

# ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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Title of Thesis The life and thought of Balthasar Hübmaier--1485-1528

Dr. Balthasar Hübmaier of Friedberg was one of the Reformation's most interesting personalities. Unlike Luther and Zwingli who were not well known prior to their conversion to Protestantism, Hübmaier was recognized as a substantial pillar of Roman Catholicism and had a personal fame long before the moment in his life when he decided in favor of the reforming aspiration. For thirty-nine years of his life he was a medieval Roman Catholic in the truest sense of the term. He was the honored and beloved pupil of Johannes Eck, who used his influence to raise Hübmaier to influential positions at Freiburg and later at Ingolstadt. In 1519 he became the Domprediger of the cathedral at Regensburg and was instrumental in the expulsion of the Jewish minority which had entrenched itself in the city through a thousand years of residence. This event was the spark which ignited a fervor for pilgrimage which was seldom equalled in the history of southern Germany. Because of his devotion to Rome, Hübmaier was respected by his colleagues and considered a man of zealous conviction upon whom the Church could rely for dependable decision and decisive action.

In 1521 Hübmaier began to have misgivings about the direction his religious life had taken. Having moved his field of operation to Waldshut, he began to devote a great deal of time to the study of the New Testament and the writings of the Protestant reformers. Through meetings with Vadian, Busch, Glarean, Erasmus and Zwingli, he was drawn towards Protestantism which resulted in his breaking away from various elements of Roman worship. He took part in the second disputation at Zürich in 1523 and began ecclesiastical reforms at Waldshut the following year. Until 1525 when he accepted the practical demonstration as well as the theoretical basis for believers' baptism, his relations with the Swiss reformers were harmonious. After this event he was cast off by his former Swiss friends and hunted by the Austrian state because his preaching caused division in the sympathies of the Austrian border cities. He fled to Zürich, then to Augsburg, and finally to Nicolsburg in Moravia where he organized a church patterned after his own persuasion. Two years later he was captured by the Austrian government, tried, tortured, convicted, and executed at Vienna.

Hübmaier had only four years to devote to reform, but in the space of these few years he managed to publish the twenty-seven books, pamphlets, tracts and leaflets which appear in the appendices of this study. To date, the appendices of this thesis represent the only complete collection of Hübmaier's writings in Europe.

This thesis <sup>yo</sup>purposes to clarify the obscure portions of Hübmaier's biography and to review his thought in the light of his experience. Hübmaier has been called an "Anabaptist", but it is doubtful whether this designation suffices to explain his life and thought. His position was a compromise between the Protestantism of Luther and Zwingli and the radical piety of mainstream Anabaptism. The world was not ready for such a compromise, and, for this reason, Hübmaier's type of reformed Christianity died with him.



Use other side if necessary.



BALTHASAR HUBMAIER DOCTOR VON ERIDBERG

THE LIFE AND THOUGHT OF BALTHASAR HÜBMAIER

1485 -- 1528

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A Thesis  
Presented to  
The Senatus of  
The University of Edinburgh

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of the Requirements for the Degree  
Doctor of Philosophy

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by  
Robert Arthur Macoskey

B.A., B.D.

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D E D I C A T E D

T O

The Family and Friends

who made this  
study possible.

## A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

There are several people to whom I am especially indebted for assistance in the preparation of this thesis. I must express my gratitude first to Dr. Josef Nordenhaug, President of the Rüschiikon Baptist Seminary, Rüschiikon, Switzerland, who shared with me a list giving the locations of most of Hübmaier's writings. Without his help the task of collecting them would have been much more difficult. Because of Dr. Nordenhaug's kindness, I am able to thank the directors and staffs of the following libraries for their aid: the Staats-und Stadtbibliothek Augsburg; the Oeffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel; the Stadt-und Hochschulbibliothek Bern; the Moravsky Zemsky Archiv Brno; the Stadt-und Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt; the Rostock Universitätsbibliothek; the Landesbibliothek Stuttgart; the Zürich Zentralbibliothek; the Oesterreichisches Staatsarchiv Vienna, and particularly DDR. Josef Stummvoll and the Oesterreichische National-Bibliothek at Vienna. The Tübingen Universitätsbibliothek and the library of the Evangelische Stift at Tübingen also offered much assistance in the gathering of other important material.

