Andreae AND THE FORMULA OF CONCORD

Six Sermons on the Way to Lutheran Unity

ROBERT KOLB

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PREFACE

This study of Jakob Andreae's *Six Christian Sermons* of 1573 was made possible through a fellowship awarded me by the Center for Reformation Research under a grant from the Literature Commission of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. The commission's generous financial support made possible the completion of the translation and the examination of the historical context in which the *Sermons* were written. I must express my special thanks to those members of the commission who offered encouragement and assistance, Professors John W. Klotz, Robert D. Preus, and Wilbert H. Rosin.

Professors Carl S. Meyer and Arthur Carl Piepkorn contributed a great deal to this study, and I acknowledge my debt to them both with pleasure. Both men shared a dedication to the study of the Lutheran Confessions which inspired me as a student and which supported me during my research on this project. Dr. Meyer conceived the project and guided initial work on it, and Dr. Piepkorn freely shared his insights into the period with me during the year between Dr. Meyer's death and his own.

I am grateful to Prof. Herbert J. A. Bouman for reading the manuscript and to four student assistants at the Center for Reformation Research, Robert Rosin, Jon Imme, Gregory Barth, and David Lumpp, who provided valuable assistance; and I am very thankful to my wife Pauline for encouragement and suggestions along the road between my first reading of

the German text of the *Sermons* and the final typing of its English translation, also a part of her contribution.

Furthermore, my doctoral adviser, Dr. Robert M. Kingdon of the University of Wisconsin, deserves mention, for under his guidance I prepared my dissertation, "Nikolaus von Amsdorf, Knight of God and Exile of Christ. Piety and Polemic in the Wake of Luther" (1973); much of my understanding of the period, as reflected in this introduction, comes from my work with Dr. Kingdon.

The notes accompanying the introduction and translation offer some primary and secondary bibliography, but they mention only a few of the 16th-century documents and 20th-century analyses of the events and ideas of the German Late Reformation. I have tried to point the reader to the pertinent materials available in English and have attempted to whet the appetite of some for delving into the primary sources and classic German studies. For more complete references and bibliographies the reader is referred to such studies and to the standard works of the history of dogma which treat this period.

INTRODUCTION

Jakob Andreae

Jakob Andreae[1] was not, from many points of view, the ideal ambassador of peace and reconciliation in the midst of the turmoil that beset German Lutheranism in the third quarter of the 16th-century. Although it was not unusual for Evangelical pastors of his day to have risen from low birth, Andreae's opponents delighted in snide observations about the humble origins of this son of a smithy. Apparently somewhat abrupt and acerbic, he had a way of antagonizing the theologians he came to reconcile. During the early years of his efforts toward concord he managed to arouse the suspicion of both the major opposing parties in north Germany, the Gnesio-Lutherans and the Philippists, because he seemed to favor first one and then the other as he struggled to formulate a unifying document. Degradation, defeat, rejection, and rancor pursued Andreae as he strove to create an atmosphere of mutual trust and confessional agreement among the followers of Luther. He plunged into complicated theological problems without being a great theologian himself. He was instead first of all a pastor; as a thinker he was something of a simplifier.

Andreae capitalized on a wide-felt longing for ecclesiastical peace and harmony, shared by princes, theologians, and lay people. He combined pastoral concern, skill at stating convincingly a simple version of a complicated controversy, dogged persistence, and an ability to put up with personal abuse and dramatic defeat to achieve his final ac-

complishment, the Formula of Concord of 1577. The moral, financial, and political support of several Evangelical princes provided the motive force that kept Andreae's mission alive for over a decade. Yet princely power alone could not have imposed a settlement on cantankerous theologians, convinced in their consciences that truth must prevail. It was Andreae who was able to use both princely power and the power of the Lutheran longing for concord to construct the settlement of the Formula of Concord. While others had to join the effort for it to reach fruition, it was Andreae who, through his commitment to a pastoral and Scriptural path to harmony, was able to initiate the final movement toward Lutheran theological concord in the last third of the 16th century. The story of that initial push, which is essentially the story of Andreae's *Six Christian Sermons on the Divisions Among the Theologians of the Augsburg Confession*, is laid out here.

