklenberg, the Prince of Anhalt, Count Albrecht of Mansfeld, and the city of Magdeburg. 2 Luther was against this or any other league that might be formed, despite the fact that the Roman Catholics were joined in leagues against the Reformation. Because of this League of Torgau, the reformed cause presented a united nucleus at the First Diet of Speyer. With the aid of the moderate Catholics they were able temporarily to turn the tide of the Catholic menace.

The conflict between the opinions of Luther and the Landgrave of Hesse can be seen in an episode which took place in 1527. The leaders of the Roman Catholic party had met at Breslau in May 1527. Duke George of Saxony, the Elector Joachin of Brandenburg, and the Archduke

---

1 L. von Ranke, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 350.

2 J. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 276.



Ferdinand were the participants in this convocation. 1 A forged document by an adventurer, Otto von Fack, purported that the result of this meeting was a plan of attack on the Elector of Saxony and Philip. Their properties were to be confiscated by the anti-Lutheran league, according to the document. Both John and Philip were deceived by the forgery and both prepared for war. Philip was in favour of immediately attacking the supposed conspirators. John, however, sought the advice of Luther, who as usual advised no resort to arms, although Luther was as thoroughly deceived as were the princes. 2 The fraud was uncovered in time to avoid conflict. "Luther had saved Germany from a religious war." 3 This incident showed Philip's eagerness to defend the evangelical cause with the sword and Luther's insistence on a policy of negotiation. These differing attitudes were to have far-reaching effects on the future of evangelical alliances.

At the Second Diet of Speyer of February 1529, the League of Torgua no longer had the support of moderate Catholics. By skilful manœuvring the Catholic party sought to cut this league of evangelicals away from the support

---

1 Ibid., p. 298.

2 H. E. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 285.

3 Ibid.



of the south German cities which were Zwinglian. Their means was to point out the differences between the Lutheran and Zwinglian position on the Lord's Supper. Melancthon, who accompanied Elector John to the Diet, seemed willing to abandon the south German cities, because of their Zwinglian leanings. Philip's diplomacy, however, caused these cities to add their names to the protest. <sup>1</sup> Philip of Hesse had convinced the princes that the differences among the reformed party should be discussed at a later date and that unity was essential at the Diet. Thus, the Elector of Saxony, the Duke of Lüneburg, the Margrave of Brandenburg, and the Prince of Anhalt, plus Philip, joined with the cities in their protest. The resolution of the majority against which the protest was lodged stated:

... such doctrines and sects as deny the most worthy sacrament of our Lord Jesus Christ's Body and Blood shall in no wise be tolerated by the holy Empire of the German nation, nor be henceforth suffered... to preach in public.... <sup>2</sup>

This clause was written against the Zwinglians, among others, and was the device of the Catholics to divide the evangelical party. The fact that Philip was able to get both the Lutheran princes and the Zwinglian cities to stand together in their protest, despite these tactics,

---

<sup>1</sup> A. F. Pollard, op. cit., pp. 203-204.

<sup>2</sup> B. J. Kidd, op. cit., p. 242.



is an expression of his mediating ability.

After the decision of the Second Diet of Speyer, the Elector of Saxony, Philip, and the representatives of three cities, Nürnberg, Ulm, and Strassburg, concluded a secret agreement for mutual defence on the 22nd of April, 1529. A meeting was proposed for Rodach in June of 1529, in order to continue this work. <sup>1</sup> This agreement was withheld from Luther, who had left no doubt in any of the minds of the members of this secret bond between Lutheran princes and Zwinglian cities as to how he viewed alliances. Before the meeting in Rodach was held, the agreement became known to Luther. He was doubly annoyed, because the agreement included Zwinglians, and because any alliance had been proposed at all. He had not changed one iota from his former position, despite the increasing pressure of the Roman Catholics. Under Philip's guidance the meeting was held at the time and place specified to attempt the creation of a solid Protestant defensive alliance. "Luther vereitelte dieses Unternehmen durch seine Bedenken, die er bei diesem Anlass laut werden liess." <sup>2</sup>

The meeting at Rodach had included Germans of both

---

<sup>1</sup> A. F. Pollard, "The Conflict of Creeds and Parties in Germany", Cambridge Modern History, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> R. Christoffel, op. cit., p. 363.



Lutheran and Zwinglian persuasion. Philip sought to construct an alliance which would include the Swiss, as well. He was the logical one to arrange a meeting with this type of bond in view. He decided that a colloquy should be held in his castle in Marburg in October 1529. The idea of having such a meeting between Zwingli and Luther was not his own, however.

Es war der geistreiche Prediger Johannes Haner, der den edeldenkenden und hochbegabten Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen bewog, das Vermittlergeschäft zwischen den erzürnten Brüdern zu übernehmen. 1

Even though he had received this idea from Haner, who was a pastor in Nürnberg, one of the cities represented at Rodach, Philip took it up as his own. He eagerly went about making arrangements for the conference.

Philip's hope was based on the assumption that, if he had Zwingli and Luther discuss their differences, they would come to a common basis of agreement. Upon this concord a defensive alliance could be built to off-set the papal party which was now closely united under the leadership of Archduke Ferdinand. The Lutheran princes had refused to enter whole-heartedly into an alliance with the adherents of Zwinglian ideas, unless the latter would renounce their doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and accept Luther's position about the Sacrament. Philip was con-

---

1 Ibid., pp. 299-300.



vinced that the Marburg Colloquy could effect a reconciliation between the two evangelical parties.

Philip had not taken seriously enough Luther's basic position, however. Even if theological concord was reached, Luther would still be opposed to an alliance against the Emperor and the Pope. He had often expressed the opinion that even the German princes should not conclude such an agreement among themselves. Luther had deep reservations about the activities of Philip and Zwingli, therefore. "The motive driving the others to seek peace and harmony was therefore not his." <sup>1</sup>

Philip realised that he must have Luther present at the Colloquy, in order that his plan might be fulfilled. He first convinced the Elector of Saxony of his opinion about the necessity of the Conference. He then invited Luther. Luther did not want any part of the plan, due to the Supper Controversy in which he had been engaged with Zwingli for three years. (This controversy will be described in the next chapter.)

Luther sought a prohibition by the Elector against his journey to Marburg, but the Elector had already agreed to Philip's plan. Luther now wrote to the Landgrave, requesting that he reconsider his plan. In this letter of

---

<sup>1</sup> A. C. McGiffert, op. cit., p. 331.



the 23rd of June, 1529, Luther stated his opinions about the fruitlessness of discussions with the Zwinglians in this manner:

Denn E. f. g. kan das leichtlich bedencken, das alle unterrede verloren und zusammen koman umbsonst ist, so beyderteil mit fursatz, nichts zu vergeben, wie ich denn bisher nicht anders erfunden, denn das sie auff yhren synn bestehen wollen, nach dem sie unsern wol gesehen. So weys ich ia wol, das ich nicht weichen kan, als gewis, das sie yrren, nach dem ich yhren grund auch gesehen. 1

Philip would not change his plans, however. Luther could not refuse to come to Marburg, because of the fear of driving Philip entirely into the Zwinglian group. Luther came to Marburg with a gloomy spirit, expecting nothing from a Conference with men of Zwinglian persuasion. Luther's pessimism about the Colloquy can be illustrated in the attitude which he expressed in a letter of June 1529. He summed up his misgivings in this manner. "... ich kan mich nichts guts zu dem teuffel versehen, Er stelle sich, wie hübsch er ymer wolle." 2 And again, speaking of the motive for concord and unity: "Ich bin nñ bis her yns zwolffte iar mit solchen stucken und tucken wol gewitzigt und oft gar seer gebrand." 3

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. V, p. 102.

2 Ibid.

3 Ibid., p. 101.



Luther had been convinced that he must attend and left for Marburg. He again expressed his mistrust of the whole situation, when he reached the border of Hesse. He waited there until a messenger had been sent to the Landgrave, in order to secure a safe-conduct for him. Philip was greatly displeased by this lack of confidence on Luther's part, but issued the document. Christoffel has commented: "Welchen starken Gegensatz bildet diese kienliche Aengstlichkeit zu jenem freudigen Heldensinne, den Luther acht Jahre vorher auf seiner Reise nach Worms bewies!" 1

As for Philip's invitation to Zwingli, a wholly different response was received. The Landgrave of Hesse knew more about Zwingli than did his fellow princes and realised that his presence was imperative, in order that reconciliation might be achieved between him and Luther. Philip considered that the differences between the two theologians were not as great as Luther made them out to be. Zwingli had the same impression and willingly accepted the Landgrave's invitation. For Zwingli the Conference was very important. He had just completed an inconclusive treaty with the Roman Catholics at the First Peace of Chappel and he realised that the struggle was soon again

---

1 R. Christoffel, op. cit., p. 306.



to flame into action. He, therefore, had a great concern that a wide international alliance of Protestants should be formed.

Zwingli must not have been fully aware of the underlying differences that he had with Luther on the subject of alliances, because he looked forward with high hopes to meeting the German. The Landgrave had sent letters to the councils of Zurich, in order that Zwingli might be given a leave of absence. The councils were dubious about the wisdom of letting Zwingli travel so far in such dangerous times. Zwingli was so anxious to be on his way that he did not wait for leave, but started on his journey by night. He left behind him a letter to the Burgomaster and the councils in which he explained his departure in this manner:

Noch so hat mit gwellt zimmen, das ich nit keme, dannwodas, so wäre aller anschlag fürgeben, und vil treffenlicher mander ab der widerpart würdind ouch vergeben reysen. Möchtind ouch demnach sich lassen vermercken, sam wir das früntlich gspräch geschohen. 1

All of the participants were on their way to Marburg for a Conference which would decide whether Protestantism was to be denominationalised or united. The problems of the Conference would be tremendous and the prospects of success dim, because of the dust of controversy which obscured the vision of Luther and Zwingli in relationship

---

1 U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. X, pp. 293-294.



to one another. The controversy had been over their doctrines of the Lord's Supper and more particularly the presence of the Lord in the elements of the Sacrament. Although this was the greatest issue at stake, the discussions were to be hampered by suspicions and differences in political thought. This second issue was particularly involved in their differing opinions of military alliances. A third problem facing those who sought mediation was the basic differences in the personalities of the two men. Zwingli was a humanist with all of the respect for pure reason that this school of thought entails. Luther was a dogmatist and depended on the subjective confession of his own opinions. These, then, were the problems involved in the quest of concord.

These differences of opinion and personality had already been made manifest in the response of Zwingli and Luther to Philip's proposed plan. Zwingli responded to Philip's invitation with great joy, seeing the Conference as a means of delivering the Swiss Reformation from great danger. Luther's response to the call of the Landgrave was dismal. He expected nothing from the Colloquy and it could almost be said that he came under duress. Both Luther and Zwingli had correctly understood the Landgrave's motive in calling the Conference. For Zwingli the motive of a strong Protestant military alliance was what he wished, as



well. For Luther the idea was repugnant in the extreme. These, then, were the attitudes of the chief participants at the Colloquy of Marburg, which met on the 1st through the 4th of October, 1529.



## CHAPTER VI

### LUTHER AND ZWINGLI IN CONFLICT:

#### THE COLLOQUY OF MARBURG

The first generation of the Reformation was split into two parties by the conflict between Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli. This conflict has been known as the Supper Controversy and it had its culmination at the Colloquy of Marburg in 1529. Luther was a man of the word. He dogmatically stated and held to his opinion based on his understanding of the Word of God. Zwingli was the man with a motive. He shared this motive with Philip of Hesse and it was the plan of securing sufficient theological agreement among the reformed theologians, so that a defensive alliance could be constructed. The Marburg Conference was to be a struggle between the word and the motive.

#### I. DIFFERENCES IN THEOLOGY AND PERSONALITY

According to Thomas Aquinas, the priest possesses the miraculous power invested in him by his ordination of changing the bread and wine of the Sacrament into the actual body and blood of the Lord. Because this is the actual body of Christ, a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ is involved. "... the celebration of this sac-



rament is called Christ's sacrifice." 1

According to Thomas's injunction, the elements of the Supper were not to be given to the people in both kinds, but the bread alone, due to the fact that some recipient might spill the precious blood.

"... because the multitude of the Christian people increased, in which there are old, young, and children, some of whom have not enough discretion to observe due caution in using this sacrament, on that account it is a prudent custom in some churches for the blood not to be offered to the reception of the people, but to be received by the priest alone." 2

The priest alone had the wisdom to partake correctly of the elements of the Holy Communion. The view of the elements held by the Roman Church of the medieval period, as described by Thomas, was that they retained their accidents of colour, taste and shape, and yet were substantially changed into the body and blood of the Lord.

Luther's conception of the bodily presence of the Lord in the Supper was based on the proposition that the body had the attribute of ubiquity. 3 He denounced the conception of transubstantiation, however. He stated that for over 1,200 years the Church had remained orthodox, in

---

1 Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica, Fathers of the English Dominican Province, translators (New York, 1947), Vol. II, p. 2512.

2 Ibid., p. 2500.

3 H. Sasse, This Is My Body (Minneapolis, Minnesota; 1959), p. 155.



that on no occasion, and in no place, do the Fathers mention the word transubstantiation which Luther described as "... portentoso scilicet vocabulo et somnio...." <sup>1</sup> He was convinced that the presence of the glorified body of Christ, extended in space, could be held without belief in a priestly miracle which involved changing the substance of the elements. This enabled him to remain true to what was to become his major text, "This is my body", and, yet do away with the idea of an actual change at the moment of the elevation of the host. The ubiquitous body of Christ was naturally present in the elements, due to the words, "This is my body". Thereby Luther sought to hold to the medieval idea of the nature of the elements and, yet, divorce it from the priestly miracle.

In his work, De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium, Luther defined three issues which he had with the idea of the medieval conception of the Lord's Supper. He stated that the Church was captivated by the false idea that the Sacrament was only to be given to the laity in bread alone. He demonstrated that the Bible indicates that it ought to be given to the people in both kinds. Those who deny to the laity this right sin against the Word. Secondly, Luther stated that the Church was a cap-

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 509.



tive in that the Scholastic doctrine of the nature of the elements was held. This was that the accidents of the bread and wine alone remain, while the substance of these elements are changed into the body and blood of the Lord.

... Luther's use of the term "in bread and wine" suggests that the transformation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ does not involve "transubstantiation", that is, the annihilation of the natural substance of the bread and wine. 1

For Luther the reality and the substance of the bread and wine remain along with the substance of the body and blood of Christ.

Ego sane, si non possum consequi, quo modo panis sit corpus Christi, captivabo tamen intellectum meum in obsequium Christi, et verbis eius simpliciter inhaerens credo firmiter, non modo corpus Christi esse in pane sed panem esse corpus Christi. 2

Luther illustrated this point by asking why Christ could not confine his body within the substance of bread, just as in the accidents.

Ecce ignis et ferrum duae substantiae sic miscentur in ferro ignito, ut quaelibet pars sit ferrum et ignis: cur non multo magis corpus gloriosum Christi sic in omni parte substantiae panis esse possit? 3

Luther, in the third place, believed that the Church had been deluded in connecting the idea of good works with the

---

1 R. Prenter, "Luther on Word and Sacrament", More about Luther (Decorah, Iowa; 1958), p. 109.

2 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 511.

3 Ibid., p. 510.



Sacrament of the Altar. He said that this made of Christ's body an article of trade. It is not a sacrifice which we offer to God, but rather the commemoration of God's sacrifice for us.

In Der kleine Katechismus of 1529, Luther instructed the initiate about the Sacrament.

Ydt ys de ware lyff unde blot unses HEREN JESU CHRISTI, under dem brodee und wyne, uns Christen tho ethen unde tho bryncken van Christo sulvest yngesettet. 1

This is possible through the words of institution given by Christ. From the Sacrament comes forgiveness and from forgiveness comes salvation. How can bodily eating and drinking accomplish this? It can not unless accompanied by faith in the words of institution. What is absolutely necessary for preparation to partake of Christ's body is belief in these words. Luther said that the words, "for you", demand a believing heart. 2 Here we have an example of Luther's strong emphasis on the Word.

Luther stated that the true body and blood of the Lord are in, with and under the elements of bread and wine in the Sacrament. This has been called consubstantiation to indicate that with the substance of bread and wine are also the substance of the glorified and ubiquitous body

---

1 Ibid., Vol. XXX, Part I, p. 260.

2 Ibid., pp. 260-261.



and blood of Jesus Christ. Luther attacked the position of the Roman Catholic Church with regard to its medieval content which included the idea of the change of the substance of the elements by priestly power. For Luther the elements were accompanied by the body and blood of Christ by virtue of the Word of God.

The Reformation was still in its infancy when divergence from Luther's conception became apparent. One of the first of his doctrines to be attacked by other reformers was his stand concerning the Lord's Supper. Andrew Bodenstein of Carlstadt was dismissed from the company of Luther's associates, due to several reasons, not the least of which was his idea about the nature of the elements in the Sacrament. Carlstadt had been convinced that the relation of the presence of Christ to the elements was figurative. The elements were simply signs. Honius had suggested that the word "is" in the words of institution, "This is my body", could be construed as meaning "signifies my body." <sup>1</sup> Nothing more was in the elements than the symbol of something to be remembered. Carlstadt took hold of this theory and denied the real presence of the Lord in the elements. In answer Luther insisted on the necessity of believing in the bodily presence of the Lord

---

<sup>1</sup> H. Sasse, op. cit., p. 124.



in the bread and wine. Carlstadt was gifted and sensitive, but was not balanced nor stable. 1 Luther's adverse opinion of Carlstadt caused him to associate anyone who tended toward the symbolic theory with Carlstadt himself.

Ulrich Zwingli started from the same point as Carlstadt, i.e. the position of Honius. According to W. Köhler, Luther had seen a letter describing Honius's views. "Auf einer zweiten Reise, 1523 oder 1524, übergaben Rode und Georg Saganus den Brief auch Zwingli...." 2 The letter was printed at Zwingli's behest in 1525. It contained the idea that at the Lord's Supper there is the commemoration of the death of Christ, but the absence of his body. 3 From this position Zwingli stated in much less radical language than Carlstadt the general thought of the symbolic nature of the elements of the Sacrament. Luther saw no difference between Zwingli and Carlstadt's theories, however. If Luther had met the symbolic view in the more moderate Zwingli, he might not have been so devoid of understanding. 4

Luther was tempted at one time to accept the sym-

---

1 R. H. Bainton, op. cit., p. 258.

2 W. Köhler, Huldrych Zwingli (Leipzig, 1943), p. 175.

3 U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 513.

4 R. H. Bainton, op. cit., p. 258.



bolic theory as he admitted in a letter to Strassburg, written in December 1524.