Although most of the research for this thesis was done in Germany, I appreciate the generous and hospitable efforts that were made in my behalf by the National Library of Scotland, the Edinburgh University Library and the library of New College.

There are three people, however, to whom I am particularly grateful. The Rev. Principal Charles Duthie of the Congregational College and New College, Edinburgh, who acted as

my first advisor, rendered invaluable assistance in the form of suggestions and encouragement. I benefited also by the friendly advice of my second advisor, the Rev. Professor T. F. Torrance, whose interest in my work led to my being granted financial assistance from the Moray Endowment to help defray the cost of collecting and reproducing Hübmaier's writings as they appear in the appendices.

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Robert Arthur Macoskey

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May, 1956

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## INTRODUCTION

### A. Preliminary Considerations:

Not since 1905 when Henry C. Vedder published a book entitled, Balthasar Hübmaier, the Leader of the Anabaptists, has a comprehensive Hübmaier study appeared in the English language. Only two thorough biographies antedate Vedder's book. These are Dr. F. Hoschek's, Balthasar Hübmaier a počátové novokřesťanstva na Moravě, Brno, 1867, and Dr. Johann Loserth's, Doctor Balthasar Hübmaier und die Anfänge der Wiedertäufer in Mähren, Brno, 1893. Hoschek's book was translated by the Rev. W. W. Everts D.D. and published in the 1891 and 1892 issues of the "Texas Baptist Historical Magazine." Loserth's work has never been translated.

This is not to say that Hübmaier is completely ignored. He always receives passing mention when Anabaptism is discussed and has been the subject of several good, though brief articles in periodical publications. "The Mennonite Quarterly Review" has done notable service in this regard.

During the first quarter of this century, several excellent dissertations concerning Hübmaier were written for German universities. Unfortunately, these have neither been translated nor widely circulated. Worthy of note among this group are Carl Sachsse's Hübmaier als Theologe, Wilhelm Mau's Balthasar Hübmaier, and Richard Friis', Balthasar Hübmaier, Pionier und Martyrer für biblisches Christentum.

More constructive work has been done in the whole

compass of Anabaptist research during the last fifty years than ever before. Valuable studies have come from authors within State Churches, and a wealth of enriching material has been brought to light through the efforts of nonconforming denominations such as the Mennonite Fellowship in Europe and the United States. Curiously enough, Balthasar Hübmaier has been ignored in this latest resurgence of Anabaptist scholarship. The Swiss Brethren and various Anabaptist convictions, particularly that concerning the Church, are the current interests. The reason for this is difficult to understand when it is remembered that the tempestuous life of Hübmaier is certainly the raw material out of which valuable scholarship and interesting reading is spun. Either the potential authors feel that everything of value has been said already, or Hübmaier's life and thought do not fit what has come to be considered the proper Anabaptist mold. The latter conclusion seems the most likely to this author for reasons which will appear later.

This study <sup>is</sup> purposes to clarify the neglected portions of Hübmaier's biography and to review his thought in the light of his experience. It is unfortunate that Hübmaier is virtually unknown to the greatest number of his spiritual followers.

The scope of our investigation must be broad enough to place Hübmaier in the whole perspective of Reformation history, but it must also be limited in order that the primary attention may be paid to the reformer himself. Consequently, the life and thought of Balthasar Hübmaier will be the particular range of this discussion.

Each important event in Hübmaier's life is given in chronological order. This is done in order that the obscure

areas of his biography may be emphasized. The background of his experience with the Jewish population at Regensburg is one of these. It will be well to notice at the outset that Hübmaier was a strict Roman Catholic for thirty-nine years. It was only during the last four years of his life that he became an avowed reformer. He died at the early age of forty-three years.