The Education of a Pastor

When Jakob Andreae was born, on March 25, 1528, his native town, Waiblingen, was, with the rest of the dukedom of Wuerttemberg, under the control of the Austrian house of Hapsburg. Jakob was six years old when the forces of Philip of Hesse restored Ulrich, duke of Wuerttemberg, to power in his lands in 1534. Part of Ulrich's obligation to the Evangelical landgrave of Hesse was the introduction of Evangelical church reform to his lands, so that at the very time when Andreae began his formal learning he became, like all other Wuerttembergers, an Evangelical. As the son of a smith, Andreae enjoyed the right to education in his hometown, but his father was too poor to support advanced education for Jakob. Thus in 1539 Andreae left Latin school to begin an apprenticeship as a carpenter. However, his abilities had been

recognized in the Waiblingen school, and the mayor of the town arranged for a ducal scholarship to enable Jakob to continue his studies.

At Pentecost 1539 Andreae came to the ducal residence town of Stuttgart and enrolled in its preparatory school. Two years later, at age 13, he matriculated at the University of Tuebingen; again the continuation of his formal studies was dependent on financial support from the duke. After four years of study in the liberal arts, he advanced to the study of theology in 1545.

Compared to other Evangelical theological faculties, particularly that at Wittenberg, the one at Tuebingen was not at all strong, and Andreae's theological studies did not last long. Wuerttemberg needed Evangelical pastors, so Andreae assumed the duties of deacon at the Hospital Church in Stuttgart just one year after he had begun to study theology. His antagonists later called him a theological lightweight because he had had so little formal theological training. However, theology was for Andreae a practical discipline, and many of his theological endeavors were dedicated to meeting and solving pastoral problems.

The Superintendent of Goeppingen: Ducal Emissary and Adviser

In 1546 Andreae assumed not only pastoral but also conjugal duties, marrying Anna, the daughter of a citizen of Tuebingen, Johann Entringer.

With hardly more than a year's parish experience behind him, Andreae faced a rapidly changing world. After the defeat of the Evangelical forces at Muehlberg on April 24, 1547, the forces of Emperor Charles V moved to impose his interim religious settlement upon Evangelicals throughout the Holy Roman Empire. He was able to do this somewhat effectively in southern Germany, including Wuerttemberg. Andreae alone among the Evangelical pastors in Stuttgart remained at

his post when the Spanish occupation forces of the emperor began to implement the Augsburg Interim in the city in November 1548. Duke Ulrich transferred his young dependent to Tuebingen soon thereafter, however, to help him avoid arrest. In Tuebingen he preached in a chapel while Roman Catholic priests held Mass at the city churches. While serving as a catechist for two congregations, Andreae again enrolled at the university to work on his doctorate. Particularly weak because of the imperial occupation, the theological faculty at Tuebingen around 1550 had little except a degree to offer Andreae, although in 1551 Martin Frecht and Jakob Beurlin began the rebuilding of the Evangelical faculty.

During his doctoral studies Andreae began his rise to prominence as a ducal ecclesiastical adviser. Johann Brenz, reformer of the imperial city of Schwaebisch Hall, located at the northern edge of Duke Ulrich's domains, had been wooed by the duke for a number of years and finally joined the ducal staff after Ulrich gave him protection from persecution during the imperial occupation and the imposition of the Interim. Brenz influenced Andreae's theology and shaped his attitudes toward ecclesiastical practices during their 20–year association.

Duke Ulrich died in 1550 and was succeeded by his son Christoph, who insisted that Andreae complete his doctoral program and then accept a call to a pastorate in his lands. In early 1553 Andreae assumed the duties of superintendent of the churches in the town of Goeppingen. In that capacity he not only served as pastor of a congregation but also supervised the development and practice of church life in the town and its surrounding villages.

When Andreae came to Goeppingen, less than 20 years after the Reformation had been introduced there, the church was still in the process of transforming medieval ecclesiastical discipline and practice into something Evangelical. In the development of new forms for his churches Andreae became embroiled in a small dispute with his friend Johann Brenz

and the ducal ecclesiastical staff in Stuttgart. With his brother-in-law Caspar Leyser, also a pastor, Andreae promoted plans for the exercise of authority and discipline in the church of Wuerttemberg that were similar to those used in Geneva by John Calvin. Both men had corresponded with Calvin and had high regard for his attempt to formulate a mediating position between theologians from Zurich and Wittenberg concerning the Lord's Supper. The pastor of Goeppingen was particularly attracted to Calvin's concept of ecclesiastical organization, centered as it was in the hands of the town leadership. Brenz was committed instead to a centralized church for the ducal lands, with a larger concentration of ecclesiastical power in Stuttgart. Duke Christoph at first tended to support his young whiz kid in Goeppingen but was won around to Brenz's viewpoint rather easily, especially since it coincided more closely with his own plans for the consolidation of power in the hands of the prince and his counselors.[2] Andreae's case was discussed in a synod of the church of Wuerttemberg; his proposals were rejected. This incident demonstrates that, though he was extremely grateful to his duke for financial support for his education, the young Andreae was not just a compliant tool who shrank from causing his duke and his superiors any aggravation at all. On the other hand, he did not press his position once the decision had gone against him, and this minor disagreement did not damage his relationship with either Brenz or Christoph.