Das bekenne ich, Wo D. Carlstad oder nemand anders fur funff jaren mich hette nocht berichten, das ym Sacrament nichts denn brod und weyn were, der hette myr eynen grossen dienst than. Ich hab wol so hartte anfechtunge da erlitten und mich gerungen und gewunden, das ich gerne eraus gewesen were, weyl ich wol sahe, das ich damit dem Bapstum hette den grossisten puff kund geben.... Aber ich byn gefangen, kan nicht eraus, der text ist zu gewalltig da und will sich mit Worten nicht lassen aus dem synn reyssem. 1

Luther had investigated the symbolic theory of the Eucharist and found it wanting. As was his custom, he attacked those who held the view of Honius with great vehemence when he was convinced that the theory was unbiblical. Zwingli was one of those who was to be castigated for holding this view.

Luther remained steadfast in his thought about the bodily presence of the Lord in the Sacrament during the years before the Marburg Colloquy. Even though Luther held firmly to his text, "This is my body", he was disheartened by the conflict and by the transfer of many of his followers in the south German cities to the opinion of Zwingli, e.g. Martin Bucer of Strassburg.

We can understand the abhorrence which Luther conveyed by the term Sacramentarians ("sacramentarii"), by which he characterised all those - whether Swiss,

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XV, p. 394.



Reformed, or followers of Carlstadt - who denied the Real Presence in the Sacrament. 1

Luther defended his conviction during the Supper Controversy with three works. The first was published in 1526 and was entitled, Sermon von dem Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christi, wider die Schwarmgeister. In this document he criticised the position of all who opposed his doctrine of the Eucharist, but does not mention anyone by name. He spoke of the Sacrament as having two aspects. The first is the elements of bread and wine which we see externally and which contain Christ's body and blood. The second aspect is internal and consists of the attitude of heart of the one who partakes of the elements. Luther stated that he had treated the latter in many sermons. He was, therefore, constrained to deal unequivocally with the former.

Weil aber itzt das selbige von vilen angefochten wird und sich die prediger, die auch fur die besten gehalten sind, daruber spalten und rotten, das bereit ym auswendigen lendern ein grosse mennige daruff fellet und helt, das Christus leib und blut nicht ym brod und wein sey, wil es die zeit foddern, davon auch etwas zu sagen. 2

Luther set forth in this treatise his opposition to any symbolic theory of the presence of the Lord in the Sacra-

---

1 H. Grisar, Luther, E. M. Lamond, translator; L. Cappadelta, editor (London, 1914), Vol. III, p. 381.

2 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XIX, p. 483.



ment in this manner:

Aber wer recht wil faren und nicht anlauffen, der hute sich fur den spitzigen gedancken, die der Teuffel ynn der welt erreget ynn dem stuck, das er ja wolle das eye aussauffen und uns die schalen lassen, das ist, den leib und blut Christi aus dem brod und wein nemen, das es nicht mehr denn ein schlecht brod bleibe, wie der becker beckt. 1

Thus, it is obvious that Luther was already conscious of Zwingli's major argument, i.e. that "signifies" could be substituted for "is" in the text, "This is my body".

In his second work on the subject, Dass diese Wort Christi "Das ist mein Leib" noch fest stehen wider die Schwärmeister (1527), Luther stated clearly his position on the bodily presence of Christ in the Sacrament. He charged Zwingli and Oecolampadius by name with a denial of the clear word of scripture.

So sprichstu, Welcher teufel wolt dir das gestatten? Antwort, welcher teuffel solts thun, denn der es Zwingel und Ecolampad gestattet? sonst wust ich auch niemand Wer hat yhe gelesen ynn der schrift, Das (Leib) sol so viel als leibs zeichen heissen und (Ist) sol so viel als Deutet heissen? 2

In a third document which was entitled, Vom Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntnis (1528), Luther wrote in a thorough and complex manner. This was his last writing in the Supper Controversy and it genuinely recapitulated his opinions. He attacked Zwingli's ideas about the Lord's Supper one by

---

1 Ibid., p. 484.

2 Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 90, 92.



one and even suggested that all of Zwingli's understanding of basic Christian doctrine was spurious.

Hilff Gott, wie zornig sind die helden, das sie nicht alleine yhre messigkeit vergessen, die sie doch hoch widder mich zu rhumen pflegen und auch noch gerne erhalten wolten, so doch kein otter so giftig ist, als sie ynn diesen schriffthen sind, Sondern fur grossem wehe mut und grym auch nicht sehen, was odder warauff sie antworten sollen, Und des Zwingels geist sonderlich, der viel mit einmenget vom Bilden, fegfewr, heiligen ehre, schlussel, erbaund und weis nicht was mehr seiner newen tollen leren, allein das er viel speyen muge, da kein not ist, und uber springen, da antwortens not were, wie ich anzeigen wil. 1

Zwingli, like Luther, argued against the doctrine of transubstantiation. Zwingli was attacking the same belief, yet his approach was entirely different. Luther had spoken as a medieval thinker, while Zwingli had never shed his allegiance to his humanistic studies, as Luther had. Zwingli attacked the medieval doctrine of transubstantiation as being untrue to the fathers and the Bible. He sought to prove that the mass was not a repetition of Christ's sacrifice. It was the atonement worked out by Christ's death that was appropriated and commemorated in the Holy Supper. As this atonement must always be accepted by faith, the attitude of the recipient is of first importance. Zwingli, therefore, denied any objective change in the elements, for in order to be valid the Sacrament must

---

1 Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 261.



be subjectively received.

Zwingli suggested two alternatives to the medieval doctrine of the Lord's Supper. First, the idea of the repetition of Christ's sacrifice had to be understood as a commemorative act. It was observed in remembrance of Christ's death which, he insisted, was a once-for-all sacrifice. Secondly, Zwingli stated that the idea of masticating with the teeth the body of the Lord had to be laid aside. One spiritually partakes of Christ at the Supper. He conceived that it was incorrect to expect Christ's real flesh and blood in the Sacrament. The spiritual presence of Christ was emphasised by Zwingli instead.

... Credo in sacra eucharistiae, hoc est gratiarum actionis, coena verum Christi corpus adesse fidei contemplatione; hoc est: 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 praesentem fieri. 1

Zwingli, therefore, allowed for the real presence of Christ, but insisted that this was a spiritual presence and not a fleshly body. For Zwingli a living faith always brings with it the presence of Christ, spiritually manifested.

H. Sasse has stated that Zwingli's position about the real presence during 1523-1524 was derived from his humanistic friends.

---

1 U. Zwingli, Opera, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 11.



In this respect Zwingli followed his master Erasmus, who, while rejecting the theory of transubstantiation, believed in a miraculous, inexplicable presence of Christ in the sacrament. This seems to have been a widespread view among the clergy of humanistic leanings. The difference as compared with the views of Erasmus lies in the strong emphasis on the faith of the recipient. <sup>1</sup>

H. Sasse wrote that after Zwingli had read the letter of Honius he changed and denied a real presence. Sasse has lost sight of Zwingli's distinction between a spiritual presence and a bodily presence which he developed in 1524, and used throughout the Marburg Colloquy. The conception about the spiritual presence was held by him despite his emphasis on the figurative nature of the words of institution. The idea of a bodily presence, of course, he totally rejected.

The most prominent text by which Zwingli sought to prove his doctrine of the Lord's Supper was taken from St. John's Gospel, the sixth chapter, i.e. "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing". He believed that the bread remains bread and the wine remains wine without the conjunction of any other substance. He stated that without faith it would be useless for a person to partake of the elements, for it is the spirit alone which gives life.

In the section pertaining to the Eucharist in

---

<sup>1</sup> H. Sasse, op. cit., p. 122.



Zwingli's most comprehensive work, De vera et falsa religione commentarius (1525), he clarified his position.

Cum ergo Christus adperite docuisset spiritus esse comestionem, non oris, de qua loquebatur: carnem enim poenitus nihil prodesse, addit (John 6.63) : "Verba, quae ego loquor vobis, spiritus sunt et vita sunt". 1

He also spoke of the commemorative quality of the Eucharist in this same document in the following manner:

Est ergo sive "eucharistia" sive "synaxis" sive "caena dominica" nihil aliud quam: commemoratio, qua ii, qui se Christi morte et sanguine firmiter credunt patri reconciliatos esse, hanc vitalem mortem annunciant, hoc est: laudant, gratulantur et praedicant. 2

Zwingli was led by the thought of Honius to the position that the words of institution should be understood as "This signifies my body". The bread and wine are, therefore, symbols to remind one of Christ's passion and the benefits to be derived therefrom. It is not true, however, to say that Zwingli set forth an empty memorial service for that which is absent. He thought that the spiritual presence of Christ is in the Sacrament by virtue of the faith of the people. The one thing that Zwingli did (or could) not explain was how the spiritual presence was manifested in the Sacrament and if the Holy Communion was any more imbued with the spirit of Christ than any other

---

1 U. Zwingli, "Sämtliche Werke", op. cit., Vol. III, p. 784.

2 Ibid., p. 807.



worship service.

As far as Zwingli's attitude toward Luther is concerned, he was outspoken and belligerent. He was convinced that he was right and that his position was supported by Scripture. Zwingli advised his followers to believe that the spiritual presence of Christ was not to be thought of as being brought by the elements, but by the faith of the believing communicant. The elements should be viewed as signs representing the body of Christ which is corporeally absent. He wrote a polemical work in answer to Luther's works on the subject of the Sacrament, in order to refute his arguments. This treatise was entitled, Eine klare Unterrichtung vom Nachtmahl Christi, and was written in February of 1526. With regard to the elements Zwingli stated:

... "Das ist min lychnam", da bedütet "das" uff's brot, unnd "lychnam" wirt für den lychnam genomen, der für uns getödt ist. So nun "ist" wesentlich nit mag genomen werden - denn das brot ist nit sin lychnam und mag er nit sin, wie gehört ist -, so muss "ist" bedütlich oder anderverstendig genomen werden, also: "Das brot ist min lychnam" für: "Das brot bedütet minen lychnam" oder: "ist ein bedüttnus mines lychnams".... 1

He further emphasised his symbolic theory by writing:

Hie muss man die wort nit von einander teilen: "Das ist min lychnam" und: "der für Ûch hinggeben wirt", sunder by einander lassen blyben: "Das ist min lychnam, der für Ûch hinggeben wirt"; denn ist

---

1 Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 844.



die red Christi erst uss. 1

This argument was Zwingli's first major answer to Luther's insistence that the words of institution indicated a bodily presence in the Sacrament. His second major point on this subject was also contained in this work, Eine klare Unterrichtung von Nachtmahl Christi. Zwingli concluded:

So vil von diesem sacrament, in welchem wir so gewüssa sind, als dass Christus zur grechten gottes lyplich sitzt, dass er hie lyplich sin mag.... 2

Zwingli denied the possibility of the body of the Lord being ubiquitous. Therefore, according to his reasoning, the Lord's body must be in heaven as the scriptures and the creeds affirm. If, then, in heaven, it can not be in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Zwingli was convinced that he was right in his opinions about the Supper and he sought to convince Luther of his error. Luther was equally assured that his position was correct. Zwingli saw the Sacrament as a commemoration of Christ's death offered once-for-all. The elements are mere signs or symbols of the broken body of the Lord. Christ is spiritually present in the Sacrament, but his glorified body remains in heaven. Faith is the absolutely essential element, and this is the subjective faith of the

---

1 Ibid., p. 848.

2 Ibid., p. 861.



believer in what Christ has done for him upon the Cross.

Luther emphasised direct contact with the risen Lord. The bread and the wine are conjoined with the body of the risen Lord. The bread and the wine are his body extended in space. At the Communion the recipient touches the Lord, even as his disciples touched him and the saints in heaven know him. Christ is physically present in the bread and wine ubiquitously.

Der Unterschied ist: auch Zwingli'n ist die Gegenwart Christi an das Brod geknüpft; Luther'n dagegen ist das Brod selbst die Gegenwart, und zwar der gegenwärtige Leib; das Sichtbare enthält das Unsichtbare, wie die Scheide das Schwert. 1

Zwingli stressed the idea of Christ's sacrifice, yet without the idea of repetition, while Luther was emphasizing communion with the risen Lord. "In this strong emphasis on communion, Luther's doctrine of the Eucharist forms a marked contrast to the medieval doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass." 2

During the period before the Marburg Colloquy the differences between Luther and Zwingli about the Lord's Supper were increasingly magnified.

Bekanntlich ist es die Lehre von den Sakramenten gewesen, in deren Fassung die konfessionelle Spaltung

---

1 L. von Ranke, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 173.

2 R. Prenter, op. cit., p. 112.



sich zu Marburg zum kirchlich trennenden Ausdruck brachte. 1

The very purpose for which the Colloquy was being called, i.e. concord between the leaders of the Reformation, seemed foredoomed to failure.

Die hoffung des Landgrafen ist freilich nicht erfüllt worden; in den drei Tagen von 1. bis 3. October 1529 ist zwischen den beiden Führern der Reformation eine Einigung gerade über den Hauptpunkt, das Abendmahl, nicht zustande gekommen, weil Zwingli Luthers Ansicht nicht annehmen konnte, dass Brot und Wein den wirklichen Leib und das wirkliche Blut Christi enthalten "wie die Scheide das Schwert", und weil Luther ebensowenig sich dazu verstehen konnte, Zwinglis jede reale Gegenwart Christi im Abendmahl abweisende Auffassung als schriftgemäss anzuerkennen. 2

As important as these considerations are, there were also other less important, yet very vital differences between Luther and Zwingli that made the possibility of their concord almost impossible.

Luther was suspicious of Zwingli's orthodoxy. Such a matter as original sin was not greatly emphasised by Zwingli. He suggested that such people of antiquity as Socrates would have their place among God's elect. He could, therefore, quote pagan philosophers and admire

---

1 E. Egli, "Luther und Zwingli in Marburg", Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz (St. Gallen and Leipzig, 1884), Vol. XII, p. 13.

2 G. Egelhaaf, "Landgraf Philipp der Grossmütige", Schrift des Vereins für Reformationgeschichte (Halle, 1904), p. 13.



their spirit, as coming from the one spirit of truth which is of God. All of this breadth in Zwingli's thought caused Luther to wonder at his Christian faith.

Beside these theological differences these two men were extremely dissimilar in their temperaments and experiences of the past. Luther's early youth had been hard and his early manhood harder still, while fortune had always smiled on Zwingli. Luther had experienced a state of scul-torturing struggle which Zwingli never seemed to have endured. Luther's prime question had always been salvation, while Zwingli's first concern was truth. Luther was suspicious of all speculation and called Reason, Frau Hulda, that devil's bride <sup>1</sup>, while logic was the air which Zwingli breathed. Luther was pietistic, while rationalism was Zwingli's mode of thought. Zwingli was optimistic and militant, while Luther had the pessimism which came from his sense of the awfulness of sin. For both the centre of their belief was the text, "The righteous man will live by faith", but for Luther the emphasis was "The righteous man will live by faith", while Zwingli's emphasis was "The righteous man will live by faith". <sup>2</sup> For Luther the Kingdom of God was personal and invisible, while for Zwingli it was

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XVIII, p. 205, cited by J. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> O. Farner, op. cit., p. 111.



a present possibility which was to be restored on earth. Luther was heroic in patience, while Zwingli heroic in action. The danger of Luther's way was quietism, while the danger of Zwingli's way was legalism. It has been said: "Of all the reformers Luther was the least removed from the medieval way, and Zwingli had wandered furthest from it".<sup>1</sup> Luther's conception of truth was theological, simple and absolute, while Zwingli's was scientific, complex and relative. Luther "... can tolerate whatever the Bible does not forbid: Zwingli admits only what the Bible has formally laid down".<sup>2</sup> Thus, Luther was pietistic and a mystic, while Zwingli was humanistic and a rationalist.

But, yet, there were still further differences than these theological and personal ones. These were in the realm of social and political thought. Zwingli had little fear of the common man. Luther had graphically demonstrated his fear of them in the Peasants' Revolt, while Zwingli had lived in a community governed by civil fathers who were elected by democratic process. Luther would have nothing to do with either offensive or defensive alliances. Zwingli, on the other hand, believed that his

---

<sup>1</sup> T. M. Lindsay, A History of the Reformation, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 348.

<sup>2</sup> R. H. Murray, op. cit., p. 145.



mission, as a preacher, was as much political as religious, and that a religious reformation had to be ultimately worked out by political forces. "Luther won his battles by sudden and unexpected charges that broke upon his enemies with the force of a tornado. Zwingli's strength lay in strategy." <sup>1</sup> Luther only thought politically when he was forced to do so, while Zwingli always seemed to have a plan of political action. This was what made Zwingli seem attractive to Philip of Hesse, and this attraction made Luther uncomfortable. Luther had discouraged the reformed delegates who had met at Rotach, so that no Protestant alliance had been formed. Zwingli, on the other hand, had as his plan a union between the cities of south Germany and Switzerland, and, if possible, the principalities of Germany. In this manner a safe-guard would be created for the reformation of both Germany and Switzerland. It was a plan to counteract the alliance of Austria with the five cantons of Switzerland that brought Zwingli to Marburg. This illustrates the political concerns of Zwingli which Luther did not share, because he was utterly opposed to the Church entering into politics.

A contrast between Luther and Zwingli which has a direct bearing on the spirit of the Colloquy of Marburg is

---

<sup>1</sup> H. E. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 281.



their differing ideas as to the need of Christian unity among the reformed groups. Zwingli advocated unity with the Lutherans for practical reasons. He was inspired by the idea that in Christ all men are brothers and should, therefore, defend one another. To this spirit of reconciliation Luther responded:

... Verflucht sey solche liebe und einickeit ynn abgrund der helle, darumb das solche einickeit nicht alleine die Christenheit jemerlich zutrennet, sondern sie nach teuffelisscher art noch zu solchem yhren jamer spottet und nerret.... 1

For Luther works must follow faith in order to be valid. In the same manner, external unity must follow doctrinal agreement. "He did not intend to retract these deep convictions for the sake of a political popular front." 2 Luther stated that he could not agree with Zwingli's position on the Lord's Supper, and thus unity would be impossible. He, therefore, saw that no good could come from the Colloquy. He suggested to John Brenz in a letter of the 29th of August, 1529, that Philip of Hesse ought to invite some learned papists who could give an unbiased opinion of the debate after the conclusion of the Marburg

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XVIII, p. 81.