The portions of this study which deal primarily with Hübmaier's life have been taken from original sources and various studies of earlier date. The appended writings are the basis of our review and interpretation of his thought. These are photographic reproductions and represent the only complete "Hübmaier" collection in Europe to date. \* All the tracts, books, and pamphlets are first editions from the years 1524, 1525, 1526, and 1527. One writing appears in the manuscript form, because it was never published for general distribution. Wherever it is possible, Hübmaier's progressing thought will be examined against the background of his current experience.

It will be noticed that some of the passages which are quoted from the writings of Hübmaier and other reformers have been translated, and others have not. Where the meaning of a quotation is clear, or where an English translation tends to destroy the flavor of the passage, no translation has been attempted.

The Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, Fifth Edition is

\*The Rüschiikon Baptist Theological Seminary, Rüschiikon, Switzerland, has a similar collection with the exception of one tract. The seminary's copy of Ein kurze entschuldigung, 1526 is incomplete. With the submission of this dissertation I have informed the seminary of where a complete copy of this writing may be obtained.

used as the spelling guide for this study. Where alternative spellings are given, the preferential American spelling is always used.

B. The Ambiguity of the name "Anabaptist":

Balthasar Hübmaier was called an Anabaptist, but that does not tell us very much about him. The medieval term "Anabaptist," or "Wiedertäufer" was employed in a much too general fashion. Rather than purposing to define, it purposed to brand and condemn. Its application was indiscriminate. It was used to describe chiliasts and mystics, anarchists, literalists, pacifists, revolutionaries, or any group of individuals which did not conform to the authority of the Roman Catholic or the Reformed Churches. For this reason, we must discover what it meant when applied to Hübmaier, and determine to which "Anabaptist" sub-classification he belonged.

Of course, the name was coined to describe a group of people who practiced re-baptism. But all the Anabaptists did not emphasize, or practice re-baptism to the same high degree. For some it was very important, but for others it had no significance whatsoever.

At least three main parties may be seen inside the medieval "Anabaptist" movement, although these could be enlarged to present an even greater multiplicity of thought pattern and stimulus. Each of these moved towards its respective goal in a different way, and each had a differing view of re-baptism.

The extreme chiliastic wing sought to create the Kingdom of God on earth through the forcible overthrow of the

"Satanic," "Worldly" powers. Led by the Zwickau Prophets, Thomas M nzer, Jan of Leyden, and Hans Hut, this persuasion reached its bloody zenith at M nster in 1534. Re-baptism held very little real significance for these people.

The other "Anabaptist" wing was strongly mystic, laying emphasis upon the sufficient inspiration of the "inner-light," and relegating the Church and the Scriptures to roles of secondary importance. Hans Denck provides an actual illustration of this attitude. Although he accepted re-baptism, he did not see it as an act of ultimate importance.

The third and largest group of Anabaptists lived up to their name completely. Re-baptism was important to them. They aspired to create a regenerate, free Church, which could be entered only through the public testimony of baptism after a personal confession of faith. This was the mainstream of sixteenth century Anabaptism. The local group of people who best illustrated this general tendency were the Swiss Brethren. Grebel, Manz, Blaurock, and R ubli were the leaders.

The anarchists and mystics, who at times seem to dominate the Anabaptist panorama, soon disappear, and in so doing, prove their peripheral nature. The disappearance of the former amounted to physical annihilation. After the M nster tragedy, extensive measures were taken to avoid a resurgence. There was no organized reappearance on a measurable scale.

Such was also the fate of the mystical wing, which, because of its extreme introspection, never succeeded in organizing itself into a continuing physical expression. By and large, the people who are grouped under this heading stand out as individual beacons whose lights pointed predominantly

heavenward, oblivious to the need for light where men were walking. Their devotion to Christ was very deep, being akin to that of Thomas à Kempis and Peter Chelchitzki, but the affairs of this transitory world did not interest them very much. The base of their ideal was not broad enough to provide room for corporate worship and concern for the material, as well as the spiritual well-being of the believing fellowship. Their attitude was not derived from a feeling of disdain, but from the conviction that the "World" was entirely lacking in the realm of ultimate importance. Fearing that the establishment of an organization might tend to clothe the purely spiritual nature of their persuasion in rigid forms, they refused to support their ideas with a visible institution, and thus passed out of an influential role in the story of the organized movement.