The duke recognized Andreae's talents and used him already in 1556 on a visitation within his lands to help reorganize church life along Evangelical lines. The same year he was sent to the county of Hohenlohe, north of Goeppingen, and to the county of Wiesensteig on similar assignments. Later in 1556 he was invited to join two theologians from ducal Saxony and one from the Palatinate in organizing the reformation of the church of Baden-Durlach, west of Wuerttemberg. On this assignment he first encountered the

stubbornness and suspicion of Gnesio-Lutheran theologians, for the ducal Saxon representatives, Maximilian Moerlin and Johann Stoessel, delayed their joint efforts with questions about the stance of the Wuerttembergers in regard to a number of key questions.

Although Christoph had to reject invitations to loan Andreae to some princes, including the duke of Prussia, he did send the pastor from Goeppingen to the county of Oettingen in 1558, to the imperial city of Hagenau in 1565, and to the duchy of Braunschweig-Wolfenbuettel in 1568, as well as to other villages and towns inside and outside his domains, to assist in reforming ecclesiastical life and organizing the Evangelical church in those places.

Within Wuerttemberg Andreae's stature as a leading theologian steadily increased as he entered his 30s. He participated in the synod of Stuttgart in December 1559, in which Brenz' understanding of Christ's ubiquity was defended in the official "Confession and Report of the Theologians and Ministers in the Princedom of Wuerttemberg, Concerning the True Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Supper." In his agreement with Brenz on the ubiquity of Christ's human nature Andreae was drawing a very clear line between himself and Calvin on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper even though he had made a serious effort not long before the synod to formulate a position on which Lutherans and Calvinists could agree. The synod had been called to deal with the case of a Wuerttemberg clergyman, Bartholomaeus Hagen, who tended toward a Calvinist understanding of Christ's presence in the Sacrament. Andreae was the duke's official representative and strove to bring Hagen into agreement with the strict Lutheran position of the duke, Brenz, and the other ducal counselors. By declaring in a formal confession their commitment to the doctrine of Christ's ubiquity, Andreae and his colleagues secured the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper in Wuerttemberg and

raised an issue which would lie at the heart of Andreae's difficulties with the theological faculty at Wittenberg a decade later.

Duke Christoph's family held the county of Montbeliard in France, and in part because of this the duke noted religious developments inside France with genuine interest. Initially favorable toward the Calvinist reformers in France, Christoph cooled toward them at the end of the 1550s, shortly before the outbreak of religious warfare in France. He increased the political distance between himself and the Calvinists at the same time he was defining the doctrinal position of his church in a strictly Lutheran way. Nonetheless, his interest in the French situation remained alive, and he responded warmly to an invitation from the Roman Catholic duke of Guise to send representatives to the Colloquy of Poissy, which was called in 1561 to explore the possibility of agreement between the Calvinist and Roman Catholic parties in France. The Guises probably hoped that the presence of Lutheran theologians would weaken their opponents' position and hasten the end of the colloquy. Andreae and three others arrived shortly after the colloquy had ended, but his trip to Paris and the conversations he had with religious and political leaders there afforded him exposure to the problems of the Reformation in France.

One of Andreae's companions on this trip, Jakob Beurlin, the chancellor of the University of Tuebingen, died while they were in France. Christoph appointed Andreae to the vacant post of chancellor and made him at the same time professor of theology. After nine years as superintendent and pastor in Goeppingen, he moved to Tuebingen to assume new duties. Students heard him lecture on the New Testament and systematic theology, and he also taught homiletics.

By bestowing on Andreae the variety of assignments and duties which came to him before he was even 35 years old, Duke Christoph demonstrated his great confidence in the

judgment and capability of the smithy's son who would not have gone on to university study had not Christoph's father been willing to subsidize his education. That investment was rewarded with loyal service because Andreae stood ready to provide it and because Christoph regarded him highly enough to command and use it.