2 E. G. Rupp, "Luther and the Puritans", Luther Today (Decorah, Iowa; 1957), p. 162.



Colloquy. <sup>1</sup> Thus, Luther already before the start of the Conference thought that he was of a different spirit from the Zwinglians, and would rather trust the truth to some Roman Catholic observers than to them.

Zwingli was jubilant over the prospects of the Colloquy. He had almost complete control over the Council of Zurich and his reformation was going very well.

So spürte Zwingli den günstigsten Wind in seine Segeln, als er nach Marburg ging; die schweizerische Entwicklung verlief ganz zu seinem Gunsten und führte ihn eben jetzt auf die Höhe seiner Macht. <sup>2</sup>

Luther ventured forth with no such spirit. He was not afraid that his opinion would be changed by Zwingli and he had little faith that he could correct the supposed misconceptions of his opponent. The Colloquy would be for him just a waste of time.

These were the differences between the leaders of the Reformation as they met in Marburg. The prayers and hopes of their host, Philip of Hesse, were that these seemingly insurmountable obstacles could be overcome and concord finally established between Zwingli and Luther.

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. V, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> E. Egli, op. cit., p. 12.



## II. THE WORD AND THE MOTIVE

The First Day - Private Conversations

The inconclusive results of the meeting in Rodach in June of 1529, between the representatives of Electoral Saxony, Hesse, Nürnberg, Ulm and Strassburg, and the abandonment of a proposed meeting in Schwabach in August, caused Philip of Hesse to realise that a colloquy at Marburg might well be his last chance to secure Protestant concord. When the Swiss and the representatives of Strassburg arrived in Marburg early on the 27th of September, they were warmly welcomed by Philip and entertained by the Landgrave for three days, while awaiting the arrival of the Lutherans. The Zwinglian party included beside Zwingli, Cecolampadius of Basel and Bucer and Hedio of Strassburg. They were accompanied by lay delegates who represented the councils of their respective cities. 1

Luther arrived late on the night of the 30th of September and stayed in an inn in the town during the first night with those who accompanied him, fearing that he was not entirely welcome at the castle. Those Lutherans who attended the Colloquy were Melanchthon, Justus Jonas, Casper Cruciger, Friedrich Myconius, Osiander, Brenz, Stephen

---

1 U. Zwingli, Opera, op. cit., Vol. II, Part 3, p. 45.



Agricola, and Luther. 1 This was an impressive group of reformers. The Landgrave went personally to escort Luther from his dwelling to the castle the next morning. "Zwingli wird vorläufig nicht vorgestellt, man will die beiden Kampfhähne noch auseinanderhalten." 2

The first day of the Colloquy was the 1st of October, not the 30th of September, as Jackson has stated. 3 The Landgrave arranged that private discussions should be held between the leaders of the two parties. Luther discussed the Surper question with Oecolampadius, while Zwingli and Melanchthon talked about matters of general theology, for the Lutherans wished to determine whether Zwingli was sufficiently orthodox for them to enter into more formal sessions with him. The success of these conversations was imperative for the Colloquy as a whole and they did allay some of the fears of the Lutherans.

Oecolampadius had the greatest challenge in his conversations with Luther. They talked together for three hours. 4 Afterward the theologian from Basel reported

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XXX, Part III, p. 144.

2 R. Thiel, Luther (Berlin, 1952), p. 542.

3 J. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 321, citing S. M. Jackson, op. cit., p. 314.

4 U. Zwingli, "Sämtliche Werke", op. cit., Vol. X, p. 317.



that he had felt that he was in the hands of Eck, because of the cross-examination of his position he had received from Luther. <sup>1</sup> Even as Eck at the Leipzig Debate of ten years before had demanded of Luther unquestioning submission to the authority of the Church, so Luther demanded of Oecolampadius the same kind of submission to the authority of the Word of God. This Oecolampadius did with certain reservations of interpretation, especially regarding the presence of the Lord in the Sacrament. Luther was somewhat pleased with the interview.

In the discussions between Zwingli and Melanchthon, which lasted for six hours <sup>2</sup>, Melanchthon's purpose was to examine Zwingli's orthodoxy. "... Melanchthon hatte daher Zwingli im Verdacht bedeutender Irrlehren, namentlich über die Gottheit Christi, die Erbsünde, das Wort Gottes." <sup>3</sup> The Lutherans were concerned over certain of Zwingli's statements, and more concerned over what they believed to be omissions of essential emphases in his writings. Zwingli was steeped in the classics. His close contact with practical affairs of government also had an influence on his thoughts. He was an activist and basically optimistic about

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 317.

<sup>3</sup> J. C. Mürkofer, op. cit., Part II, p. 233.



the possibilities of mankind. This spirit led Zwingli to minimise the damning effects of original sin. Zwingli shrank from judging great portions of mankind to eternal perdition, conceiving that God in his infinite grace might provide other means of salvation than those sighted by Luther as the only means of justification. He did not consider the awfulness of sin, because he had had no experience of the diabolic agent that so permeated Luther's theology.

Despite these differences which were no doubt minimised by Zwingli during the Colloquy, Melancthon was amazed at how conciliatory Zwingli was in a number of questions which the Zuricher thought to be relatively unimportant, but were held as keystones in Wittenberg. Zwingli could even call original sin a true fact and say that it was mortal.

Aber gerade dieses grosszügige Entgegenkommen schadet ihm bei Luther. Denn er beweist dadurch, dass er die Bedeutung dieses Dogmas gar nicht kennt. 1

Melancthon convinced Luther that the Colloquy could proceed, however. Because of Zwingli's conciliatory attitude which was governed by his motive for Protestant harmony, the Lutherans may have had the hope that he could be converted to their beliefs.

---

1 R. Thiel, op. cit., p. 543.



### The Second Day - The Struggle

The session of the second day, the 2nd of October (Saturday), was called to order at 6:00 a.m. Sixty persons, theologians, laymen and on-lookers, were assembled in the great hall of the castle. The guests were all specially invited by Philip for various reasons. Among them were all of the reformers assembled in Marburg, for this was the beginning of the public disputation.

Der Landgraf, so einfach gekleidet, dass Niemand ihn für einen Fürsten gehalten hätte, nahm am gleichen Tische Platz, an welchem Zwingli und Cecolampad auf der einen Seite, und Luther und Melanchthon auf der andern sassen, um zu entscheiden, ob die auf dem gleichen Grunde beruhende erneuerte evangelische Kirche einig bleiben, oder in zwei Parteien sich spalten wolle. 1

The Landgrave's Chancellor, John Feige, made the opening speech in which he exhorted both sides to seek only the glory of Christ and the restoration of the peace and union of the Protestant cause. Then a humanist offered greetings to all in verse.

Luther commenced the Conference with the same pugnacious attitude which he maintained during most of the Colloquy. He settled down to the issue at point after an unsuccessful attempt to broaden the discussion to many questions of general theology. He took up a piece of

---

1 R. Christoffel, op. cit., p. 310.



chalk, threw back the table cover, and wrote with bold strokes on the table his text, "This is my body". He explained that in the case of the Lord's Supper, Jesus instituted a commemoration at which his body and blood would really be present.

Zwingli speaking in quiet tones started his part in the debate with a statement of his position which was based on St. John 6:63: "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing". He said to Luther that it followed from this passage: "... quod in coena se non dedit corporaliter. Tandem cognoscitis, spiritualis manducatio consolatur". 1

Against this statement of Zwingli, Luther insisted that spiritual partaking does not necessarily exclude physical reception. "Os accipit corpus Christi, anima credit verbis, quia edit corpus; si accipio corpus Christi in ulnas, hoc amplecti." 2 The importance of the word was to be reaffirmed by Luther over and over again during this morning session. He said at one instance that bread and wine cannot help us, nor can the presence of the body and blood of Christ, unless the essential words of institution are believed. It is the word which communicates Christ's

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XXX, Part III, p. 117.

2 Ibid., p. 119.



sacrificial death to us and without it the benefits of that death are lost. Luther thought that Zwingli was denying the Word of God as contained in his text.

At the end of the morning session, dedicated as it was to Luther's proclamation of the words of institution, literally understood, Zwingli, still holding to his own text, accused Luther of dealing with it far too lightly.

Zuinglius pergens ita etiam necessario intelligi oportere dixit, exigente id Christo ipso, qui dum Iohannis 6. capit. spirituales manducationes praeciperet, carnalem repudiasset videatur. 1

Luther was unconvinced by Zwingli's argument. The word for him was all important. "Christi corpus mors, venenum et diabolus est indigne manducantibus. Mors, carceres etc. res malae; et tamen si accedit verbum, sunt salutare, inquit Lutherus." 2

The afternoon session started with Zwingli in rebuttal about the main point of the morning, Luther's text. Zwingli turned to a further discussion of his own text: "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing". During this day of debate with Luther, Zwingli turned to this passage of Scripture almost as much as Luther used his text. Zwingli insisted that he would

---

1 Ibid., p. 123.

2 Ibid.



not give up his text until Luther had refuted his use of it. Luther maintained that in the discourse contained in St. John 6, Jesus did not refer to the Lord's Supper. When Christ said, "The flesh profiteth nothing", he was speaking of our flesh, and not of his own body. For Luther this is a passage which speaks against works-righteousness, and for the primacy of faith. For proof of this Luther said that it could not mean the body of Christ, because this would contradict the other text, "This is my body", and surely the body of Christ profiteth much for the Christian.

The matter of the ubiquity of Christ's body was thoroughly discussed, as well. Luther stated, according to Hedio's account:

*Ego fateor in coelo, fateor etiam in sacramento.  
Lutherus vult illis verbis haerere, quod in coelo et  
quod in coena sit Christus; non curat, quod contra  
naturam sit, modo non sit contra fidem. 1*

Zwingli based his argument on the biblical affirmations and the statements of the creeds that Christ ascended into heaven. He, therefore, judged that according to his divinity and humanity he is in heaven, but only according to his divinity is he in the Sacrament. Again, according to Hedio's account of the debate:

---

1 Ibid., pp. 130-131.



Lutherus edidit Christi corpus ubique esse; ergo infinitum quiddam. Concludit Zwinglius: Christi corpus esse in uno loco, nec posse in multis locis. 1

Here we have the incompatibility of the rationalist facing the dogmatist. Thus, the day of struggle ended with each side as far from the other as ever.

It is informative to note Zwingli's attitude during this second day. He had been conciliatory on the first day when such subjects as original sin were discussed, but now the point had been reached where he would not engage in compromise. This point was his position on the presence of Christ in the Sacrament. On this one issue he would not sacrifice his belief for his motive, but instead hoped that his motive could be fulfilled by convincing Luther that his position was incorrect. M. Lenz has stated this neglected idea with perhaps a little too much force, but with truth, when he wrote of Zwingli: "In Marburg hatte er zuerst - man vergisst das nur zu leicht - von Luther nicht Duldung, sondern Annahme seines Sacramentbegriffes verlangt". 2

### The Third Day - The Impasse

The third day of the Colloquy of Marburg was a

---

1 Ibid., p. 135.

2 M. Lenz, "Zwingli und Landgraf Philip", Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte (Gotha, 1879), Vol. III, p. 259.



Sunday, the 3rd of October. It was Zwingli's responsibility to preach in the chapel of the castle and he chose as his subject, "The Providence of God".<sup>1</sup> Luther meanwhile preached in a church in the town. After these services the debate continued on the question of the ubiquity of the body of Christ. Here was a crucial point in their understanding of the Eucharist.

Zwingli affirmed: "Ut corpus Christi finitum est, ergo in certo loco".<sup>2</sup> Luther replied: "Dixi, quod possit esse in loco et non in loco.... In hoc textu nulla mathematica potest esse. Locus quid est in mathematics".<sup>3</sup> Luther continued by pointing out that the Scholastic thinkers had held that one body can be in many places, or many bodies in one place, or that a body can be in no place at all. Zwingli answered by telling Luther that he ought not to follow the devious logic of the schoolmen. He simply wanted Luther to prove that the body of Christ can be in many places at the same time. In answer Luther again had recourse to his inscription of the day before: "This is my body". Here we have Luther appealing to Scholasticism and dogmatically emphasising the word, while

---

<sup>1</sup> C. Farner, op. cit., p. 120.

<sup>2</sup> M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XXX, Part III, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 137-138.



Zwingli was seeking to convince Luther with rational arguments from his humanistic predilections.

In response to Luther's oft-used text Zwingli asked the question as to whether the body of Christ is in a place. Luther responded that the body, "... non est in sacramento tanquam in loco".<sup>1</sup> Luther's explanation of this important point is that Christ's human nature acquires the property of being present simultaneously where ever he will, by virtue of its union with the divine nature, but not as in a place. Luther does not explain how a body can be a body without being localised.

In the matter of the ubiquity of Christ's glorified body Zwingli saw that it was either a belief to be held or rejected. No arguments would reconcile him with those who stated it. He believed that his position was thoroughly scriptural, i.e. that Christ's glorified body is in heaven and nowhere else. He had previously stated that there is conclusive proof that the two sayings: "Again, I leave the world", and: "Me ye have not always", both refer to the departure and the absence of his human body.

So er nun hingangen, die welt verlassen und nit me by uns ist, so muss der gloub brechen die hällen wort Christi (das doch nit sin mag), oder aber es muss der lychnam Christi nit imm sacrament sin, noch

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 141.



sin blut. 1

After noon the contestants met again. This was to be their last meeting in formal session. Luther had admitted in the morning session that Christ's body is not in the Sacrament, as in a place. He was now asked to tell how there can be a body at all, if it is not in a place. Luther answered:

Miramur autem, quid de loco disceptemus, quia conclusum et a tota Christianitate acceptum, ut deus extra loco gerere possit. Hoc petit, ut media sumamus, quibus concordemus, ne in populo seditio fiat, et ut tollatur hoc pessimum dissidium. 2

Luther continued:

Fuerile est, si quis dicat videndo panem: dominum vidi, oportet ergo erigere intellectum. Qui autem purum signum esse dicit, hoc grave est mihi admittere. Aliud de signis nostratibus et de signis a deo institutis. 3

Luther had come to the point of agreement beyond which devotion to his text would not allow him to proceed.

There was a mutual agreement that further discussion was useless. Luther thanked Oecolampadius for having made plain his views without bitterness. According to the account of Hedio:

Agit et gratias Zwinglio, qui tamen acerbior fuerit, et petit, ut ignoscat acerba in se si dixit, carnem

---

1 U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 830.

2 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XXX, Part III, p. 142.

3 Ibid.



et sanguinem se fatetur. Vult, ut caussa committatur mutuo.... Zwingli rogat Lutherum, ut ignoscat acerbitati, et dicit se percupivisse semper amicitiam et adhuc petere. Fere flens hoc dicebat: nec esse in Italia vel Gallia viros, quos libentius vellet videre. 1

Philip of Hesse declared that the participants in the Colloquy should not part without some sign of unity. He conferred with each group alone. By this means the Landgrave was seeking to get a minimum basis of agreement for his proposed political alliance. A formula was suggested by Luther which was very conciliatory. The Lutherans were to sign a statement which contained, according to the account of Ceccolampadius, the following declaration:

Wir bekennend, dass us vermög diser worten: "Das ist min lyb, das ist min blut", der lyb und das blut Christi warhaftiglich, hoc est, substantive et essentialiter, non autem quantitative vel qualitative vel localiter, im nachtmal gegenwärtig sye und gegeben werde. Nachdem wir nun bis hieher gemeint, dass unsere lieben herren und bruder, Ceccolampadius, Zwinglius und die jren, die ware gegenwärtigkeit des lybs und bluts gänzlich verwerfind, und aber wir in fründlichem gespräch anderst befunden; so declarierend und erklärend wir uns hiemit: dass unsere argumenta und gründ, in unseren bucheren von dem sacrament begriffen, nit wider Ceccolampadium, Zwinglium und die jren, sonder wider diejenigen, so gänzlich die gegenwärtigkeit des lybs im nachtmal verlöugnend, gericht syend und schliessind. 2

Luther suggested this statement, while also setting forth

---

1 Ibid., pp. 143-144.

2 U. Zwingli, Opera, op. cit., Vol. II, Part 3, p. 58.



a complementary statement which the Zwinglians would sign.

Wir bekennend, dass us vermög diser worten: "Das ist min lyb, das ist min blut", der lyb und das blut unsers herren Jesus Christi warhaftiglich, hoc est, substantive et essentialiter, non tamen quantitative nec qualitative nec localiter in nachtmal gegenwärtig sye und gegeben werde. Nachdem wir nun bis hieher gemeint, dass unsere lieben herren und bruder, Martinus Lutherus und Melanohthon und die jren, haltind und leerind, dass der lyb und das blut Christi sye in dem nachtmal quantitative vel qualitative vel localiter fleischlichen gedanken nach, und aber wir anderst in dem fründlichen gespräch etc. ut supra; sonder wider diejenigen, so Christi lyb und blut grosslicher und stattlicher wys und imagination in das brot und wyn setzend etc. 1

Zwingli, however, refused to sign this formula. He had not been convinced that Luther did not hold a quantitative, qualitative and localised presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament. Thus, he would not sign, even for the sake of his motive.

This plan having failed, Philip of Hesse asked Luther to draw up articles which all could sign, in order that they would not go away completely void of accomplishment. Luther agreed to draw up articles of faith that night. Thus, the day of impasse came to a close and so too did the hopes of the Landgrave for unity and for a defensive alliance.

#### The Fourth Day - The Marburg Articles

Luther with his assignment of making up articles

---

1 Ibid.



which expressed the degree of understanding between his followers and the Zwinglians turned to a previously stated formula "... which had been drawn up at Schwabach as a basis of a prospective alliance of the Lutheran princes and cities".<sup>1</sup> He revised these only in regard to the last article concerning the Lord's Supper. He submitted this formula on the fourth day (the 4th of October) which was to be the last day of the Colloquy. Revised slightly again these same articles were to be used as the Schwabach Articles which were read on the 16th of October, not even a fortnight after the Marburg Colloquy. This was to be a statement of the theological basis among the Lutheran princes.