For these reasons, the quality and quantity of Hübmaier's Anabaptist sentiments must be evaluated against the genuine, "re-baptizing" aspiration of sixteenth century Europe. This is found among the Swiss Brethren.

### C. The Swiss Brethren and Mainstream Anabaptism

There was controversy for some years as to where wholesome Anabaptism made its first appearance. Today it is universally recognized that Zürich was its birthplace, and that Zwingli's Reformation was its cradle. The Brethren persevered in the face of violent persecution and succeeded in passing on their convictions through the life of Menno Simons. After the Münster tragedy, it was Simons who gathered together the wholesome threads of the movement and reweave them into the sturdy spiritual mantle which the Mennonites wear today. Supporting

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this conclusion are: Walter Köhler, Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, 1913; Ernst Troeltsch, Social Teaching of the Christian Church; Das Mennonitisches Lexikon, 1913; Ernest Bax, The Social Side of the Reformation in Germany, 1903; Das Schweizer Lexikon; Franklin Littell, The Anabaptist View of the Church, 1953; and others.

Because Hübmaier was indebted to the Swiss Brethren for his own re-baptism, it is appropriate that their origin and principal beliefs be subjected to a closer scrutiny.

A union of two creditable theories may help to explain the origin of the Swiss movement. The first suggests a direct indebtedness to the thirteenth century Waldensian heresy in the Bern-Schwarzenburg area. The second proposes that Swiss Anabaptism was Humanism in the cloak of evangelical Christianity.

Support for the first theory is found in the fact that the Bishop of Lausanne ordered Brother Humbert, a Dominican convent preacher at Bern, to move against Waldensian heretics in the neighborhood of Schwarzenburg. This occurred in the year 1277. Humbert succeeded in burning out the heresy, or at least in driving it under ground. It lay dormant until 1378, before coming to the surface again. The suppression which followed this resurgence was not thorough, and the heresy appeared again in 1399. During the latter year, 183 heretics were subjected to a strenuous examination which revealed the following beliefs. They denied that the Church could forgive sin, rejected the doctrine of Purgatory and the intercession of Saints, held that substitutionary penance was invalid, and expressed the desire to preserve an unadulterated faith

regardless of a growth in numbers.<sup>1/</sup>

These beliefs in themselves do not prove actual descent, but it is interesting to notice that Swiss Anabaptism took root in areas where there had been strong Waldensian activity in by-gone years. Zwingli and his reformed party could not understand why the Brethren clung so tenaciously to their heretical beliefs. It may well have been that the predilections of an age old religious sentiment were as deeply rooted in the personalities of the Brethren as were those convictions which the Zwinglians gained from their own tradition. Certainly the vast biblical knowledge displayed by the Brethren was not achieved within the space of a few years. A much better case can be made for the hereditary practice of memory training whereby parents instructed their children in the Bible after the example of the itinerant Waldensian minister. The passing of years caused the Waldensian aspiration to die out in the cities and larger towns, but it may well have survived in isolated rural areas. If this was not a survival of particular theological tenets, it may have been at least an inherited inclination toward a particular type of religious stimulus; one that was pious, personal, and evangelistic.

Turning to the second theory, we notice that Walter Kühler considers Erasmus to be the spiritual father of the Anabaptists.<sup>2/</sup> Leonhart von Muralt agrees with him.<sup>3/</sup> In so

1. Fechterin, B. R., "Beitrag zur Geschichte der Waldenser" in Abhandlungen des Historischen Vereins des Kanton Bern, Vol. II, Bd. 2, pp. 335-342.