A Mission to Reconcile

The year before Andreae came to Goeppingen the Truce of Passau established the temporary legality of the Lutheran confession in the Holy Roman Empire. In 1555 that legal, though inferior, status was confirmed for those who subscribed to the Augsburg Confession in the Religious Peace of Augsburg. But Roman Catholic pressure for the suppression of the Evangelicals did not vanish just because the new emperor, Ferdinand I, abrogated the Edict of Worms and abandoned the plans of his brother for the military eradication of all opposition to pope and emperor. In the face of that political pressure from churchmen and princes in the German papal party, the Evangelical princes felt compelled to organize themselves. But the creation of a common Evangelical front was frustrated by doctrinal debates among the theologians. In the wake of the Smalcaldic War disputes broke out among the Lutheran churchmen over a number of serious issues, and ecclesiastical counselors in some states had very different advice for their princes than did their counterparts in other states concerning the propriety of such a common Evangelical front.

Christoph was not only concerned about the organization and centralization of the church of Wuerttemberg; he also assumed a position of leadership among the second generation of Evangelical princes. He was anxious to unify and consolidate Evangelical political power for the security of the churches of the Augsburg Confession. That consolidation demanded harmony within the Evangelical camp. As Chris-

toph began his efforts toward concord in the mid-1550s, he found a willing tool in Jacob Andreae. For Andreae was by disposition as well as assignment a searcher for peace and a seeker after harmony.

His own attempt to find a mediating position in the first and most devastating controversy among the reformers of the 16th century illustrates his early irenic stance and concern. The doctrine of the Lord's Supper was the occasion for a bitter dispute between Zwingli and Luther; differences over that doctrine opened up a breach between some of Melanchthon's disciples and other Lutherans during the years when Andreae was formulating his plan for Lutheran concord. In the early 1550s Lutherans pointed out that the teachings of John Calvin, then rising to European prominence as an Evangelical theologian, on the Sacrament of the Altar were closer to Zwingli's than to Luther's, and their charges opened up another phase of the Sacramentarian controversy. Into this arena Andreae climbed with his first attempt at creating concord. In 1557 he published his first book, a brief one entitled *A Short and Simple Statement Concerning the Lord's Supper and How an Ordinary Christian Should Conduct Himself in the Long and Drawn-out Controversy Which Has Arisen over It.*[3] In this book he attempted to formulate the doctrine of the Lord's Supper in a Lutheran way but also tried to avoid offending the Swiss, or at least the Genevans. The book brought cries of outrage and condemnation from at least one Gnesio-Lutheran, Nikolaus von Amsdorf, and did not produce the settlement of the issue for which Andreae had hoped.

In spite of a correspondence between Andreae and Calvin, in which they both demonstrated mutual respect and conciliatory restraint, Calvin remained disappointed with Andreae's basic Lutheran stance on the questions that divided them. Calvin's colleagues from Geneva, William Farel and Theodore Beza, did come to Goeppingen in May 1557 while on a trip through the empire to arouse Evangelical support

for the French Protestants, who were under increasing pressure from King Henry III. During their visit they made important concessions as they joined Andreae in setting down a statement that was to be used as the basis for a colloquy on the Lord's Supper between their party and the German theologians of the Augsburg Confession. But Bullinger, Zwingli's successor in Zurich, denounced Andreae, and the strongly Lutheran stance of the German Evangelical princes on the Lord's Supper discouraged further efforts along these lines. Although Andreae still attempted to present formulations of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper which would be acceptable to Calvinists in 1559 and 1560,[4] this effort at concord aroused opposition from both sides and served only to make some Lutherans suspicious of the young churchman from Goeppingen.

Christoph was not disturbed, however, and involved Andreae in his own efforts to promote Lutheran unity. Andreae was with him at the Diet of Regensburg in early 1557 as he promoted his plans for an Evangelical coalition, and the duke asked the advice of Andreae and others on his ecclesiastical staff in regard to moving ahead with the implementation of these plans. When representatives of the Roman Catholic and the Evangelical parties met at Worms in the summer of 1557 to discuss the issues that divided them, Andreae was nominated by Christoph as one of the Evangelical notaries for the colloquy, and he served in that capacity throughout the short-lived conversations. The colloquy broke up because the Gnesio-Lutheran representatives insisted upon the condemnation of a series of errors, some of which they alleged were held by other Evangelical members of the colloquy panel. As in the previous year, during the visitation of Baden-Durlach, Andreae saw at Worms the deeply felt divisions of northern German Lutheranism embarrass his position in

front of the Roman opposition. This must have heightened his sense of concern over the disputes within the churches of the Augsburg Confession.