The first fourteen articles as they were presented at Marburg were accepted by all concerned. These articles laid down a common faith in regard to the Trinity, the undivided nature of the person of Christ, original sin, faith and justification, the Word of God, baptism, good works, confession, civil government, ceremonies and infant baptism. The greatest problem for Zwingli in accepting these articles was the one on original sin, for Luther indicated that this is a mortal sin. The article stated:

... Gleuben wir, das die Erbsunde sey uns von Adam an geboren und auffgeerbt und sey eine solche

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 326.



sunde, das sie alle menschen verdampt, Und wo Jhesus Christus uns nicht zu hülffe komen were mit seinem tod und leben, so hetten wir ewiglich daran sterben und zu Gottes Reich und selickeit nicht komen müssen. 1

This was a difficult wording for Zwingli to accept. Because he deemed it a secondary point, however, and for the sake of concord, he agreed to it. Despite Zwingli's concurrence, Luther thought that the Swiss did not really understand it or had not experienced the tragedy of sin, as he had. In this he was, no doubt, correct. It was just this doctrine of original sin which Luther called the disputed point among the first fourteen articles.

The fifteenth and last of the Marburg Articles was written by Luther expressly for the situation of the Colloquy. In this article on the Lord's Supper he set forth the points of agreement and then the points on which the two parties would have to agree to disagree. In the writing of this article Luther showed a fine conciliatory attitude. A considerable concession on Luther's part can be seen in his statement in the article, that:

... das Sacrament des altars sey ein Sacrament des waren leibs und bluts Jhesus Christi und die geistlichen niessung des selbigen leibs und bluts einem ydem Christi fürnemelich von nöten.... 2

To demonstrate the point of common belief he does not

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XXX, Part III, p. 162.

2 Ibid., p. 169.



mention whether the real presence is bodily or spiritually manifest.

The matters on which they agreed to disagree were stated by Luther in the fifteenth article in this manner:

... Und wie wol aber wir uns, ob der ware leib und blut Christi leiblich ym brod und wein sey, dieser zeit nicht vergleicht haben, So sol doch ein teyl gegen dem andern christliche liebe, so fern ydes gewissen ymmer leiden kam, erzeigen, und beyde teyl Gott den almechtigen vleissig bitten, das er uns durch seinen geist den rechten verstand bestetigen wolle, Amen. 1

For Luther this statement demonstrated conciliation of a high type.

Luther had expressed uncertainty on the third evening of the Colloquy as to whether the Swiss would be willing to sign a formula constructed by himself. They all signed, however. All members of both parties signed in turn and their spirit was one of trust. As they signed they expressed the vow that in the future, they would cease violent writings against each other.

Zwingli was able to sign the articles written by Luther, because the latter had set the controversial fifteenth article in language which he considered would be acceptable. In the matter of original sin and some of the other points of emphasis which were not written expressly for the benefit of Zwingli, he was willing to compromise

---

1 Ibid., p. 170.



for the sake of concord in the hope that such unity would be the basis of a defensive alliance. In this manner Zwingli hoped to "... obviate the scandal and weakness of disunion within the reformed ranks".<sup>1</sup> This spirit of compromise should not be ascribed to motive alone, however. Zwingli saw that it was absolutely necessary to have some minimum formula of agreement in the face of such urgent practical considerations, but also for the sake of future possible moves toward unity among the reformers which consequence he sought for its own merits.

The signing was accompanied by general rejoicing, and it would have been well if all had left for home at that minute. For again, as had happened before, the participants quickly moved from a spirit of conciliation to partisan backbiting. The Swiss proposed that each call the others brethren in Christ. This Luther rejected, for he still conceived that the differences between himself and Zwingli were too great on that issue that was all-important to him, i.e. the presence of Christ in the Sacrament. Luther emphasised the fact that he believed that their differences were essential and primary. He was willing to extend charity to them, but not recognise

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 326.



them as brothers in Christ or even as members of the Body of Christ. Luther expressed this sentiment in a letter to Nicholas Gerbel in Strassburg, written on the last day of the Colloquy. In it he stated:

Charitatem et pacem etiam hostibus debemus. Sane denuntiatur eis, nisi et hoc articulo resipiscant, charitate quidem nostra posse eos uti, sed in fratrum et Christi membrorum numero a nobis censeri non posse. 1

In the afternoon of the 4th of October the Colloquy ended as it had begun with informal conversations. The Lutherans all left late in the afternoon. In the evening the Landgrave met with the Zwinglians. They viewed possible political alliances which could be constructed from the ashes of the Colloquy. This Conference had produced one extremely important result. This was the Marburg Articles. Upon them future work of conciliation would be based, but it was to be conciliation and alliance-making of the German states and cities, for to all intents and purposes Switzerland was excluded because of the results of the Colloquy.

### III. THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE COLLOQUY OF MARBURG

Philip of Hesse was defeated in his attempt to obtain unity among the reformers of Switzerland and Germany

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. V, p. 156.



at the Marburg Colloquy. The Marburg Articles, however, "... afforded a large measure of consolation, and caused him to feel that the colloquy had not been in vain".<sup>1</sup> Luther almost immediately changed the clause of compromise concerning the presence of the Lord in the Sacrament. This was done a fortnight later, when he reedited the articles for use at Schwabach. Despite this change, Philip continued to work for a confederation of the Protestant elements. It was his opinion that Christians with varying interpretations of the Word of God ought to be able to unite to defend their right to believe as conscience directed them without being altogether of the same doctrine. Further still he did not rule out the possibility of a political alliance with the heathen if the situation required it.

W. Köhler has stated that at Marburg "... die politischen Mächte, nicht die Theologen hatte hier das letzte Wort".<sup>2</sup> For Philip of Hesse the political considerations were all important. To apply this statement to Zwingli's attitude, however, is an over-statement of the case. It is true that the political necessities were crucial to him, but they were not the last word, as seen

---

<sup>1</sup> S. Simpson, op. cit., p. 207.

<sup>2</sup> W. Köhler, Zwingli und Luther, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 163.



by the fact that Zwingli would not compromise his belief in the spiritual presence for political reasons. Luther, who cared little for political considerations, fought against the motive of Philip. His attitude and the circumstances of the situation forced Philip to give up his plan of an alliance between Germans and Swiss. The Landgrave did, however, continue to correspond with Zwingli and together they created various alliances between Hesse and the evangelical Swiss cantons. The Landgrave never entirely abandoned his Zwinglian tendencies, for he had been greatly impressed by Zwingli during the course of the Marburg Colloquy.

Zwingli had returned home in a spirit of bitterness, because of Luther's attitude during the Colloquy. He soon disregarded the common pledge not to malign the other party. He described Luther as brash and stubborn, but despite this he claimed to have utterly defeated him.

Zwingli conceived that he had convinced many by the logic of his arguments at Marburg, and most important of all, Philip of Hesse. To this extent he had vindicated the spirit with which he had entered into the Conference. It would be for future centuries to judge between Zwingli and Luther. <sup>1</sup> As to his motive for coming, i.e. his

---

<sup>1</sup> E. Egli, op. cit., p. 27.



desire for a Protestant military alliance, he was defeated by Luther. In his letter to Vadian, written on the 20th of October, 1529, he stated:

Arbitror enim, alia quoque nos attulisse, que pro religionis presidio et adversus monarchiam cesaris factura sint, que vobis quoque, sed cum tempus postulabit, exponenda erunt. 1

He was speaking here of the private conversations which he had had with Philip of Hesse during his stay in Marburg concerning other possible alliances, despite the impasse with Luther. This was the only remnant of success for his plan for a political system of defence.

Just before his departure from Marburg, Luther expressed his immediate impressions about the Colloquy to his wife in a letter dated on the 4th of October.

Wisset, dass unser freundlich Gespräch zu Marburg ein Ende hat, und seind fast in allen Stücken eins, ohne dass die Widerteil wollten eitel Brot im Abendmahl behalten und Christum geistlich darinnen gegenwärtig bekennen....

Sage dem Herrn Pommer, dass die besten Argument seind gewesen des Zwinglii, dass corpus non potest esse sine loco, ergo Christi corpus non est in pane, des Cecolampadii: dies Sacramentum est signum corporis Christi. 2

Luther did not maintain this concession of admitting the strong points of his opponents for long, however. He was

---

1 U. Zwingli, "Sämtliche Werke", op. cit., Vol. X, p. 318.

2 M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. V, p. 154.



soon maligning the Swiss for their position and their manner of conduct at the Colloquy. Luther conceived that he had convinced the Swiss, but, because of their fear of being thought spineless at home, they had not admitted his persuasiveness.

On the 12th of October Luther wrote to John Agricola. This letter indicated his change of spirit. Speaking of the Zwinglians, he stated:

In summa, homines sunt inepti et imperiti ad disputandum. Etsi sentiebant sua nihil concludere, nolabant tamen cedere in hac vna parte de presentia corporis Christi, idque (vt arbitramur) metu et pudore magis, quam malitia; in ceteris omnibus cesserunt, vti videbis in schedula edita. 1

After his return to Wittenberg, Luther's attack gained in intensity. In a letter written to Jacob Frobst of Bremen during June of 1530, Luther commented:

Porro quod Sacramentarii iactant, me esse Marpurgi victum, faciunt more suo. Sunt enim non solum mendaces, sed ipsum mendacium, fucus et simulatio, quod testantur Carolstadius et Zwinglius ipsis factis et verbis suis. Vides autem, hos Marpurgi revocasse in articulis positis ea, quae de baptismo, sacramentorum usu, similiter externo verbo, et alia, quae hactenus editis libris pestilenter docuerunt. 2

Luther was firmly convinced that the unity which the reformed Swiss coveted and a defensive alliance were closely linked. Luther would have nothing to do with the

---

1 Ibid., p. 160.

2 Ibid., p. 340.



latter, until true unity of doctrine, as he conceived it, was present, and even then he would have his doubts.

J. Mackinnon has commented about Luther in this manner:

Whilst himself protesting, in his controversy with his Roman Catholic opponents, against the error of making the dogma of transubstantiation an article of faith, he was untrue to his own contention in particularly demanding acceptance of his own doctrine of consubstantiation as an essential of faith. <sup>1</sup>

This is typical of many comments both pro and con about Luther's attitude at Marburg. On a wall of the room in which Zwingli and Luther held their disputation the following statement of L. von Ranke has been inscribed.

Man mag das tadeln, wenn man will, wie es so oft getadelt worden ist. Politisch - klug war es nicht. Allein nie trat wohl die reine Gewissenhaftigkeit rücksichtsloser, grossartiger hervor. Luther will die Vertheidigung des Glaubens nicht mit anderen fremdartigen Interessen vermischen. Er will sich nicht zu Dingen, die er nicht übersehen kann, fort-reissen lassen. Gewiss, klug ist das nicht, aber es ist gross.

Even as Ranke thought of Luther's stand as a great monument to principle as opposed to expediency, so many other authorities have considered it otherwise. The late Principal John Tulloch of St. Mary's College in the University of St. Andrews has stated:

Upon the whole, Luther appears nowhere less admirable than in this famous conference - not, indeed, for the opinion which he defended, but for

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 328.



the irate and dogmatic spirit in which he defended it. 1 This dogmatism on the part of Luther, in the face of the rationalistic argumentation of Zwingli which Luther refused to answer, was the major problem for those who desired unity, as a result of the Marburg Colloquy.

Was the Colloquy of Marburg a failure or a success? As far as the conciliation of the differences between Luther and Zwingli are concerned, the Conference must be considered a failure. Zwingli and Luther could not agree on the relationship of body and spirit in Christ's presence in the Supper. For Luther they were conjoined, but for Zwingli this was not possible. This was basically the impasse and the reason why the Marburg meeting can not be called a success in settling the Supper strife. "It was scarcely to be expected that there could be harmony on a doctrinal matter on which there had been such a long and embittered controversy." 2

Even in this deadlock, however, substantial gains had been made. Zwingli had been forced to do more than just state his negative opinion about the presence of the body in the Sacrament. He had affirmed Christ's real, though spiritual, presence in a positive manner. Luther

---

1 J. Fulloch, Luther and Other Leaders of the Reformation (third edition; Edinburgh, 1883), pp. 120-121.

2 T. M. Lindsay, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 353.



had advanced, as well, in being confronted with two problems. The first involved the conception of place. Was the body of Christ localised, qualitatively and quantitatively, in the bread? The second problem was the question as to the faith of the recipient of the Supper. He had expressed the belief that all who receive the Sacrament receive the body of Christ, but the unworthy recipient partakes it to his own damnation. Luther was now forced to examine the nuances of meaning in this statement in relation to the question of a spiritual presence of Christ in the Supper. This question was to be debated in the years after Marburg, as Martin Bucer sought to determine whether the non-believer actually receives the body of Christ.

The formulation of the Marburg Articles was the greatest accomplishment of the Colloquy. H. Sasse has stated of the Articles and of the Landgrave, Philip of Hesse:

The Marburg Articles are, indeed, a monument to the diplomatic skill of this great church politician. It was a masterpiece of diplomacy to persuade Luther, after the colloquy had failed, to draft this set of theses, and to persuade Zwingli to accept them. Only a political genius could change an obvious failure into a seeming success. 1

Fourteen articles were here set down and signed by all, as an expression of their common agreement on these points.

---

1 H. Sasse, op. cit., p. 275.



Even in regard to the Fifteenth Article, great light was shed upon the Supper Controversy by setting down first the points of agreement, and then the fact that the participants would agree to disagree on the matter of Christ's presence. The articles show the substantial harmony between the two sets of theological formulation, save one.

The impasse at Marburg was viewed by the Roman Catholic Church with delight. The Protestants of Germany and Switzerland, except those who shared Luther's fear of military alliances, viewed it with alarm. L. von Ranke stated of the Colloquy of Marburg: "wäre es einmal damit gelungen, so würde das Mittel gefunden gewesen seyn, auch fortan in der neuen Partei die kirchliche Einheit zu erhalten".<sup>1</sup> The Reformation was not to be a unified power, however, because of the discord at Marburg.

For Luther, the Conference had been a failure, as he had predicted that it would be. The only success to be found for him was to convince the Zwinglians of their errors, as he was convinced he had done. As to the plan for a political alliance, he was without doubt pleased that the plans of Philip of Hesse and Zwingli had been frustrated.

For Zwingli, the Colloquy was a failure for he had

---

<sup>1</sup> L. von Ranke, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 171.



not received the basis for a defensive alliance which he wished. It must be remembered, however, that Zwingli could have had unity with Luther by agreeing to everything that he required. This he would not do even for the sake of his motive.

For the Landgrave, The Colloquy at Marburg was a discouraging occurrence, but yet with his indomitable spirit he picked up the pieces of theological agreement for future use. As far as being the basis of political alliance of all Protestants, of course, he viewed the conference as unfruitful. After Marburg he envisioned two defensive alliances. One with German states and as many of the cities of the south as would accept Luther's formula of the Supper. The second would consist of the Swiss and the Zwinglian cities of Germany. He would involve Hesse in both sets of alliances. Under the circumstances Zwingli had to agree to his plan.

Basically, the reason for the failure of the Marburg Colloquy was more than the differences between Luther and Zwingli in regard to the presence of Christ in the Sacrament and it was more than differences in their personalities. It was also their basic differences in political ideology. Luther sensed that the purpose of the meeting was to create a defensive alliance. He was in sharp disagreement with this idea. This caused him to view the



Colloquy with suspicion and to react in an unfavourable manner before, during and after it met.

In 1529, Luther was anxious to prevent any kind of political union, as is evidenced by his thwarting of the plans of Elector John and Philip of Hesse. Even when these two Lutheran princes sought defensive alliances with other Lutheran states and cities, they constantly had to carry the burden of Luther's out-spoken opposition to any alliance against the power ordained by God, i.e. the Emperor. He was not only against premature political union which lacked sufficient backing, but, until after the Marburg Colloquy, he was against any political alliances at all. Zwingli, of course, was of the exact opposite frame-of-mind.

The question arises from the Marburg Colloquy as to whether Luther used his theological differences with Zwingli as a means to the end of frustrating such political plans. There is no question that the theological difference concerning the presence of Christ was deeply held by both reformers. Luther was too straight-forward in his dealings, however, to use anything as sacred to him as his belief about the Eucharist as a motive. The evidence of the Marburg meeting itself is conclusive proof that his theological stand there was not made for the purpose of wrecking the political plans of Zwingli and Philip. Toward the



end of the Colloquy it was Luther who was conciliatory and Zwingli who was recalcitrant. Luther suggested a compromise solution to the impasse on the third evening of the Colloquy. This was that the Lutherans sign a statement admitting that Christ's body is truly present in the Supper and that they had wrongly held that the Zwinglians denied this. A second statement was to be signed by the Zwinglians also admitting that Christ's body is truly present and that they had wrongly accused the Lutherans of believing that this body was present in a "gross and carnal" way.<sup>1</sup> Thus, Luther was not using the theological differences, as a means of disrupting Zwingli's plan for political union, but was simply searching for theological truth.

In Zwingli's case there seems to be the clear indication that the motive was everything to him. This is not true of the events at the end of the Colloquy, however, even though they may have been true at the beginning. It was Zwingli who refused the above-mentioned conciliatory statement of Luther, because it did not explicitly mention his view on the spiritual presence of Christ. Therefore, Zwingli during the Colloquy subjugated his motive to this one point of theology which he believed was essential.

---

<sup>1</sup> U. Zwingli, Opera. op. cit., Vol. II, Part 3, p. 58.



Luther was not as politically conscious as Zwingli. He was usually unconcerned with political situations, until they were thrust upon him, as they so often were. Before the Marburg meeting the matter of alliances had been strongly and consistently brought before him by the princes. He, therefore, was conscious of the problem and had spoken about it on many occasions, always advocating that it was wrong to create an alliance against the Emperor. He was also concerned with the problem, for he saw it as a theological consideration. Even though he was conscious of the problem and concerned about it, Luther in 1529 did not have the political sophistication to see all sides of the question. Zwingli had this type of sophistication, but in the case of his belief about the presence of Christ took on the simple approach of Luther, i.e. that of stating his position in a dogmatic way.

As has been indicated, theological considerations were of the utmost importance before and during the Colloquy. It was upon these issues that the Conference became inconclusive. The differences between Zwingli and Luther were not broad, but they were deep in the one matter of the presence of Christ. Their political differences had their place, as well, in the disruption of the proposed union at the Colloquy. Luther had little doubt as to what Zwingli's political position and motive were for Philip of



Hesse had become an echo of this stand. He did not like a thing about this political motive and came to Marburg, as it were, under duress, because he did not even care to discuss a question of theology which had become, he thought, a motive with Zwingli.