2. Kühler, Walter, "Wiedertäufer" in Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Zweite Aufgabe, Tübingen, 1931.

3. von Muralt, Leonhart, Glaube und Lehre der Schweizerischen Wiedertäufer in der Reformationszeit, Zürich, 1938, p. 6ff.

far as Humanism attempted to free man's thought from the confines of scholasticism and dogma, one can conclude that it was a stimulus to the unrestrained thought of the reforming intellectuals, but did such a movement offer anything to the simple-minded people who comprised the bulk of Swiss Anabaptism? This question fails to notice that the first oral advocates of wholesome Anabaptism were intellectuals with extensive humanistic educations. Conrad Grebel, Vadian's brother-in-law, studied at Vienna and Paris. Later he attended the University of Basel and joined Glarean's humanistic circle. He also studied with Zwingli and devoted much time to a private contemplation of Plato.

Felix Manz had an equally thorough education. Prior to 1522 he studied Hebrew under Zwingli's direction and hoped to teach the language at the Grossmünster school in Zürich.

Other Anabaptist leaders were men of considerable intellectual capacity. Hübli was a preacher at Wytikon, Stumpfff preached at Hüngg, Brütli was a curate at Zollikon, Blaurock was affiliated with a monastery at Chur, and Denck was an able pupil of Oecolampadius.

Was it a type of Humanism that caused these leaders to strive for the purity of Christian primitivism, and to appeal to history for the vindication of their convictions? They emphasized the Bible as divinely authoritative and claimed that it needed no allegorical interpretation. Their efforts to return to Christianity's ancient practice also appears to be related to Humanism's love of the idyllic "antique." The early Church was a suffering fellowship, persecuted and driven by the relentless power of the State. Can the Brethren's

emphasis upon non-resistance, and the separation of Church and State be explained in part by Humanistic influence? They also pleaded for the same kind of freedom of conscience which existed in the primitive Church before Christianity and the State united. Originally the believing fellowship was free to formulate its faith and practice without interference from political authorities.

Another fact which lends substantiation to this theory is the growth of Anabaptism in areas where there were influential schools of Humanism, i. e., Zürich, Basel, Bern and St. Gallen.

Whether either of these two theories suffices to explain the Anabaptist movement in Switzerland is questionable, but a union of them may bring us closer to the answer. The unified theory might be stated in this way. The large Swiss cities were cauldrons of intellectual ferment. An evangelical Christian Humanism could have been the initial impetus for the new persuasion here. The leaders evolved their beliefs through contemplation and study. When these beliefs filtered out into the rural areas, such as that around Bern, they could have drawn out the memory of some previous and similar faith which lay, animately suspended, in the minds of people who possessed hereditary Waldensian connections. A combined theory such as this would account for the rapid spread and the uncompromising tenacity of the Anabaptist faith.

D. The Major Beliefs of the Swiss Brethren:

What were the principal beliefs of mainstream Anabaptism? They may be stated under ten headings.

1. In matters of faith and practice, the Bible is supremely authoritative. It is a divinely inspired record of truth. Initial emphasis is to be placed upon the New Testament because it deals with Christ's Gospel, and completes and explains the Old Testament Messianic expectation.
2. Jesus Christ is the Divine Lord and Savior of mankind. He stands at the immediate head of His Church and reveals the Will of God.
3. The Church is a special fellowship of confessing Christians (ein sonderliche Gemeinschaft etlicher Christgläubiger Menschen). In its visible form the Church is responsible, gathered through repentance and public testimony, disciplined, missionary and long suffering. *Christbelüger mens*
4. The nature of Man is "fallen". He is in desperate need of Christ's salvation, and the fellowship of other believers. Christ died for all men, and not for a selected few.
5. Discipleship is the fundamental element of true Christianity.
6. Theology must be biblical and unspeculative. It is valuable only in so far as it is practicable to the Christian life.
7. Pacifism and non-resistance are the best ways to exhibit the Christian Love ethic in times of strife. The believing fellowship must deal with physical distress through a program of mutual aid.
8. Hope is at the core of genuine eschatology. Christians must look beyond the immediate state of affairs to a future culmination. Millenarian fanaticism or a disregard for present needs and duties are not parts of Christian eschatology. *X*
9. The local congregation of Christian people is autonomous. It acts as a democratic unity, delegating authority to its chosen leaders, who administer the ordinances. The two ordinances, Baptism and the Lord's Supper are interpreted symbolically,

and have no meaning apart from Faith and Obedience. No Grace is imparted through physical ceremonies.