Christoph used Andreae for several other reconciling missions during the early 1560s. In 1562 ducal Saxony, the citadel of Gnesio Lutheranism, was torn apart by a debate between two of the members of the theological faculty at the University of Jena, Matthias Flacius Illyricus and Viktorin Strigel. Their debate over the freedom of the will and original sin had alienated Strigel from most of the clergymen of the land. However, Duke John Frederick the Middler had become impatient with Flacius and had favored Strigel in the settlement of their dispute. John Frederick asked Christoph to send theologians to help him restore theological solidarity to his church, and Christoph obliged by sending Andreae and a colleague, Christoph Binder, the superintendent of Nuertingen. They arrived in Weimar in April 1562, conducted conversations with Strigel and his supporters, and concluded that Strigel was not guilty of the synergism of which he had been accused. Andreae was disappointed by the reoccurrence of synergistic expressions in Strigel's writings during the course of the next year.

In the church of Strassburg a serious dispute broke out about the same time as the Strigel-Flacius controversy in ducal Saxony. Johann Marbach, exponent of a strict Lutheran position, disagreed on a number of points with the heirs of the era in which Martin Bucer had led the reform movement in Strassburg. The mediating Bucer had tried to find middle ground on which Wittenbergers and Zurichers could meet, and the humanistic educator Johann Sturm, who remained in the city after the Interim had driven Bucer to England, tried to continue to foster the spirit of the early Strassburg reformation after Marbach rose to prominence in the city. Among Sturm's supporters was Hieronymus Zanchi, professor of Old Testament at the Strassburg Academy. Zanchi and Marbach disagreed on the Lord's Supper and on the doctrine

of predestination, and Zanchi asked for a colloquy in which he could obtain a hearing before theologians from outside Strassburg. Andreae joined one theologian from the Palatinate-Zweibruecken and two from Basel as the panel which sought a solution to the Strassburg dispute. The solution was not to be found, however, for Zanchi and Marbach could not overcome their differences.

Exactly a year later, in April 1564, Andreae again had to deal with the differences between Reformed and Lutheran theologians on the Lord's Supper in a colloquium, this time between the theologians of Wuerttemberg and those of the Palatinate. In 1563 Elector Frederick III of the Palatinate turned his land, only recently reformed, from its initial Lutheran position toward that of Calvin. With the publication of the Heidelberg Catechism in 1563 a new crisis of unity appeared, and Duke Christoph called his own theologians together—Andreae, of course, among them—in September to study the catechism and comment on its implications for German Evangelical unity. The following spring Andreae and his colleagues met with the theologians of the Palatinate at Maulbronn, but their discussions only highlighted the differences between them. The representatives of Elector Frederick criticized the Wuerttembergers' understanding of the ubiquity of Christ as unscriptural. Andreae must have left the meeting with a greater concern than ever for reversing the trend toward disagreement and for establishing a firm basis for Evangelical unity.

The concern of Andreae and his prince, Duke Christoph, for the unity of the church found opportunity for action five years later when Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbuettel requested help from Wuerttemberg in the Evangelical reorganization of the church in his lands. At that time Andreae was finally able to initiate the first of his programs for ending the discord which wracked the churches of his confession.

Controversies and Attempts at Conciliation

The world into which Jakob Andreae was born was changing rapidly, more rapidly perhaps than the European world had changed for centuries. New political forces were diminishing the power of medieval custom and right and were concentrating powers in the hands of territorial princes and kings. New legal forms were altering social and economic relationships. Commerce and industry were expanding at the beginning of the 16th century in the Holy Roman Empire, and new methods were being applied to various aspects of economic life. The educational system was not the same as it had been a century earlier, for humanists were teaching alongside scholastics at the university and in the academy.

An integral part of the culture's transformation centered in the reformation of its religious life and thought. A decade before Andreae's birth Martin Luther had aroused hopes and antagonisms with his proclamation of his understanding of the Christian Gospel, and Andreae's life and life work were determined in large part by Luther's proclamation and life.

The Smalcaldic War

The emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Charles V, had pledged his government at Worms in 1521 to the eradication of Luther's Gospel. A series of events and factors prevented the emperor from proceeding with plans to carry out the Edict of Worms until Andreae was at the university, but in 1547 it appeared that the cause of the Evangelical Reformation might well be overcome and eradicated by its enemies.