Luther's opinion of Zwingli was blackened, not only because of the Supper Controversy, but because of his knowledge of Zwingli's motive. Zwingli did not understand Luther's strong emphasis on the fact that there should be no alliances against the Emperor and he was not, after all, Zwingli's Emperor. Luther, then, was prejudiced against Zwingli's motive, while Zwingli did not understand Luther's position against alliances. In this situation of underlying mistrust and misunderstanding, there was little hope that such a deep-seated theological dispute could be settled. The political situation and the opinions of the two about alliances were simply the back-drop behind the theological discussions, but this background was of a sombre hue.



## CHAPTER VII

### THE AFTERMATH OF MARBURG

Following the historic meeting between Luther and Zwingli at Marburg, events demonstrated the reality and the consequences of the disunity among the reformers. The presentation of three confessions at the Diet of Augsburg and the formation of the Schmalkaldic League without the Swiss were illustrations of their discord. In the lives of the two men themselves, the aftermath of Marburg brought changes in political opinion to Luther and a tragic death to Zwingli. After Marburg the basic contrast of the theocracy of Zwingli and the Erastian tendencies of Luther could most clearly be observed.

#### I. THE DIET OF AUGSBURG AND THE SCHMALKALDIC LEAGUE

H. Sasse has stated that the lack of any constructive results issuing from the Colloquy of Marburg was hidden at first in the fact that each side interpreted the Marburg Articles in a different manner.

For Luther and the Lutherans they were the beginning of a real union, a theological document which proved that Zwingli was able to yield in important matters, and thus justified the hope that he would eventually accept that last point on which agreement had not been reached. <sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> H. Sasse, op. cit., p. 275.



Zwingli, however, was unwilling to yield on his interpretation of the presence in the Lord's Supper. For Zwingli the Marburg Articles represented his final statement of compromise. He was sure, nonetheless, that these statements were a sufficient basis for fellowship and political cooperation.

An illustration of Luther's sentiments was a sermon which he preached in Wittenberg upon his return home from Marburg.

Ich sage nicht, das ein Bruderliche einigkeit sey, sondern eine gutige freundliche Eintracht, das sie freundlich bey uns suchen, was jnen feilet, und wir wider jnen dienen; wo jr nu werdet vleissig bitten, wird sie auch Bruderlich werden. 1

Luther soon surmised that Zwingli was not going to be changed. At the meeting of the north German princes and the southern cities which was called a few weeks after the Marburg Colloquy at Schwabach, Luther drew up seventeen articles which were based on the Marburg Articles. These show that already Luther held little hope that Zwingli would be changed to the Lutheran position, for these Schwabach Articles did not contain the conciliatory note that the Marburg Articles had. Luther persuaded the princes to accept these articles and to admit no one to their alliance who did not subscribe to every iota of them.

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XXVIII, p. 669, cited by H. Sasse, op. cit., p. 274.



The Zwinglian cities of Strassburg and Ulm refused to sign. They were joined by other cities at the next conference which was held in Schmalkalden in December 1529.

Thus, as an aftermath of Marburg, Luther's attitude was that no league should be entered unless all involved agreed to the Schwabach Articles. Not only Luther himself, but also his followers were of this opinion. Gregory Brück, who was Elector John's Chancellor, stated his reasons against union with Zwingli in the following manner:

... it is less injurious to form a union with pagans than with apostates in matters which do not involve the faith. For the latter call themselves brethren and claim to have accepted the true Word of God and the Gospel and nevertheless are apostates. <sup>1</sup>

Even though Luther had made concessions in his ideas about the inadvisability of forming an alliance against the Emperor after Marburg, he was not consistent in his position. In the composition of the Schwabach Articles he had set the principle that defensive alliances were permissible, as long as they were with those of the same theological position. In the early months of 1530, however, Luther persuaded the Elector to give up the alliance with Philip of Hesse which had been proposed at Schmalkalden in December 1529, on the grounds that it was wrong to resist the Emperor.

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Reu, The Augsburg Confession (Chicago, 1930), Part II, p. 66.



Denn wir in unserm Gewissen solch Verbündnis nicht mügen billigen noch raten, angesehen, wo es fortginge und etwa ein Blutvergiessen oder sonst ein Unglück draus erfolgete, dass, ob wir alsdenn gern heraus wollten sein, nicht könnten kommen, und alles solchs Unfalls ein unleidliche Beschwerung tragen müsstest, dass wir lieber möchten zehemal tot sein, denn solchs Gewissen haben, dass unser Euangelium sollte ein Ursache gewesen sein einiges Bluts oder Schadens, so von unserwegen geschehe.... 1

Thus, Luther had returned to his former position that it was against God's purpose that any alliance at all be formed against the Emperor.

The call to the Diet of Augsburg was issued by Emperor Charles. It was a facet of his nature to seek reconciliation before he would resort to arms. Thus, he would seek to reunite the Protestants and the Catholics of the Holy Roman Empire by his moral force. 2 His invitation to the Lutheran princes to attend the Diet was in friendly terms, therefore. For the purpose of concord Charles requested that the Protestants refrain from preaching during the Diet. Philip of Hesse demonstrated what would follow by his defence of the evangelical sermons of the Protestants.

The warning of the Elector of Mentz about the danger of the Turks was well taken by the Diet and mediation was seen to be imperative. With Luther in Coburg and

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. V, p. 182.

2 A. F. Pollard, op. cit., pp. 210-211.



Melanchthon deeply desirous of peace, the conditions seemed right for concord. Added to this was the fact that the Lutherans and Catholics had both renounced the Zwinglians.

The Confession of Augsburg was submitted on the 25th of June, 1530. Melanchthon, who was responsible for its creation, wished a reconciliation with the Catholics. His means for the accomplishment of this end was to accentuate the differences between the Zwinglians and the Lutherans, and to minimise the differences between the Lutherans and the Catholics. "His unyielding attitude towards his fellow-Protestants of the South greatly detracted from the merit of his conciliatory attitude towards the other side." 1

Politically, the Confession was "the first creed of christendom that sets forth the origin, the nature, and the separate jurisdiction of the state as distinct from the church". 2 It declared that "... necessario debent Christiani obedire magistratibus suis et legibus, nisi quum iubent peccare; tunc enim magis debent obedire Deo quam hominibus, Act. V.". 3 Here was a statement which

---

1 J. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 8.

2 L. H. Waring, op. cit., p. 80.

3 B. J. Kidd, op. cit., p. 266.



was typical of Luther's usual conception of obedience.

Zwingli's work, Fidei ratio, which was written for Emperor Charles on the occasion of the Diet of Augsburg, was ignored by both him and the Diet. In it Zwingli defended his cause against the charges laid upon him by Melanchthon and the Lutherans. Politically, he was less adventurous than Melanchthon and the Confession of Augsburg, in that he simply stated that obedience is the Christian's duty even when a tyrant rules.<sup>1</sup> He does not use the passage from Acts V, which states that it is better to obey God rather than man.

As the Diet of Augsburg continued, Luther became anxious at Melanchthon's desire for concessions. He expressed the opinion that he preferred that further attempts at compromise be discontinued. He praised the princes for their steadfastness. This was similar to their spirit at the Second Diet of Speyer. Philip of Hesse expressed the opinion that he would rather give up life and limb than deny his faith. Long before the end of the Diet, or before he was excused by the Emperor, he left for home in August. The Elector of Saxony still remained and led in the action of the Protestant princes in refusing to sanction the election of Charles's brother,

---

<sup>1</sup> U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 46.



Ferdinand, as the King of the Romans.

Luther commended the Protestant participants at the Diet in a letter to Melanchthon dated on the 15th of September, 1530, in this manner: "Christum confessi estis, pacem obtulistis, Cesari obedistis... Summa, opus sanctum Dei, vt sanctos decet, digne tractastis". 1

The Diet of Augsburg served to emphasise the differences between the Protestant factions, due to the presentation of the three separate confessions of faith. On the 19th of November, 1530, the Diet decreed that the Protestants would have until the 15th of April, 1531, to submit to the Roman Catholic Church. 2 If they failed to do so, the Emperor reserved the right to decide how to proceed against them. This decree caused alarm and then the will to resist among the princes. They met together at Schmalkalden on the 22nd of December, 1530, in this spirit. They had met the previous winter in the same place to protest against the decree of the Second Diet of Speyer. Then, due to the opposition of Luther, their meeting had come to nought.

In December 1530, however, they were resolved to defend themselves. They objected to the decree of the

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. V, p. 622.

2 J. B. Kidd, op. cit., p. 299.



Diet of Augsburg. They protested the election of Ferdinand of Austria as the German King. They resolved to protect one another from attack by the Roman Catholics. At a second meeting in February 1531, the Schmalkaldic League was created.

Meanwhile, in Switzerland the Protestants were preparing mutual defence in the aftermath of the discord of Marburg. At the end of January 1530, Strassburg had joined the Swiss towns in the Christian Burgers' League. Bern refused to accept the Landgrave of Hesse as a member, however. Philip, therefore, concluded a separate alliance with Zurich and Basel in the summer of 1530.

As to others of the princes and south German towns joining the Christian Burgers' League, R. Christoffel has an interesting reason for their refusal.

Der alte Erasmus hatte durch ein weitverbreitetes Witzwort, dass der Schweizerreformer unter dem Mantel des Evangeliums die Demokratie einzuführen trachte, die Fürsten und die aristokratischen Städtebehörden gegen die Bestrebungen, die von Zürich ausgingen, misstrauischgemacht. 1

In reality Zurich was not very democratic in its government, as it moved more and more to the leadership of an oligarchy. But it is true that the fear of political consequences may have caused the princes, particularly, and also the cities concern. Constance was the only

---

1 R. Christoffel, op. cit., p. 368.



exception to this rule, as it was one of the founding members of the Christian Burgers' League.

After the meeting of the princes at Schmalkalden in December 1529, there was little hope of any support, except from Philip of Hesse, for the predominantly Swiss league. After the presentation of the Tetrapolitan Confession at Augsburg and then the acceptance of the four cities into the Schmalkaldic League in February 1531, there was no hope of support for the Swiss by even the south German towns. Strassburg and Constance were the lone exceptions, having joined both the Christian Burgers' League and the Schmalkaldic League. Thus, the Protestants in Switzerland in February 1531, stood alone except for their alliances with Strassburg, Constance and Philip of Hesse.

It seemed logical that the Swiss cities would join the Schmalkaldic League, as they had so many friends in the League. They were invited to do so by the Landgrave and the Elector of Saxony. Zwingli, however, would not accept the requirement of admission, i.e. a statement of the bodily presence of the Lord in the Sacrament of the Supper. The four cities had been accepted with a compromise statement of the doctrine, but Zwingli was unwilling to compromise on this one point. Now he, as well as Luther, was clearly willing to sacrifice the



motive of union for the Word, as he understood it.

Luther's opinion had not changed as to the necessity of having a strong doctrinal basis for such a union, if such an alliance was absolutely necessary. Zwingli was now of the same mind and wrote in a letter to Capito and Bucer, dated the 12th of February, 1531:

Quodsi renuent, nobis constitutum est, vel solis, veritatis negocium non esse usque ad animi effusionem relinquendum. Non vivimus nostro isti seculo, non principibus, sed domino. Horum causa quicquam admisisse, quod veritatem aut imminuat aut vitiet, stultum est, ne dicam impium. Illius mentem tenuisse, superare est omnes adversarios. 1

Bern wished to accept the requirement of admission into the Schmalkaldic League, alarmed as she was by the Duke of Savoy's attack on Geneva, but she followed Zurich's leadership in the matter. 2 Thus, no Swiss cities were represented in the Schmalkaldic League. The separation of the Swiss Protestant cities was now complete and irreparable.

When on the 25th of December, 1530, the Protestants meeting at Schmalkalden sent to Köln their protests against the election of Ferdinand, they were setting themselves in direct opposition to the wishes of the Emperor. The next months were occupied by the German Protestants in

---

1 U. Zwingli, "Sämtliche Werke", op. cit., Vol. XI, p. 340, cited by S. M. Jackson, op. cit., p. 338.

2 S. M. Jackson, op. cit., p. 339.



constructing a league for mutual defence. This Schmalkaldic League eventually contained the following princes and cities: John the Elector of Saxony; Philip of Hesse; Philip, Ernest and Francis, Dukes of Brunawick-Luneburg; Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt; Gebhard and Albert, Counts of Mansfeld; Strassburg; Ulm; Constance; Reutlingen; Memmingen; Lindau; Biberach; Isny; Lübeck; Magdeburg; and Bremen. 1

The statement of purpose of the Schmalkaldic League was at first disapproved of by Luther, but he was eventually forced to accept it, because of the circumstances. The purpose was stated in these terms:

Whereas, it was altogether likely that those who had the pure Word of God preached in their territory and thereby had abolished many abuses, were to be prevented by force from continuing this service so pleasing to God; and, whereas, it was the duty of every Christian government not only to have the Word of God preached to its subjects, but also as far as possible to prevent their being compelled to fall away from it, now we, solely for the sake of their own defense and deliverance, which both by human and divine right was permitted to everyone, have agreed that whenever any one of them was attacked on account of the Word of God and the doctrine of the Gospel or anything connected therewith, all of the others would immediately come to his assistance, as best they could, and help to deliver him. 2

The reference to the duty of the governments to have the Gospel preached and the right of a State to defend its citizens when attacked were, no doubt, set forth in such

---

1 Ibid., p. 337.

2 E. J. Kidd, op. cit., p. 301.



clear-cut form in order to convince Luther to accept the League's purpose. This declaration was signed on the 27th of February, 1531, with Luther's tacit approval.

Once formed the League sought other allies. Philip of Hesse was involved in the task of having the northern Protestant countries join the League. A year after the League's inception Denmark became a member. <sup>1</sup> It was the Lutheran Scandinavian powers who would defend the Protestant cause during the course of the Thirty Years War.

Roman Catholic rulers were also approached for alliances with the League. Any one who was opposed to the Emperor was welcomed. That Luther did not object to this move is an interesting commentary on his change of opinion after the formation of the League. (This change will be dealt with in the next section of this chapter.) The Catholic dukes of Bavaria, who were opposed to Ferdinand's election as King of the Romans and, thus, to the further ascendancy of the power of the Hapsburg family, gained an alliance with the League. This was consummated in the Treaty of Saalfeld on the 24th of October, 1531. <sup>2</sup>

The most important approach was made to Francis of France. Because of his rivalry with Charles, the King of

---

<sup>1</sup> H. E. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 304.

<sup>2</sup> D. A. Hill, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 432.



France was eager for allies. Francis I invited Melanchthon to France that an agreement might be reached. "Although this scheme was favoured by Luther, the Elector's opposition could not be overcome." 1

Henry VIII approved of the League, as well. He did not allow his anger at Luther for his scathing attack of former years detract from his interest. "His approaches were favoured by the flattering introduction in which Melanchthon had dedicated to the English King the edition of his Loci of 1535." 2 However, in the case of Francis, as well as Henry, the Elector of Saxony, insisted that members of the League must accept the wording of the Augsburg Confession and the Apology for the same. Nonetheless, Henry VIII and Francis could be called upon by the League only in an emergency situation.

The ever-present Turks were again threatening to attack. This, combined with the growing might of the League by the addition of allies and sympathisers, caused Charles to conclude the Peace of Nürnberg with the Protestants in the summer of 1532. The reason for the existence of the League was here for the first time substantiated.

With the growing support of the princes and the

---

1 H. E. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 312.

2 Ibid.



magistrates of the cities, the Protestant cause was increased in strength. With the alliances and arrangements of all who were opposed to Charles, the defensive position of the Reformation seemed sure. The statement of D. A. Hill is note-worthy in this connection.

If the Protestant Reformation had been merely a religious movement, it could not have survived the lifetime of the reformers who brought it into being. What rendered it triumphant was its political motives and influence, and preeminently its diplomacy. 1

II. DID LUTHER CHANGE HIS OPINION ABOUT ALLIANCES AND OBEDIENCE TO THE CERIGKEIT DURING THE PERIOD AT THE END OF 1529 AND THROUGHOUT 1530?

This is a complex question, because Luther was not consistent in his statements and during this period his opinions were often changed by circumstances. His position before the Colloquy of Marburg had been expressed in many documents, as one that would not countenance any armed resistance to the powers that be. One exception was set forth in his work, Ob kriegleutte auch vnn seligen stande seyn künden. He was discussing the question of the right to depose a ruler and stated:

Das ist wol billich, wo etwa ein Fürst, König odder herr wansynnig wurde, das man den selbigen absetzt und verwaret; denn er ist nu fort mehr nicht

---

1 D. A. Hill, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 460.



für einen menschen zu halten, weil die vernunft da hyn ist. 1

This was only an exception, however. The rule of Luther was that everyone is a subject to a higher power, even the princes. If a prince does not obey the Emperor in matters mundane, according to Luther in 1526, he is no better than a rebellious peasant.

... wie man eym auffrurisschen baurn den kopff abschlegt, so sol man eym auffrurisschen Edelman, Graven, Fürsten auch den kopff abschlahen, Eym wie dem andern, so geschicht niemand unrecht. 2

His thought is illustrated in the answer which he gave on the 24th of December, 1529, to the Elector of Saxony. He had been asked if it was right for the princes to resist the Emperor in his suppression of Protestantism. His answer was an unqualified negative. He advised against such resistance either in the form of war or preparation for war. The Elector was not satisfied with Luther's answer. On behalf of the other Protestant princes he asked Luther for a more complete answer in a letter written on the 27th of January, 1530.

On the 6th of March, Luther wrote a long letter containing his opinion against the formation of a league for mutual defence. Instead of a league of defence, Luther

---

1 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XIX, p. 634.

2 Ibid., p. 643.



suggested that the Emperor should be deposed by lawful means, if the princes were convinced that he intended to proceed against them in matters of faith.

Denn obgleich hierinn k. Mt. unrecht thut und yhre Pfllicht und eid ubertritt, ist damit seine keiserliche oberkeit und seiner unterthan gehorsam nicht aufgehbt, weil das reich und die kurfursten yhn fur keiser halten und nicht absetzen. 1

Luther's suggestion of the deposition of the Emperor was quite impossible, however, due to the fact that the Protestants were out-numbered in the councils of the Empire. The result of Luther's statement was to reaffirm his conception that resistance to the Emperor was against the Will of God. Thus, he set himself against the judgement of the jurists of Saxony who had claimed that the Emperor gave up his prerogatives when he violated the oath which he swore when he was constituted in his office.