10. The Church and State must be separate. A Christian may not judge his fellow-men, be a magistrate, swear an oath, or take part in warfare. Toleration is the Christian's duty and religious freedom is his right.<sup>4</sup>

#### E. The Position of Hübmaier:

Balthasar Hübmaier holds a curious position in the light of these remarks. During the course of his reforming ministry he was accused of advocating the major beliefs of all three Anabaptist groups. Indeed, he was executed as an anarchist with strong chiliastic connections. Nevertheless, though support can be brought to bear in isolated instances for this accusation, the principal beliefs of each branch fail in the last analysis of his thought and work. He was not a mystic, neither was he a fanatic, nor did he conform to all the beliefs of mainstream Anabaptism.

He was exposed to influence from every side of the Reformation struggle; from Johann Eck, his devoted teacher and friend, who was to become the greatest Roman Catholic apologist of the time; from the writings of Luther; from the Swiss reformers among whom he had many good friends, particularly Zwingli, whom he calls "Bruder" in many of his writings; from individual mystics and chiliasts; from his strict Roman Catholic background; from the general temper of the time, and,

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4. Suggested from Smucker, Don E., "Anabaptist Theology in the Light of Modern Theological Trends" in The Mennonite Quarterly Review, Vol. XXIV, Jan. 1950, #1, (The Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen College) Goshen, Indiana. p. 73.

of course, from his own private study of the New Testament. Although bits and pieces of all these influences may be isolated in his thinking, when taken as a unity it is quite evident that his thought moves ahead originally and independently.

For this reason Hübmaier cannot be considered as one of a larger Glaubensgruppe, but stands out as an independent thinker who acted after his own inspiration and followed his own course. Hübmaier was a true Free Churchman, the first of a much larger group to come. He was the pioneer of a different kind of churchmanship, and one who was many years ahead of his time. Had he survived the imperial fury, the course of this great Reformation tributary might well have been different.

An obscurity compounded upon four and a half centuries of accumulated neglect is all that remains of the visible Hübmaier legacy today. His name rang loudly in the ears of his contemporaries, but now it is only a faint echo to be heard by those whose sensitivities are attuned to this particular branch of the Reformation. Because Hübmaier is virtually unknown today, one is tempted to believe that he always played a minor and relatively unimportant part. The error of this evaluation is obvious if attention is directed to the opinions of his adversaries. A reformer's effectiveness may often be determined by the degree to which he was considered a danger by the Roman Catholic Church. Such an investigation is singularly helpful in the placing of Hübmaier in the proper perspective. During his life he was equally as well known in southern Germany, Austria, Moravia and Switzerland as were Luther and Zwingli. In some areas, he was considered to be more important to the evangelical aspiration, and more

dangerous to the entrenched religious power.

Cardinal Bernhard von Sandoval in his index of forbidden books gives several variations of Hübmaier's name in order that there may be no doubt as to the identity of this heretical author. He is listed as "Balthasar Hiebmaier, Hilcemerus, Isbumarus, Pacimontanus."<sup>5/</sup> In the official minutes of the censuring commission of the Council of Trent, Hübmaier's writings are placed by the side of Luther's and Zwingli's in equal condemnation.<sup>6/</sup>

Influential support of his cause is all that he lacked. He could easily have had it if he had been willing, as were both Luther and Zwingli, to compromise his convictions and place expediency above conscience. Anonymity is his reward for being consistent.

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5. de Sandoval, Bernardi, Bernardi de Sandoval index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum, De consilio supremi senatus S. generalis Inquisitionis Hispaniorum, Juxta exemplar excusum Madriti, Genevae, 1619, p. 9. Given in Schreiber, H., Taschenbuch für geschichte und Alterthum in Süddeutschland, "Balthasar Hubmaier, Stifter der Wiedertäufer auf dem Schwarzwalde," Universitäts - Buchhandlung, von Adolf Emmerling, Freiburg im Breisgan, 1839, p. 6.