Charles V went to war against his two leading antagonists among the Evangelical princes, Elector John Frederick of Saxony and Landgrave Philip of Hesse, in the summer of 1546.[5] The two were leaders of the Smalcaldic League, a group of Evangelical princes and cities formed in 1532 to oppose efforts of the imperial government to eradicate Lutheran "heresy." They had both broken imperial law, Philip by becoming a bigamist and John Frederick by seizing the bishopric of Naumburg-Zeitz and the lands of the canons of Wurzen by force. These and other offenses of the two princes gave Charles the pretext he needed to separate his crusade against them from the religious issue, which might have won them additional princely support.

One of the Evangelical princes whom Charles enticed away from the Evangelical cause during the Smalcaldic War was Moritz, duke of Saxony. Moritz, nephew and successor of the arch-Roman Catholic Duke George, had followed his father and immediate predecessor, Duke Heinrich, into the Evangelical faith. But he also became a friend of Charles V and particularly of Charles' brother Ferdinand, archduke of Austria and king of Bohemia. Moritz was drawn into cooperating with the emperor. He invaded the lands of his cousin John Frederick when the elector led the Evangelical army south toward the Austrian lands of the Hapsburgs Charles V and Ferdinand. John Frederick and Philip pulled back before they had defeated the imperial forces so that John Frederick might free his lands from the forces of his cousin Moritz, who had occupied electoral Saxony. By late winter 1547 John Frederick had pushed Moritz out of electoral Saxony and had occupied most of Moritz's own territory. But Charles V and Ferdinand came to the rescue of their Evangelical ally. On April 24, 1547, the Spanish and German troops of the emperor caught the forces of John Frederick at Muehlberg on the Elbe, and in a day-long battle the imperial army defeated the Evangelicals. John Frederick and Philip were taken pris-

oner. On May 19 John Frederick signed the Wittenberg Capitulation, which gave Moritz his title as elector and much of his land. His sons, however, were made dukes of Saxony in Thuringia, the western part of his territory.

The Interims and the Adiaphoristic Controversy

Charles followed up his victory on the field with plans for consolidating his hold over the Holy Roman Empire. At the diet at Augsburg which began the next September he appointed a commission to prepare regulations for the religious life of the empire for the interim before the Council of Trent would make final disposition of the problems besetting 16th-century Christendom. The commission appointed a subcommittee of three: two Erasmian Roman Catholics, Michael Helding, suffragan bishop of Mainz, and Julius von Pflug, newly installed bishop of Naumburg-Zeitz; and the Evangelical court preacher of Elector Joachim II of Brandenburg, Johann Agricola (see pp. 31—32).[6] Two Spanish theologians from Charles' retinue and his brother Ferdinand's court preacher also took part in the composition of the *Declaration on Religion* which the committee presented to Charles. Known popularly as the Augsburg Interim, it conceded to Evangelicals who sought permission the right to distribute Communion in both kinds and the right of priests to marry. However, it also imposed Roman dogma upon them. The Interim linked justification to the gift of *caritas*, and thus to the practice of good works. It restored the power of papal bishops and the authority of the pope. It reestablished all seven medieval sacraments. It defended the medieval practice of the Mass and insisted that the Evangelicals use its traditional form and trappings as well as the sacramentals which involved various areas of church life. The Interim, if enforced, spelled the end of Lutheranism.

The Interim was proclaimed May 15, 1548, and Charles V proceeded forthwith to enforce it in Evangelical lands and

cities where he could.[7] Wuerttemberg was occupied by Spanish troops, as were several southern Evangelical cities. Various degrees of compliance were obtained in various places. Only two Evangelical pastors in all Wuerttemberg actually consented to remain in their congregations and conduct their ministries according to the Augsburg Interim.[8]

In print the opposition to the Augsburg Interim began almost immediately after its publication. Several Lutheran writers issued strong denunciations of the Interim, especially of its Evangelical co-author Agricola, and forcefully rejected any compromise with the emperor and the Roman party. Others, among them Luther's close friend Philip Melanchthon, expressed themselves more cautiously. For the outcome of the Smalcaldic War had placed Melanchthon and some of his Saxon colleagues in a peculiar situation, in many ways more difficult than that of those who had been driven form their pastorates. For Melanchthon and the entire Wittenberg University faculty lived in the area which now owed allegiance to the new elector of Saxony, Moritz. Moritz found himself caught in a vise. On the one hand, he felt pressure from his Hapsburg friends, who were not about to keep their oral promise, made before the war, that Moritz would not have to change his faith. On the other hand, he felt pressure from his estates and subjects, who were uncompromisingly Lutheran in spirit and doctrine. Moritz tried to convince the Saxons that the return of Spanish troops to Saxon soil was a genuine threat at the same time he was doing his best to convince Charles that he was trying to comply with the Augsburg Interim, for in 1548 he still believed that his hold on his electorate and his new lands was no stronger than his ability to keep the emperor's favor.