Luther still held to his position when the question of whether there should be evangelical preaching at the Diet of Augsburg was raised. He stated that if the Emperor forbade it, the Protestants were to submit with a protest. The protest was effective in that neither Catholic nor Protestant sermons were preached during the meeting of the Diet. When the events at Augsburg convinced Luther that this position of submission was leading to ruin and the

---

1 Ibid., Briefwechsel Vol. V, p. 258.



Protestant cause was in jeopardy, he stated: "... malo ego cum Christo ruere, quam cum Caesare stare".<sup>1</sup> Still Luther conveyed the sense that it is better for a Christian to suffer than to rebel.

In his work, Glosse auf das vermeinte kaiserliche Edict, Luther criticised the actions of the Diet of Augsburg. He stated, however:

Ich Martinus Luther der heiligen schrift Doctor und prediger der Christen zu Wittemberg bedinge hie mit dieser offentlicher schrift, das, alles was ich widder dis verseynt keiserlich Edict odder gebot, ynn diesem buchlin schreibe nicht wil geredt noch verstanden haben als widder keyserliche Maiestet odder einige oberkeit, geiatliches odder weltliches standes geschrieben....<sup>2</sup>

Luther still had the ability to make excuses for a document printed under the name of the Emperor out of sheer respect for the sovereign.

There was a marked change in his attitude, however, toward the end of 1530. With the Protestants having been given six months to recant, Luther stated: "Wird ein Krieg draus, so werde er draus; wir haben gnug gebeten und getan".<sup>3</sup> He wrote this in a letter to Justus Jonas, dated on the 20th of September, 1530. This statement is

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXX, Part III, p. 331.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Briefwechsel Vol. V, p. 629.



in marked contrast to his usual utterances.

Perhaps the judgement of the Saxon jurists had finally been accepted by Luther. These had pointed out that the Emperor was not an absolute sovereign, but was limited by his oath of office and by the princes and the cities. They had also pointed out that the proposed league against the Emperor was purely defensive, and not offensive. With the dead-line of the 15th of April, 1531, having been established, Luther seems finally to have begun to respond to their entreaties.

The Protestants would doubtless have protected themselves against armed attack quite without regard to the legality of their action. Luther showed common sense, if not consistency, in accepting the technical plea of the lawyers and making the best of a situation he was powerless to mend. <sup>1</sup>

Luther claimed his ignorance of the law. As a theologian, he thought that men ought to abide by the law of civil government; therefore, he would leave it up to the jurists to interpret the law. But the princes would not allow him to escape from making a judgement, and kept asking his opinion of their duty toward the Emperor. The jurists sought to convince him that he had not realised that a sovereign power was subject to the law of the land. He admitted his unfamiliarity with the

---

<sup>1</sup> A. C. McGiffert, op. cit., p. 349.



legal implications of the law over and over again, however. 1

Luther clearly showed a change of attitude in his writing which was published in January 1531, and entitled, Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen. It is obvious that he no longer viewed self-defence as insurrection. He advised that, in case the Emperor declared war on the Protestants because of their faith, he should be disobeyed. Luther used his familiar text from Acts, the 5th Chapter, as support for this idea. Never before had he put the obligation of disobeying the Emperor so strongly. He also mentioned a conception which he must have received from the jurists. This is the idea that the Emperor may be disobeyed when he acts contrary to imperial oaths, duty and custom. He wrote in this same document:

... Wo es zum Kriege kompt, da Gott fur sey, So wil ich das teil, so sich widder die mörderische und blutgyrige Papisten zur were setzt, nicht auffrührisch gescholten haben noch schelten lassen, Sondern wills lassen gehen und geschehen, das sie es eine not were heissen, und wil sie damit jns Recht und zu den Juristen weisen. 2

Luther's change of opinion was not sudden and was never consistently held. He first began to see that there were deeper issues involved in the matter of alliances and

---

1 E. G. Schwiebert, op. cit., pp. 115-116.

2 M. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XXX, Part III, p. 282.



obedience to the Emperor when he was at Marburg and was confronted by the obvious motive of Zwingli and Philip of Hesse. The fact that he allowed the Schwabach Articles to be used as the possible basis for a Lutheran league shows that even late in 1529 he was thinking about this position, despite his utterances to the contrary. If any one time can be pointed to as his time of transition, it was when the ultimatum was given to the Protestants by the Emperor that they had to recant before the spring following the Diet of Augsburg. It must again be stated, however, that he was not consistent after this time in advocating disobedience to the Emperor should he proceed against the Protestants with force of arms. During the negotiations concerning the creation of the Schmalkaldic League in December 1530 and the spring of 1531, Luther had lost his former reserve about alliances, however.

In a letter written in February of 1531, Luther expressed his new opinion. Writing to Lazarus Spengler, he stated:

Magister Veit hat mir Euer Anliegen angezeigt, wie Euch der Unsern Rede beschweren, dass die rühmen, als hätten wir den vorigen Ratschlag widerrufen, dass man dem Kaiser nicht sollte widerstehen.

Nun bin ich mir ja nicht bewusst solches Widerrufens. Aber das ist geschehen, dass sie zu Torgau mit uns scharf disputirten darum. Etliche wollten auch, uns ungefraget, wissen und tun das, was sie recht dacht. Das mussten wir lassen geschehen. Aber da wir end ich darauf stunden, der Rechtspruch: 'Vim vi repellere licet' wäre nicht genug, wie wir den



zuvor auch im Ratschlag verlegt hätten ec., brachten sie das hervor: es liess das Kaiserliche Recht zu, in notorie iniustis violenter resistere potestati. Da sagten wir, das wüssten wir nicht, ob solches die Rechte setzten. Denn wo der Kaiser sich selbst also hätte verstrickt und verbunden, so liessen wir ihn also bleiben, sie möchten zusehen. 1

Even though Luther did not see this as a recantation of his former position, it was surely a strong shift in emphasis based on new knowledge. Violent resistance to constituted authority, even for notorious injustice, had never been allowed by him previously.

Luther showed his inconsistency, again, when he retreated from his position that active resistance in the form of the Schmalkaldic League was permissible, in a letter written on the 18th of March, 1531. He used his concept of the two kingdoms in this letter. As citizens of the State, we may be correct in following the admonition of the jurists that resistance is admissible. As Christians, however, he leaves it to each individual conscience to decide. As for himself he will not resist the powers that be. 2 This distinction did not add new insight to the practical necessity of defence that was then present.

Luther's inconsistency stemmed from the conflict between practical considerations and his conception of

---

1 Ibid., Briefwechsel Vol. VI, pp. 36-37.

2 Ibid., pp. 56-57.



biblical truth. He stated that he was willing to render unto Caesar his due, but when the Emperor forbade what God in his word had taught and commanded, he was exceeding his duty. He, therefore, could be opposed by the faithful Christian. Luther is here exhibiting his new conception received, only uncomfortably, from the jurists, that the powers of government and the individual Christian could act as a check on one another.

Despite the fact that he was more and more assured that it was the Christian prince's duty to protect his subjects from being forced to espouse an alien faith, Luther never completely relinquished the fond hope that this would not be necessary. In a letter of the 8th of February, 1539, written to John Ludicke, he expressed the opinion that Charles V was not the kind of man to wage war upon his subjects for religious reasons. <sup>1</sup> It is true that the Emperor was amazingly loath actually to attack the Protestants, but perhaps this was because of the fact that they had in the meanwhile constructed their defensive league.

Did Luther change his opinion about defensive resistance after the Diet of Augsburg? Whether he did or did not and to what extent he changed, has been debated

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Briefwechsel Vol. VIII, pp. 366-367, cited by L. H. Waring, op. cit., p. 158.



by many authorities.

McGiffert has stated the position:

The complete change of attitude is very interesting, showing to what a degree the necessities of the developing political situation had influenced the originally simple-minded and unworldly monk. 1

Cranz in like manner stated:

... in Luther's thinking on these topics the differences between the early and the mature works are so great that only confusion results from the assumption that we are dealing with a single, unified position. 2

These topics of law and justice underwent the greatest change in the specific area of his attitude toward alliances.

Luther, himself, expressed his change of attitude in one of his table talks in this manner:

... we are certain of one thing, that these times are not the times of the martyrs, when Diocletian reigned and raged against the Christians; 'tis now another kind of kingdom and government. The emperor's authority and power, without the seven princes electors, is of no value. 3

Others, however, have insisted on the opposite position. L. H. Waring has stated:

That Luther changed his views to a limited degree on certain subjects connected with civil government

---

1 A. C. McGiffert, op. cit., p. 350.

2 F. E. Cranz, op. cit., p. xiv.

3 M. Luther, The Table Talk, W. Hazlitt, translator and editor (London, 1890), p. 336.



is only to say that he became wiser in the light of new developments and larger experience; but on essential points he is absolutely consistent in all his writings and in all his actions alike. 1

J. W. Allen has summed up Luther's position in this fashion:

In Germany, at least, Luther must have done a good deal to strengthen that tendency to regard rebellion against constituted civil authority as rebellion against God, which, strong ever since St Paul's time, was in the sixteenth century becoming stronger than ever it had been. 2

This statement is in direct contradiction to the conception of Carlyle that Luther had a new idea in advocating absolute submission to authority before the Diet of Augsburg. It also implicitly denies Carlyle's premise that there was a radical change in Luther's position during 1530.

H. J. Grimm has pointed out that Luther was forced to accept the position that the princes had to conform themselves to the jurists, follow and obey them. What they declared to be right must be right, even if it is wrong. 3 According to Grimm, Luther was never able to tie himself to such a position. This thought is a key to understanding Luther's attitude after the Diet of Augsburg. There was a change, but it was not a willing change. He was forced by

---

1 L. H. Waring, op. cit., p. 272.

2 J. W. Allen, "Martin Luther", The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Thinkers of the Renaissance and the Reformation, F. J. C. Hearnshaw, editor (London, 1925), p. 190.

3 H. J. Grimm, op. cit., p. 88.



the circumstances of the situation and the obvious conviction of the princes that the jurists were right to accept what was unacceptable to him. The change was never complete, either. With great inconsistency Luther kept returning to his former position. His mind may have been convinced by the jurists and the princes, but his heart remained true to his conception that the powers that be must be obeyed. For the jurists the "powers" included the princes, magistrates, and above all the laws and customs of the State, beside the office of the Emperor. Luther could not completely accept all of this mature political theory, but was forced at times to admit parts of the system. He never could bring himself to extend his text that one must obey God rather than man to the point of advocating armed resistance against the Lord's anointed, even though he was willing to disobey him in spiritual matters after the Diet of Augsburg.

### III. ZWINGLI'S LOSS OF HEART AND LIFE

Zwingli's motive at the commencement of the Colloquy at Marburg had been the quest after harmony and unity among the reformers, in order that a defensive alliance could be created. In the heat of the Conference, however, he was to give up his motive, because he would not sacrifice his understanding of the presence of Christ in the Supper. He



became adamant on this point. Zwingli was certain that his position was right in the sight of God. He thought that he had prevailed against Luther so manifestly at Marburg that, if ever a person had been defeated, it was the stubborn Luther. 1 This was his spirit during the period following the Colloquy.

The only success at Marburg for Zwingli was the closer ties he had formed with Philip of Hesse. They had had private conversations about possible alliances during and after the Conference. These negotiations continued after Zwingli's return to Zurich.

Pharao wurde gewöhnlich der Kaiser in dem Briefwechsel zwischen dem Landgrafen und Zwingli genannt. Seit dem Marburg Gespräche unterhielten diese einen ununterbrochenen Briefwechsel, zum Theil in Geheimschrift, deren Zeichen zur bessern Bewahrung des Geheimnisses öfters abgeändert wurden, so dass verschiedene Schlüssel nöthig sind, um dieselbe zu entziffern. 2

This contact with the Landgrave gave Zwingli comfort, but it was a singular success. He had lost the possibility of having other German states and cities as allies, except for Constance and Strasburg.

His united evangelical Christian Burgers' Right in Switzerland was confronted by the Roman Catholic cantons and Austria. His projected plans in Germany having all

---

1 H. Sasse, op. cit., p. 274.

2 R. Christoffel, op. cit., p. 364.



but failed and with his sense of desperation mounting at the threat of isolation, Zwingli sought the aid of anti-imperial, but not evangelical, powers.

Zwingli had made a previous approach to the King of France in dedicating to him his work, De vera et falsa religione commentarius.<sup>1</sup> Francis, therefore, indicated that he wished to discuss an alliance with the Christian Burgers' Right against their common enemy, the Emperor. The very fact that Zwingli would consider such an arrangement testifies to a basic inconsistency of thought. The French had always been his chief target in his fight against mercenary service and the pensioners. On the 16th of February, 1530, Lambert Maignet, a French ambassador, wrote to Zwingli and asked about the details for a proposed alliance.<sup>2</sup> Zwingli did not respond immediately, perhaps because he doubted the sincerity of the French King. After another request, Zwingli sent a draft. The ambassador responded that Francis could do nothing about the league, while the King's sons were held captive by Charles. It appears that Francis had led Zwingli on, in order that he would show his hand, and then he held the document for future reference. Zwingli had failed in receiving the

---

<sup>1</sup> U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 628.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. X, p. 457.



commitment which he sought, however.

Zwingli turned his attention also to Venice where an evangelical movement had come into being. The government of the city had declared its independence from the Pope. Zwingli sent Collin to the Doge of Venice to express Zurich's interest in an alliance. Collin was met cordially, but was informed that Venice had just signed a treaty of peace with the Emperor. The Venetians did assure the representative of Zurich that, if they were attacked by the Emperor, they would render as much assistance as possible. Zwingli had again failed to get a solid commitment.

Zwingli, therefore, was forced to rely on the unity among the members of the Christian Burgers' Right. Cities of south Germany, such as Ulm, which had formerly been interested in the Swiss Protestant alliance turned to the princes for protection in joining the Schmalkaldic League. The internal strength of conviction among the members of the Christian Burgers' Right was questionable. They had agreed in their constitution written on the 25th of December, 1527, that

... should it befall either party to be subdued, in matter of faith or evangelical doctrine, by any one, be he who he may; or should any one presume to do us, our goods and chattels, any hinderance, damage, or hurt, or to overrun or invade us, or to treat us unjustly in any way, let it be from what cause soever, then we are, either party and, moreover, each at his own cost, with our bodies and goods to help, protect



and, with all our resources, to assist the other....<sup>1</sup>  
 The question was whether this league was strong enough for the crisis of 1529-1531. Zwingli doubted that it was.

The isolation of Zwingli, Zurich and the Christian Burgers's Right was manifest at the Diet of Augsburg. It would have been folly for Zwingli to have appeared at the Diet, because his only supporter was the Landgrave of Hesse. Zwingli had become a scapegoat among the Protestant princes, except for Philip. Luther was exercised by even this connection with Zwingli and wrote to the Landgrave on the 20th of June, 1530, in this wise:

Wiewohl ich tröstlicher Zuversicht hoffe, dass unser lieber Herr Christus bei E. F. G. in rechten reinen Glauben wohne und sonderlich die Sacramentlehre fest in E. F. G. Herze erhalte, dass meinethalben ohn Not wäre, E. F. G. davon zu schreiben, weil ich aber vernommen, auch von mir selbst wohl denken kann, dass unser Widerteil gar fleissig und unruhig sind mit Anregen und Bemühen, damit sie E. F. G. zu ihrem Haufen ziehen möchten; und ob schon ihr Anregen und Anklopfen E. F. G. unschädlich sein mag, so weiss ich doch wohl, welcher ein Gewaliger und Tausendkünstler der böse Geist ist, mit allerlei listigen Gedanken einzugeben, und wo er ja nicht mit Gewalt oder List gewinnen kann, doch zuletzt mit seinem unablässigen Anhalten einen müde machen kann und also ubertäuben. 2

Except for Philip's loyalty and the alliances with Constance and Strassburg, the Swiss Reformation was defence-

---

<sup>1</sup> B. J. Kidd, op. cit., p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> M. Luther, Werke, op. cit., Briefwechsel Vol. V, p. 330.



less. In this isolation Zwingli lost heart. His desperate efforts to gain France and Venice for allies is evidence of his feelings. "Wir können das Sittenmandat von 1530 als Abschluss von Zwinglis Lenkertätigkeit in Staat und Kirche auffassen." <sup>1</sup> Zwingli's desperate admonition to other Protestants was this:

Romanum imperium, imo quodque imperium, ubi religionem sinceram opprimere coeperit, et nos illud negligentes patimur, iam negatae aut contemptae religionis non minus rei erimus, quam illi ipsi oppressores. <sup>2</sup>

In 1531, a strange phenomenon was evident. Luther, who had formerly stood against resistance, was now at least tacitly admitting the need for a league against the Emperor. Zwingli, who had been so much for a league, was the means by which the last desperate attempt by Martin Bucer for reconciliation was brought to nought. Bucer had been to see Luther and had convinced him of a more conciliatory stand toward Zwingli. He had then journeyed to Zurich where he found Zwingli unreceptive. After Bucer left Zurich, a letter arrived for him from the Council of Strassburg. Zwingli opened the letter and saw an admonition to Bucer to get an agreement from Zwingli at all costs,

---

<sup>1</sup> G. Schulthess-Rechberg, Luther, Zwingli und Calvin in ihrer Ansichten über das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche (Aarau, 1909), p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. XI, p. 69.



so that a firm league might be formed between the Swiss and the Germans. Zwingli in his new frame-of-mind saw that Bucer was seeking peace from base motives; "that he was sacrificing his religious convictions for political ends".<sup>1</sup> This is the very charge that had been formerly levelled against Zwingli.

In February of 1531, the Swiss cantons under the leadership of Zwingli refused to join the Schmalkaldic League. His reason was that the Lutherans did not have sufficient regard for the spiritual presence of Christ in the Supper. Despite his fears he was not willing to give up what had now come to be a cardinal point for him. This stand, however, did not diminish his forebodings. In a letter to Vadian, written on the 5th of April, 1531, Zwingli stated his fears in this manner:

Principes, qui ab euangelio stant, paulo longius absunt; at urbes christiane civitatis conterminae ut sunt, ita ad omnem occasionem ad ferendum inter se mutuo auxilium aptissime essent, quibuscum amicitiam iungerent. Id quod ego iam non uno anno ago, duco et traho; sed parum proficio. Sunt enim supiniores quidam, quam par est.<sup>2</sup>

Zwingli was, no doubt, speaking of Bern, among others. This city had refused to have Philip of Hesse as a member of the Christian Burgers' League. Zwingli's surest means

---

<sup>1</sup> H. Eells, Martin Bucer (London, 1931), p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> U. Zwingli, op. cit., Vol. XI, p. 403.



of support seemed to be only a weak reed.