Moritz's theologians issued a series of memoranda on the Interim, counseling rejection but allowing that certain compromises could be made concerning adiaphora. When Moritz returned from the imperial diet in Augsburg in early summer

1548, he inaugurated a series of consultations in which his theologians were led and badgered by his secular advisers into forging a compromise settlement. This compromise, called the Leipzig Interim, was adopted by the Saxon estates assembled at Leipzig in late December 1548.

The Leipzig Interim satisfied no one in trying to placate the emperor while trying to preserve the heart of Lutheran doctrine. The basic principle of the Leipzig Interim was concession on indifferent matters and retention of the Evangelical understanding of justification.[9]

The Leipzig Interim was viewed by its authors as a document of compromise chiefly in its concessions in what they considered adiaphora. The Interim accepted confirmation (holding out hope it could be transformed from a spectacle into an examination of faith), private confession before Communion, and extreme unction practiced according to apostolic usage. It restored much of the Latin rite of the Roman Mass as well as the traditional vestments, bells, lamps, vessels—the ceremonial of the old worship service. Moritz's theologians also conceded the restoration of the canonical hours and services in memory of the dead. They planned for the reintroduction of many of the old festival celebrations, including Corpus Christi and Marian holidays. According to this second Interim, meat would not be eaten on Fridays and Saturdays in Saxony, in obedience to the civil ordinances of the empire. Perhaps the most difficult part of the new formula to compose and to sell to the estates was that which dealt with the right of the bishops to ordain. The Saxon bishops were all papal appointees after the Smalcaldic War, but the Saxon theologians were willing to acknowledge their right to ordain all pastors if the bishops did not persecute the Gospel and if they strove for good order in the church. Candidates for ordination had to be presented to the bishop by the patron of the congregation, a stipulation that insured control by Evangelical lords over the churches in their lands.

The Leipzig Interim was forged by men of good will and genuine concern, but they were men of a different spirit and perhaps of less common sense than those who quickly rose up to oppose them. For example, one of those who framed the Leipzig Interim, Prince Georg of Anhalt, had always favored conservative liturgical practices; what to others were papalist trappings had always been to him proper Christian forms. Johann Pfeffinger, pastor and professor in Leipzig, had served Moritz for the better part of a decade as an ecclesiastical counselor, as had others who participated in the composition of the Leipzig Interim. These men knew Moritz had established and supported the Evangelical faith in his lands, and they were willing to help him preserve as much of that faith as possible by compromising, hoping thereby to prevent an imperial invasion of Saxony.

Melanchthon was drawn to his new elector in part because Moritz defended and supported his university and also was actively trying to protect his leading theologian from the wrath of Charles V. He was genuinely concerned about the threat of Spanish troops and the religious suppression and persecution their renewed presence in Saxony would bring. In addition, he believed that the stars foretold an early death for Charles V; buying a little time through compromise would be worthwhile since a new emperor would soon mount the throne. Furthermore, concessions in adiaphora had never been offensive to him. He therefore acceded to the desires of his prince—not without misgivings but without rancor or an extended rear-guard retreat filled with excuses. Melanchthon was willing to compromise appearances for the sake of peace for his prince, his university, his fellow Saxons. He did not survey the larger implications, beyond peace at that time and in his land, as did a group of Luther's associates who gathered in the city of Magdeburg in 1548 and 1549. The group included Nikolaus von Amsdorf, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, Nikolaus Gallus and others. As professor at Wittenberg and confidant to the new elector of Saxony, Melanchthon's options

were more limited than were those of an exiled bishop like Amsdorf or a student on the run like Flacius in the outlawed city of Magdeburg.[10]

Magdeburg was theoretically subject in the secular as well as the ecclesiastical realm to the archbishop of Magdeburg, but the desire of its citizens to be free of his control had coincided with the sincere conviction wrought in their hearts concerning religious reformation by its ecclesiastical superintendent Amsdorf and others in the 1520s. In 1548 the city became a haven for those who opposed the Augsburg Interim. The city had held out against Charles V after the Smalcaldic War when Moritz was assigned to reduce it. Under the leadership of Amsdorf and Flacius, the Gnesio-Lutheran party developed there in the period before the besieged city surrendered to Moritz in 1551.

As two parties, Anglicans and Puritans, arose in England during its Reformation, so circumstances in Saxony led to the development of two groups within its young Lutheran church. One group favored—from the late medieval perspective—a relatively more conservative Reformation; the other group wanted to take Luther's insights in their full radicality, at times expressing them in an even more radical fashion than Luther himself had. The conservatives have been named the Philippists because of their allegiance to their preceptor, Melanchthon; and the radicals, often called the Flacianists, are better designated the Gnesio-Lutherans (since not all Gnesio-Lutherans followed Flacius blindly but some fought bitterly with him).

The differing attitudes toward the Reformation which finally became concrete in the somewhat loosely associated groups called Philippists and Gnesio-Lutherans did not begin only after or because of the crisis caused by the Smalcaldic War. Nor was it inevitable that Luther's death would initiate a series of squabbles over the correct definition of his message. But questions had been raised between his closest friends

during his lifetime over several issues that would become centers of controversy within Lutheranism in the three decades following his death. These included the necessity of good works for eternal life, the role of the human will in conversion and the Christian life, and the real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper.[11] These questions were raised again by various events connected with the Interims, and they were raised in an atmosphere which was being poisoned by political considerations and personal recriminations arising from differing views of what was best for the Evangelical church of Saxony. From Magdeburg came charges that Moritz of Saxony was a newborn Antiochus Epiphanes and that his theologians had sold out to the Antichrist of Rome. Such criticism threatened to upset Moritz's precarious hold on his lands, both new and old, since his people were solidly Evangelical. From Wittenberg and Leipzig came countercharges that the men of Magdeburg were rebels and riffraff, outlaws and schismatics. The issue of compromise with the Roman Church at points the electoral Saxons considered adiaphora became the focal point for a rivalry which grew up between friends, between two groups of the students of Luther and Melanchthon. The political necessities of the situations of men on each side provided the spark for what developed into a quarter century of intense and sometimes bitter exchanges of charges and countercharges.

The Gnesio-Lutheran attack on the Leipzig Interim poured forth in the course of 1549 and 1550 from the presses of Magdeburg, practically the only place in the empire where tracts against either Interim could be published. The Magdeburgers objected to the presuppositions and judgments concerning adiaphora which the Wittenbergers and Leipzigers had had to make in forging the Leipzig Interim. In a tract by Amsdorf, Flacius, and Gallus they set down their basic principle: "In a case where confession of the faith is demanded, where ceremonies or adiaphora are commanded as necessary,

where offense may be given, adiaphora do not remain adiaphora or indifferent but become matters of moral precept, in which God must be obeyed." Amsdorf and Flacius could not have cared less about how theologians might explain away their concessions to Rome. They were concerned about the effect of these concessions on the average Saxon parishioner. The Interimists were declaring that it was better to bring back the surplice, light an almost forgotten candle, sing a Latin verse, and still preach the Gospel, than it would be to have Spanish troops and papal priests marching into Saxony. Amsdorf and company were really no more secure in the embattled city of Magdeburg, but they felt safer or chose to ignore the imperial threat and to concentrate on the pastoral needs of that parishioner. They replied to the electoral Saxon theologians that the average parishioner saw as much as he heard in worship. If he saw the surplice and the candle, he would believe that the Wittenbergers who had reintroduced these papalist practices had returned to the message of the old days as well. He would not hear the Gospel because the reminders of Rome would seem to indicate that Luther's successors had forgotten it. The exiled pastors at Magdeburg had lived their ministries among people for whom words were less important than symbols. As a professor Melanchthon was at a disadvantage when it came to reading the popular mind. His colleagues and he had responded to other pressures and a somewhat different concern.

The controversy over the Interims became unnecessary after the Truce of Passau in 1552 and the Religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555. The Interims were dead. However, the controversy had burned too hotly for it to be put out at once. The Gnesio-Lutherans insisted that the Philippists repent publicly for their composition and defense of the Leipzig Interim. Although Melanchthon did admit that he had taken the wrong stand,[12] he and his followers refused to submit to the kind of public penance Flacius and his friends insisted