The results of the isolation of Zwingli were soon to be felt. The growing power of the Roman Catholic cantons caused the Council of Zurich to advocate an embargo against them before their strength was insurmountable. A plan was decided upon by the Council whereby food and other supplies would be cut off from the Catholic cantons, in order to aggravate them to the point of war. Zwingli never approved of this plan.

His divining mind saw what the future had in store. The cause of war never met his approval, i.e., the cutting off of provisions (from the Forest Cantons), for he knew what kind of counsel famine gives. 1

Zwingli advocated an out-right attack, but in this instance was voted down in the Council. After a few months of the embargo, the Catholic cantons were strengthened in their vengeance and attacked. The Protestants were defeated on the battle field of Chappel, and Zwingli, who had accompanied the army with deep forebodings, was killed.

Mitten in dieser theokratischen Überspannung  
brauch sein Leben. Es liegt ein symbolhafter Zug  
über seinem Tode. Er, der an die alleinige Kraft  
des Gotteswortes glaubte, hat die Erlangung der  
freien Predigt des Evangeliums mit dem Schwert in  
die Welt hinaustragen wollen. 2

Commenting on Zwingli's death, Luther wrote in a letter to

---

1 C. Myconius, op. cit., p. 21.

2 A. Farner, op. cit., p. 134.



to Herzog Albrecht of Preussen: "... nicht das wir uns freuen jres unglücks, das uns von hertzen leid ist.... 1 He did not lament Zwingli's death, as one who sorrows at the death of a great man. Zwingli has been seeking to establish the Word of God with the earthly sword, according to Luther. In this he saw Zwingli's death as an act of divine judgement. Luther stated in a letter to Link, dated the 3rd of January, 1532:

Tropheta fui, qui dixi, Deum non laturum diu istas rabidas et furiosas blasphemias, quibus illi pleni erant, irridentes Deum nostrum impanatum, vocantes nos carnivoras et sanguibibas et cruentos Thyestas, et aliis horrendis nominibus appellantes. 2

#### IV. THEOCRACY OR ERASTIANISM

The key to the political thought of Zwingli and Luther can be seen in the former's theocratic pretensions and the latter's tendency toward Erastianism. Both trends were well developed by 1529. The impasse at Marburg, as it is viewed from its political perspective, was the result of these modes of thought and action.

A Farner has commented about Zwingli in this manner: "Mit dem Auftreten der Täuferunruhen zeigen sich bei Zwingli die ersten Tendenzen zur theokratischen Ent-

---

1 W. Luther, op. cit., Vol. XXX, Part III, p. 550.

2 Ibid., Briefwechsel Vol. VI, p. 246, cited by A. C. McGiffert, op. cit., p. 334.



wicklung".<sup>1</sup> Zwingli had been actively advocating the State's involvement in things religious since the commencement of his work in Zurich, but after the Anabaptist situation he went one step further. He recognised that the Church ought to dominate the State, in order that pure religion, according to his understanding of the Word of God, might reign supreme.

The path towards theocracy had been struck out, and it was thereafter steadily followed; by 1528 the end of the journey had been reached, though Zwingli was still apparently unconscious, if we may judge from his writings of that year, that his conception of the Gemeinde had been altered. The constitution of 1528 shows the city ruled in religious and secular affairs alike by one authority in the form of a Council; and the Council is headed by the prophet, Zwingli.<sup>2</sup>

When Zwingli came to the Marburg Colloquy, he was the personification of the prophetic mode. He spoke of the dangers involved in the Roman Catholic threat and of the disunity of the Protestants. When Luther rejected his warning, Zwingli turned to an uncompromising position on his understanding of the Word of God in regard to the Supper question. In all of this, Luther was appalled at Zwingli's prophetic voice and his attempted manipulation of the affairs of Germany from his own theocratic perspective.

---

<sup>1</sup> A. Farner, op. cit., p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> R. E. Davies, op. cit., p. 86.



In the Fidei ratio which Zwingli presented to the Diet of Augsburg he outlined his theocratic conceptions. The Church was to guide the State constantly, so much so that it was not the State which would take the initiative, but the Church. The State in Zwingli's view should be the executive for the decision of the Church. In commenting on these ideas, A. Farner has stated: "Kirchliche und bürgerliche Gemeinde sind eins geworden".<sup>1</sup> His pretensions had as little favour among the Lutherans at Augsburg, as they had had at Marburg.

"The Zwinglian system, thus, blended state and church in a single organization."<sup>2</sup> The single structure was then dominated by the Church.

Der bürgerliche Recht wird demnach von Zwingli nicht sehr hoch bewertet. Doch gerade damit bewahrte er seine Anhänger vor einem nicht un gefährlichen Irrtum. Es besteht nämlich immer wieder die Gefahr, dass man vom Staate viel zu viel erwartet.<sup>3</sup>

Zurich had passed from an aristocracy with democratic elements to an oligarchy and then to a theocracy under Zwingli's leadership.

Das prophetische Charisma Zwinglis aber bewirkt,

---

<sup>1</sup> A. Farner, op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> W. A. Dunning, A History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu (London, 1931), pp. 24-25.

<sup>3</sup> H. Schmid, Zwinglis Lehre von der Göttlichen und Menschlichen Gerechtigkeit (Zurich, 1959), p. 199.



dass das pneumatische Element die Grundlage und Führung dieses zürcherischetheokratischen Gemeinwesens bildet. 1

In seeking to apply this principle outside of Zurich and even in Germany caused Zwingli's defeat. This situation was applauded by Luther, for he conceived that it was not the Church's prerogative to dominate the State.

Luther started on the road of Erastian tendency when he appealed to the German princes and nobles to cure the ills of the Church. He was well established on this way, when he called for visitations on the parishes to be held under the direction of the princes who were to act as quasi-bishops. Although Thomas Erastus (1524-1583), a Swiss physician, was probably not known to Luther, the doctrine of state supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs toward which Luther tended was named after him. "It will be remembered that the Lutheran churches came ultimately to be organized on Erastian lines as Landeskirchen." 2 Luther himself was responsible for this development, because, according to Rieker and Schm, he had always emphasised the medieval idea of the Corpus christianum. This was the conception of a unitary society where Church and State could

---

1 A. Farner, op. cit., p. 128.

2 R. E. Davies, op. cit., p. 48.



interact. 1 Zwingli had also advocated such a unitary society, but in his case the Church was to dominate the State. In Luther's case the State was to control the Church in varying degrees.

Luther set forth a very important corrective for the State, however. "... the power of the worldly authorities is not unlimited; it is limited by Him who has placed them in such a high position." 2 For Luther this was the prerogative of Almighty God. If one feels that Luther was too willing to give the control of the Church over to the princes, it must be remembered that these princes were in many cases men of conviction who had much to lose by following the Reformation. Luther's ideal situation would be one in which these princes would recognise their debt to God by the execution of their sacred duty.

Luther was not so naive as to think that all of the princes were following the Will of God. He described Duke George of Saxony as one, who, although invested with princely honour, was worthy of no honour, unless it be that of Filate or Judas. 3 Despite their weaknesses and lack of devotion in many cases, the princes were the Lord's ancient-

---

1 Ibid.

2 C. G. Schweitzer, op. cit., p. 199.

3 H. E. Jacobs, op. cit., p. 309.



ed, and thus had the right to regularise religion within their realm.

R. H. Murray has compared Luther and Machiavelli in this fashion:

Differing so fundamentally in their main idea, it is difficult to think of any agreement between them. At bottom the amazing matter is that the outcome of the labours of both was the supremacy of the Sovereign. 1

This opinion has truth in the sense that Luther glorified the position of the prince, but is not true in giving the impression that the sovereign is supreme. Luther saw that the best leader is always following, following the Will of God for his life as a leader.

In this connection we come to the question of the rise of absolute monarchy, and Luther's and/or the Reformation's affect upon it. Dunning has commented that: "The Reformation clearly promoted, in the first half of the sixteenth century, the development of absolute monarchy". 2 This charge has often been made. A similar, familiar charge has stated that had there been no Luther there could not have been a Louis XIV. It is perhaps true that to a certain extent an absolute monarch such as Louis XIV was able to rise, because the Reformation had substantially

---

1 R. H. Murray, Political Consequences of the Reformation (Boston, 1926), p. 40.

2 W. A. Dunning, op. cit., p. 5.



broken down the power of the two great forces of the medieval period, the Pope and the Emperor. But to lay this charge at the feet of Luther is false. Luther would not speak of an absolute leader. No leader was absolute but God, and all earthly rulers ought to be constrained by Him.

Actually no connexion can be traced between Luther and Louis XIV. The development that took place in France was completely independent of Luther. In Luther's lifetime French lawyers were already expounding a theory of the French State far more absolutist and far more coherent than any theory of Luther's. 1

Not only in the question of the rise of absolute monarchy, but also of the rise of national loyalty, Luther has been charged with creating the spirit of nationalism which the modern world has come to know.

Luther's territorial and national loyalty had nothing in common with modern nationalism, for it was at all times subordinated to a greater loyalty of a religious character. 2

Again, it must be borne in mind that for Luther Almighty God was the Lord of the nations.

With this present reservation it should be stated that Luther was very nationalistic in his approach. The appeal which he made to the nobility in 1520 is full of nationalistic sentiments. W. A. Dunning presents the

---

1 J. W. Allen, op. cit., p. 189.

2 H. J. Grimm, op. cit., p. 94.



position of Luther and the Reformation toward nationalism in this vein:

Hence the Reformation, with all its dependence on mediaeval methods of thought in politics, was entirely free from those potent concepts - universal empire and universal church. It allied itself, more perhaps on practical than on theoretical grounds, with the national idea which had already received extensive recognition in the leading monarchies of Europe. <sup>1</sup>

Luther's loyalty was to the German nation and to Saxony. This loyalty manifested itself in the cherished dream that the Church within Germany might be reformed. As time went on, he depended more and more on the princes to be the vehicles of this reform.

When Luther came to Marburg in 1529, he was already deeply entrenched in an Erastian system of administering the affairs of Church and State. His disagreement with Zwingli was theological, but their differences politically caused Luther to view Zwingli with great suspicion and this had an important influence on the Supper question. Luther had given over to the princes the care of the Church and, therefore, thought that they should react in a similar manner as he did toward the question of alliances for defence. Luther opposed such leagues as a denial of trust in God. He expected the princes to do so, as well. When they showed their desire for alliances, Luther opposed

---

<sup>1</sup> W. A. Dunning, op. cit., pp. 34-35.



them indicating that he had reserved the right to his prophetic voice. After the Diet of Augsburg, however, he agreed to their plan.

Zwingli believed as thoroughly in his prophetic mission, as did Luther. This caused him to strive for his motive, believing that this was furthering the cause of the Reformation in Zurich. Finally, however, he concluded at the Marburg Colloquy that God would be offended by further compromise on his part in his controversy with Luther.

Both Luther and Zwingli, therefore, were conscious of their prophetic roles. Both sought to guide the Obrig-keit to establish and support the reformed movement. Luther used the indirect method of appealing for the aid of the princes and, thus, tended toward Erastianism. Zwingli used the direct method of having the State become the servant of the Church and, thus, he established a theocracy. These different modes of thought and action were the basic differences between the two men. Their divergence at Marburg and elsewhere can in great measure be made accountable to the dissimilarity between Erastianism and theocracy.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### I. PRIMARY WORKS

- Ambrose, Saint. Letters. Trans. M. M. Beyenka. New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1954.
- Aristotle. The Nicomachean Ethics. Trans. H. Rackham. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1934.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Politics. Trans. B. Jowett. New York: Random House, 1943.
- Augustine, St. The City of God. Trans. M. Dods. New York: Random House, Inc., 1950.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Select Letters. Trans. J. H. Baxter. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1930.
- Dietrich of Niem. "Ways of Uniting and Reforming the Church". Editor and Trans. J. K. Cameron. Advocates of Reform (Vol. XIV of the Library of Christian Classics) London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1953.
- Erasmus, D. The Education of a Christian Prince. Trans. L. K. Born. New York: Columbia University Press, 1936.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Enchiridion Militis Christiani. London: Methuen and Co., 1905.
- Gerson, J. "A Tractate on the Unity of the Church". Editor and Trans. J. K. Cameron. Advocates of Reform (Vol. XIV of the Library of Christian Classics) London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1953.
- Henry of Langenstein. "A Letter on Behalf of a Council of Peace". Editor and Trans. J. K. Cameron. Advocates of Reform (Vol. XIV of the Library of Christian Classics) London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1953.
- Hus, J. The Church. Trans. D. S. Schaff. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Letters of John Hus. Editor H. B. Workman. Trans. R. M. Pope. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904.



\_\_\_\_\_. "On Simony". Editor and Trans. M. Spinka. Advocates of Reform (Vol. XIV of the Library of Christian Classics) London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1953.

Kidd, B. J. (editor). Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1911.

Luther, M. The Letters of Martin Luther. Trans. M. A. Currie. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1908.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Letters of Spiritual Counsel". The Library of Christian Classics. Vol. XVIII. Editor and Trans. T. G. Tappert. London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1955.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Table Talk. Editor and Trans. W. Hazlitt. London: George Bell and Sons, 1890.

\_\_\_\_\_. Reformation Writings of Martin Luther. Trans. B. L. Woolf. 2 vols. London: The Lutterworth Press, 1952-1956.

\_\_\_\_\_. Werke. 86 vols. to date. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1883 ff.

\_\_\_\_\_. Works. Editors J. Pelikan and H. T. Lehmann. 12 vols. to date. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957 ff.

Machiavelli, N. The Prince. Trans. N. H. Thomson. Second edition. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1897.

Marsilius of Padua. The Defender of Peace. Trans. A. Gewirth. New York: Columbia University Press, 1956.

Melanchthon, P. "Opera". Corpus Reformatorum. Editor C. G. Bretschneider. 28 vols. Halle: C. A. Schwetschke et Filium, 1834-1860.

Plato. The Republic. Trans. C. M. Bakewell. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928.

Schirrmacher, F. W. (editor). Briefe und Acten zu der Geschichte des Religionsgespräches zu Marburg und des Reichstages zu Augsburg. Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1876.



- Snyder, L. L. (editor). Documents of German History. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1958.
- Strickler, J. (editor). Aetensammlung zur schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte in den Jahren 1521-1532. 5 vols. Zürich: Meyer und Zeller, 1878-1884.
- Thomas Aquinas. Summa Theologica. Trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province. 3 vols. New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1947.
- Wyclif, J. "On the Pastoral Office". Editor and Trans. F. L. Battles. Advocates of Reform (Vol. XIV of the Library of Christian Classics) London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1953.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Tracts and Treatises. Editor and Trans. R. Vaughan. London: Blackburn and Pardon, 1845.
- Zwingli, U. The Latin Works and Correspondence together with Selections from his German Works. Editors S. M. Jackson, W. J. Hinke and C. N. Heller. Trans. H. Preble, W. Lichtenstein and L. A. McLouth. 3 vols. New York and Philadelphia: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912-1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Opera. Editors Schuler and Schulthess. 8 vols. Zurich: Friedrich Schulthess, 1828-1861.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Sämtliche Werke". Corpus Reformatorum. Editors E. Egli, G. Finsler, W. Köhler, C. Ferner, F. Blanke, E. Künzli and R. Pfistle. 13 vols to date. Berlin and Leipzig: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn and M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1905 ff.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Selected Works of Huldreich Zwingli. Editor S. M. Jackson. Trans. L. A. McLouth, H. Preble and G. W. Gilmore. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1901.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "U. Zwingli and H. Bullinger". The Library of Christian Classics. Vol. XXIV. Editor and Trans. G. W. Bromiley. London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1953.



## II. SECONDARY SOURCES

- Adams, F. C., and C. D. Cunningham. The Swiss Confederation. London: Macmillan and Co., 1889.
- Allen, J. W. A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century. Third edition. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1951.
- Bainton, R. H. Here I Stand: a Life of Martin Luther. First edition. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1950.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century. London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1953.
- Baur, A. Zwingli's Theologie. 2 vols. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1885-1889.
- Bax, E. B. German Society at the Close of the Middle Ages. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1894.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Peasants War in Germany. London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1899.
- Bayne, F. Martin Luther, His Life and Work. 2 vols. London: Cassell and Company, Limited, 1887.
- Beard, C. Martin Luther and the Reformation in Germany until the Close of the Diet of Worms. Editor J. F. Smith. London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co., 1889.
- Below, G. von. Die Ursachen der Reformation. München: R. Oldenbourg, 1917.
- Berger, A. E. Die Kulturaufgaben der Reformation. Berlin: Ernst Hofmann and Co., 1895.
- Bett, H. Nicholas of Cusa. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1932.
- Blackburn, W. M. Ulrich Zwingli, the Patriotic Reformer. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1868.
- Blayney, I. W. The Age of Luther. New York: Vantage Press, 1957.



- Bluntschli, J. K. Geschichte des schweizerischen Bundesrechtes. 2 vols. Zürich: Meyer und Zeller, 1849-1852.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Theory of the State. Trans. D. G. Ritchie, P. E. Matheson and R. Lodge. From the sixth German edition. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1885.
- Boehmer, H. Der Junge Luther. Second edition. Leipzig: Koehler and Amelang, 1939.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Luther and the Reformation in the Light of Modern Research. Trans. E. S. G. Potter. New York: The Dial Press, 1930.
- Bonjour, E., H. S. Offler and G. R. Potter. A Short History of Switzerland. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1952.
- Brandt, K. The Emperor Charles V. Trans. C. V. Wedgwood. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939.
- Bryce, J. The Holy Roman Empire. London: Macmillan and Co., 1889.
- Burgess, J. W. Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law. 2 vols. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1890.
- Carlson, E. M. The Reinterpretation of Luther. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1948.
- Carlyle, A. J. Political Liberty: A History of the Conception in the Middle Ages and Modern Times. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1941.
- Carlyle, A. J., and R. W. Carlyle. A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West. 6 vols. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons Ltd., 1936.
- Christoffel, R. Huldreich Zwingli. Elberfeld: R. L. Friedrichs, 1857.
- Connolly, J. L. John Gerson. London: B. Herder Book Co., 1928.
- Cunz, D. Ulrich Zwingli. Aarau: H. R. Sauerländer and Co., 1937.
- Daniel-Rops, H. The Protestant Reformation. Trans. A. Butler. London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1961.



- Davies, R. E. The Problem of Authority in the Continental Reformers. London: The Epworth Press, 1946.
- Denifle, H. S. Luther und Luthertum in der erster Entwicklung quellenmassig dargestellt. Second edition. 2 vols. Mainz: Kirchheim and Co., 1904-1909.
- D'Entreves, A. P. The Medieval Contribution to Political Thought. Oxford: The Oxford University Press, 1939.
- Dierauer, J. Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft. 2 vols. Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1887.
- Dunning, W. A. A. History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1931.
- Durant, W. The Reformation. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957.
- Eells, H. Martin Bucer. London: Oxford University Press, 1931.
- Eriksen, E. H. Young Man Luther. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1958.
- Farner, A. Die Lehre von Kirche und Staat bei Zwingli. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1930.
- Farner, O. Huldrych Zwingli. 2 vols. Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1943-1946.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Marburg. 1529-1929. Zurich: Wanderer-Verlag, 1929.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Zwingli the Reformer. Trans. D. C. Bear. London: Lutterworth Press, 1952.
- Farner, O., and H. Hoffmann. Die grosse Nende in Zürich. Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1941.
- Fife, R. H. The Revolt of Martin Luther. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Young Luther. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928.



Figgis, J. N. The Political Aspects of S. Augustine's 'City of God'. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1921.

Studies in Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius. Second edition. Cambridge: The University Press, 1923.

Flick, A. C. The Decline of the Medieval Church. 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Co., Ltd., 1930.

Friedrich, J. Die Entstehung der Reformatio ecclesiarum Hassiae von 1526. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1905.

Funck-Brentano, F. Luther. Trans. E. F. Buckley. London: Jonathan Cape, 1936.

Geffcken, H. Church and State; their Relations Historically Developed. Trans. E. F. Taylor. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1877.

Gewirth, A. Marsilius of Padua and Medieval Political Philosophy. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.

Gierke, C. Political Theories of the Middle Ages. Trans. F. W. Maitland. Cambridge: The University Press, 1922.

Gollwitzer, H. Die christliche Gemeinde in der politischen Welt. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1954.

Grimm, H. J. The Reformation Era, 1500-1650. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954.

Grisar, H. Luther. Editor L. Cappadelta. Trans. E. M. Lamond. 6 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1914.

Grob, J. The Life of Ulric Zwingli. Trans. I. K. Loos and G. F. Behringer. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1883.

Hadorn, W. Die Reformation in der deutschen Schweiz. Frauenfeld: Huber and Co., 1928.

Hamel, A. Der junge Luther und Augustin. 2 vols. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1934-1935.



- Hasenclever, A. Die Politik kaiser Karls V. und Landgraf Philipps von Hessen. Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche, 1903.
- Hashagen, J. Staat und Kirche vor der Reformation. Essen: G. D. Baedeker, 1931.
- Haskins, C. H. The Rise of Universities. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1923.
- Hausrath, A. Luthers Leben. Third edition. 2 vols. Berlin: G. Grote'sche, 1913.
- Hill, D. J. A History of Diplomacy in the International Development of Europe. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1905-1906.
- Holborn, H. Ulrich von Hutten and the German Reformation. Trans. R. H. Bainton. London: Oxford University Press, 1937.
- Holl, K. The Cultural Significance of the Reformation. Trans. K. and B. Hertz and J. H. Lichtblau. New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1959.
- Hottinger, J. J. The Life and Times of Ulrich Zwingli. Trans. T. C. Porter. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania: Theo. F. Scheffer, 1856.
- Hottinger, M. D. The Stories of Basel, Berne, and Zurich. London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1933.
- Hug, H. Ulrich Zwingli. Lausanne: Editions La Concorde, 1931.
- Jackson, S. M. Huldreich Zwingli. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.
- Jacob, E. F. Essays in the Conciliar Epoch. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1953.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Fifteenth Century, 1399-1485. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961.
- Jacobs, H. E. Martin Luther. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898.
- Janssen, J. Geschichte des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Ninth edition. 8 vols. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche, 1883.



- Kantorowicz, E. Frederick the Second 1194-1250. Trans. E. O. Lorimer. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1931.
- Köhler, W. Das Buch der Reformation Huldrych Zwinglis. München: Ernst Reinhardt, 1926.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Die Geisteswelt Ulrich Zwinglis. Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1920.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Huldrych Zwingli. Leipzig: Koehler und Amelang, 1943.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Zwingli und Luther. 2 vols. Leipzig and Gütersloh: M. Heinsius Nachfolger and G. Bertelsmann, 1924-1953.
- Köstlin, J. Martin Luther, sein Leben und seine Schriften. Editor G. Kawerau. Fifth edition. 2 vols. Berlin: Alexander Duncker, 1903.
- Kradolfer, J. Zwingli in Marburg. Berlin: F. Henschel, 1870.
- Kreutzer, J. Zwinglis Lehre von der Obrigkeit. Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1908.
- Lindsay, T. M. A History of the Reformation. 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1906-1907.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Luther and the German Reformation. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1900.
- Locher, G. W. Die theologie Huldrych Zwinglis im lichte seiner Christologie. Zurich: Zwingli-verlag, 1952.
- Lortz, J. Die Reformation in Deutschland. Third edition. 2 vols. Freiburg: Herder, 1948.
- Loserth, J. Wiclif and Hus. Trans. M. J. Evans. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1884.
- Lucas, H. S. The Renaissance and the Reformation. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934.
- Mackinnon, J. A History of Modern Liberty. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1906.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Luther and the Reformation. 4 vols. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1925-1930.



- \_\_\_\_\_. The Origins of the Reformation. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939.
- Matthes, K. Luther und die Obrigkeit. Munich: Ernst Reinhardt, 1937.
- McCrackan, W. D. The Rise of the Swiss Republic. London: Saxon and Co., 1892.
- McGiffert, A. C. Martin Luther: the Man and his Work. London: W. C. T. Fisher Unwin, 1911.
- McIlwain, C. H. The Growth of Political Thought in the West. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932.
- Mörikofer, J. C. Ulrich Zwingli, nach den urkundlichen Quellen. 2 Parts in 1 vol. Leipzig: S. Herzog, 1867-1869.
- Morrall, J. B. Gerson and the Great Schism. Manchester: The University Press, 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Political Thought in Medieval Times. London: Hutchinson and Co., 1958.
- Moses, B. The Federal Government of Switzerland. Oakland, California: Pacific Publishing Co., 1889.
- Müller, K. Kirche, Gemeinde und Obrigkeit nach Luther. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1910.
- Müller, W. A. Church and State in Luther and Calvin. Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman Press, 1954.
- Murray, R. H. Erasmus and Luther: their Attitude to Toleration. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1920.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Political Consequences of the Reformation. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1926.
- Nagel, E. Zwingli's Stellung zur Schrift. Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1896.
- Neve, J. L. A Guide to the Augsburg Confession. Columbus, Ohio: Lutheran Book Concern, 1927.
- Oechsli, W. History of Switzerland, 1499-1914. Trans. E. and C. Paul. Cambridge: The University Press, 1922.



- Ranke, L. von. Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation. Seventh edition. Leipzig: Duncker und Humblot, 1894.
- Reu, M. The Augsburg Confession. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1930.
- Rich, A. Die Anfänge der Theologie Huldreich Zwingli. Zürich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1949.
- Riddle, J. E. Luther and His Times. London: J. W. Parker, 1837.
- Rilliet, J. H. Zwingle. Paris: A Fayard, 1959.
- Rückert, O. Ulrich Zwinglis Ideen zur Erziehung und Bildung im Zusammenhang mit seinen reformatorischen Tendenzen. Gotha: E. F. Thienemann, 1900.
- Rupp, E. G. Luther's Progress to the Diet of Worms. London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1951.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Martin Luther - Hitler's Cause or Cure? London: Lutterworth Press, 1945.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Righteousness of God. London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1953.
- Sasse, H. This is My Body; Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar. Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959.
- Schmid, H. Zwinglis Lehre von der Göttlichen und Menschlichen Gerechtigkeit. Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1959.
- Schreckenbach, P., and F. Neubert. Martin Luther: Ein Bild seines Lebens und Wirkens. Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1916.
- Schubert, H. von. Luther und seine lieben Deutschen. Stuttgart and Berlin: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1917.
- Schuler, J. M. Huldreich Zwingli. Zurich: Näfischen Druckereien, 1819.
- Schulthess-Rechberg, G. Luther, Zwingli und Calvin in ihrer Ansichten über das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche. Aarau: H. R. Sauerländer and Co., 1909.



- Seeberg, E. Luthers Theologie. 2 vols. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1929-1937.
- Seebohm, F. The Era of the Protestant Revolution. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1896.
- Simpson, S. Life of Ulrich Zwingli. New York: The Baker and Taylor Co., 1902.
- Smith, F. The Age of the Reformation. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Erasmus. London: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1923.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Life and Letters of Martin Luther. London: John Murray, 1911.
- Spinka, M. John Hus and the Czech Reform. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941.
- Stähelin, R. Huldreich Zwingli. 2 vols. Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1895-1897.
- Thiel, R. Luther. Berlin: Paul Neff, 1952.
- Tierney, B. Foundations of the Conciliar Theory. Cambridge: The University Press, 1955.
- Torrance, T. F. Kingdom and Church. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956.
- Tulloch, J. Luther and Other Leaders of the Reformation. Third edition. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1883.
- Ullmann, W. Medieval Papalism. London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1949.
- Vedder, H. C. The Reformation in Germany. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914.
- Vincent, J. M. Government in Switzerland. New York: Macmillan and Co., 1900.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Switzerland at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century. Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1904.



- Wace, H. Principles of the Reformation. London: James Nisbet and Co., Ltd., 1910.
- Walker, T. A. A History of the Law of Nations. 2 vols. Cambridge: The University Press, 1899.
- Waring, L. H. The Political Theories of Martin Luther. London: G. F. Putnam's Sons, 1910.
- Watson, F. S. "Let God Be God!" An Interpretation of the Theology of Martin Luther. London: The Epworth Press, 1947.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The State as the Servant of God. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1946.
- Wernle, F. Der evangelische Glaube nach den Hauptschriften der Reformatoren. 3 vols. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1918-1919.
- Whale, J. S. The Protestant Tradition. Cambridge: The University Press, 1960.
- Workman, H. B. The Dawn of the Reformation. 2 vols. London: The Epworth Press, 1933.
- \_\_\_\_\_. John Wyclif. 2 vols. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1926.
- Zeller, E. Das Theologische System Zwinglis. Tübingen: L. Fr. Fues., 1853.

### III. ARTICLES AND ESSAYS

- Allen, J. W. "Martin Luther". The Social and Political Ideas of Some Great Thinkers of the Renaissance and the Reformation. Editor F. J. C. Hearnshaw. London: George G. Harrap and Company, Ltd., 1925.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Political Conceptions of Luther". Tutor Studies. Editor R. W. Seton-Watson. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1924.
- Baxter, J. H. "Introduction". St. Augustine, Select Letters. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1930.



- \_\_\_\_\_. "Luthers Einfluss in Schottland im 16. Jahrhundert". Luther-Jahrbuch - 1958. Editor F. Lau. Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1958.
- Brieger, T. "Ueber einen angeblich neuen Bericht über das Marburger Religionsgespräch". Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, Vol. I (1877), pp. 628 ff.
- Bromiley, G. W. "General Introduction". Zwingli and Bullinger. Library of Christian Classics, Vol. XXIV. London: S. C. M. Press, 1953.
- Buchheim, C. A. "Historical Introduction". Martin Luther, First Principles of the Reformation. London: John Murray, 1883.
- Carew Hunt, R. N. "Luther's Theory of Church and State". The Church Quarterly Review, Vol. CVII (October, 1928), p. 26 ff.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Zwingli's Theory of Church and State". The Church Quarterly Review, Vol. CXII (April, 1931), p. 20 ff.
- Carlson, E. M. "Luther's Conception of Government". Church History, Vol. XV (December, 1946), p. 257 ff.
- Cranz, F. E. "An Essay on the Development of Luther's Thought on Justice, Law, and Society". Harvard Theological Studies, Vol. XIX. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.
- Dillenberger, J. "Literature in Luther Studies, 1950-1955". Church History, Vol. XXV (June, 1956), p. 160 ff.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Luther Studies, 1956-1959". Church History, Vol. XXX (March, 1961), p. 61 ff.
- Eastwood, C. G. "Luther's Conception of the Church". Scottish Journal of Theology, Vol. XI (1958), p. 22 ff.
- Egelhaaf, G. "Landgraf Philipp der Grossmütige". Schrift des Vereins für Reformationgeschichte. Halle: Verein für Reformationgeschichte, 1904.
- Egli, E. "Luther und Zwingli in Marburg". Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz, Vol. XII, p. 5 ff. St. Gallen and Leipzig, 1884.



- Emerton, E. "The Defensor Facis of Marsiglius of Padua". Harvard Theological Studies, Vol. VIII. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920.
- Faulkner, J. A. "Luther and the Real Presence". The American Journal of Theology, Vol. XXI (April, 1917), p. 225 ff.
- Fay, S. B. "Roman Law and the German Peasant". American Historical Review, Vol. XVI (January, 1911), p. 234 ff.
- Finsler, G. "Litteratur über Zwingli und seine Reformation". Zwingliana, Vol. I (1902), p. 287 ff.
- Forell, G. W. "Luther and Politics". Luther and Culture. Decorah, Iowa: Luther College Press, 1960.
- Fritschel, G. J. "Luther and Zwingli". Lutheran Church Review, Vol. XVIII (April, 1899) p. 194 ff; Vol. XVIII (October, 1899), p. 658 ff; Vol. XIX (January, 1900), p. 63 ff.
- Grimm, H. J. "Luther's Conception of Territorial and National Loyalty". Church History, Vol. XVII (June, 1948), p. 79 ff.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Social Forces in the German Reformation". Church History, Vol. XXXI (March, 1962), p. 3 ff.
- Hillerbrand, H. J. "Anabaptism and the Reformation: Another Look". Church History, Vol. XXIX (December, 1960), p. 404 ff.
- Horsch, J. "The Struggle between Zwingli and the Swiss Brethren in Zurich". Mennonite Quarterly Review, Vol. VII (July, 1933), p. 142 ff.
- Jacob, E. P. "Some Notes on Occam as a Political Thinker". Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol. XX (July - August, 1936), p. 332 ff.
- Jacobs, H. E. "Luther". The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VIII, p. 198 ff. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1915.
- Köhler, W. "Das Religionsgespräch zu Marburg 1529". Zwingliana, Vol. V (1930), p. 81 ff.



- Kramm, H. H. "Luther's Teaching on Christian Responsibility in Politics and Public Life". The Lutheran Quarterly, Vol. III (August, 1951), p. 308 ff.
- Lenz, M. "Zwingli und Landgraf Philip". Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, Vol. III (Gotha, 1879), p. 28 ff.; p. 220 ff.; p. 429 ff.
- Mallard, W. "Wyclif and Biblical Authority". Church History, Vol. XXX (March, 1961), p. 50 ff.
- Miller, E. "Luther at Marburg". The Lutheran Quarterly, Vol. XIV (January, 1884), p. 127 ff.
- Morris, J. G. "Colloquies and Disputations of Luther". The Lutheran Quarterly, Vol. X (July, 1880), p. 386 ff.
- Myconius, O. "The Original Life of Zwingli". The Latin Works of Huldreich Zwingli. Editor S. M. Jackson. Trans. H. Bennet and H. Preble. Vol. I. London: G. K. Putnam's Sons, 1912.
- Nygren, A. "Luther's Doctrine of the Two Kingdoms". The Ecumenical Review, Vol. I (Spring, 1949), p. 301 ff.
- Oakley, F. "The 'Propositiones Utiles' of Pierre D'Ailly". Church History, Vol. XXIX (December, 1960), p. 398 ff.
- Oberman, H. A. "Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Mysticism". Church History, Vol. XXX (September, 1961), p. 259 ff.
- Pollard, A. F. "The Conflict of Creeds and Parties in Germany". Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, p. 206 ff. Cambridge: The University Press, 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "National Opposition to Rome". Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, p. 142 ff. Cambridge: The University Press, 1903.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Social Revolution and Catholic Reaction in Germany". Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, p. 174 ff. Cambridge: The University Press, 1903.
- Treuter, R. "Luther on Word and Sacrament". More about Luther. Decorah, Iowa: Luther College Press, 1958.
- Freus, H. A. "The Christian and the Church". More about Luther. Decorah, Iowa: Luther College Press, 1958.



- Rupp, E. G. "Luther and the Doctrine of the Church". Scottish Journal of Theology, Vol. IX (1956), p. 384 ff.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Luther and the German Reformation to 1529". New Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, p. 70 ff. Cambridge: The University Press, 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Luther and the Puritans". Luther Today. Decorah, Iowa: Luther College Press, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Swiss Reformers". New Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, p. 96 ff. Cambridge: The University Press, 1958.
- Schrenk, D. G. "Zwingli's Hauptmotive in der Abendmahlslehre und das Neue Testament". Zwingliana, Vol. V (1930), p. 176 ff.
- Schweitzer, C. G. "Luther and the State". Theology, Vol. 46 (September, 1943), p. 196 ff.
- Schwiebert, E. G. "The Medieval Pattern in Luther's views of the State". Church History, Vol. XII (June, 1943), p. 98 ff.
- Sieber, F. "Bibliographie zur Zwingli's Gedenkfeier". Zwingliana, Vol. V (1932), p. 368 ff.
- Spinka, M. "Conciliarism as Ecclesiastical Reform". Advocates of Reform. Library of Christian Classics, Vol. XIV. London: S. C. M. Press, Ltd., 1953.
- Spitz, L. W. "Luther's Ecclesiology and His Concept of the Prince as Netbischof". Church History, Vol. XXII (June, 1953), p. 113 ff.
- Thompson, B. "Zwingli study since 1918". Church History, Vol. XIX (June, 1950), p. 116 ff.
- Ulback, E. "Ulrich Zwingli". Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. XCIII (October-December, 1936), p. 456 ff.; Vol. XCIV (January-March, 1937), p. 51 ff.
- Watson, P. S. "Luther's Doctrine of Vocation". Scottish Journal of Theology, Vol. II (December, 1949), p. 364 ff.

CORRESPONDENCE  
 EDITORIAL



Watt, H. "Zwingli". The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XII, p. 873 ff. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1921.

Whitney, J. F. "The Helvetic Reformation". Cambridge Modern History, Vol. II, p. 305 ff. Cambridge: The University Press, 1903.

Young, J. J. "Luther's Attitude at the Marburg Colloquy". The Lutheran Quarterly, Vol. XXVII (October, 1897), p. 488 ff.

COLTON FIBER CENTER

DEARSHIRE  
USA

BOND

CORRASABLE

EATONS