6. De libro prohibito, Regula II, "Haeresiarcharum libri, tam eorum qui post praedictum annum (1515) hæreses invenerunt, vel suscitaverunt, quam qui hæreticorum capita aut duces sunt vel fuerunt, quales sunt 'Lutherus', 'Zwinglius', 'Calvinus', 'Balthasar Pacimontanus', 'Schwenkfeldius' et his similes, cujuscunque nominis tituli aut argumenti existant; omnia prohibentur." Quoted in Schreiber, H., Taschenbuch für Geschichte und Alterthum in Süddeutschland, p. 7.

F. March 10, 1528:

The citizens of Vienna had risen early to witness another spectacle. Already the narrow, cobbled streets and alleyways were jammed with the festive, expectant crowd. Jostling and prodigious with noise it waited impatiently along the line of march. Those fortunate enough to live in the immediate area hung out of windows or lounged on balconies enjoying the thin morning sunlight and gossiping with neighbors while the late-comers in the street rummaged for boxes, kegs and other rubbish on which to stand. The tension mounted visibly as the rumbling murmur in the distance announced that the procession was on its way.

Now Frau Meyer could see the sun's reflected glitter on the helmets of the guard as she leaned out of her window. She was grateful that soon the excitement would be past and her household could return to normality. There was no hope of gathering the family for breakfast until the sensation had passed. A glance at the calendar confirmed her thought that the weather was moderating. April was less than a month away and fresh vegetables would soon be appearing in the market stalls again. The children had been pale and sickly all winter.

A shout from the street below interrupted this domestic reverie. Now the dirty cart with its wretched cargo and military escort was just below her window. Why this sight could cause people to postpone their breakfast was a question no one seemed capable of answering to Frau Meyer's

satisfaction.

As the scene unfolded beneath her, she observed that the guards were having little success in their efforts to control the spectators. An army of local rowdies kept up a steady barrage of garbage, sticks and other miscellaneous projectiles. Her attention being drawn to the chief actor in this little drama, Frau Meyer noticed that he was naked to the waist, chained, dirty and generally disreputable. The torturer's handiwork was all too obvious in the torn and burned flesh. Now and again someone along the way dumped a pail of water and slops into the cart from a window in the second storey. She chuckled to see the last misdirected deluge splatter down upon the guard. The prisoner was speaking to the people, but no one appeared to be listening.

Confident that her husband would soon tramp in hungry and full of the execution details, Frau Meyer turned back to the oven and the bread she was baking before all the commotion started.

Herr Meyer, the cooper, had secured a good vantage point near the stake. Now that the crowd following the wagon had erupted into the square, there seemed to be no place to stand. Places of business would be late in opening today. Meyer had a queer sensation as the prisoner was being led to the stake. Others in the crowd seemed to feel it too as the shouting and jeering gradually died away. The voices of the officials and the prisoner could be heard quite clearly. When the little group approached the stake the prisoner said something in a crabbed dialect which sounded like, "Oh Gracious God, forgive my sins in my great torment. Oh Father, I give

thanks that Thou wilt today take me out of this vale of tears. With joy I want to die and come to Thee. Oh Lamb ! Oh Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world! Oh God, into Thy hands I commit my spirit." This was, indeed, a curious speech for a felon to make. "Must be some sort of heretic," thought Herr Meyer.

Another odd thing happened as they began to strip him. He asked the people to forgive him if he had injured anyone in word or deed. By this time the executioners were stripping off what few remaining shreds clung to the man, and he was saying, "From Thee also Lord, were the clothes stripped. My clothes will I gladly leave here, only preserve my spirit and my soul I beseech Thee." Then he said something in Latin which those nearby could not understand until a priest offered a translation. He whispered, "Oh Lord, into Thy hands I commit my spirit."

The crowd snickered at the next utterance which he voiced as they rubbed sulphur and gunpowder into his long hair and beard. He said, "Oh salt me well, salt me well." The cooper resolved to remember that one for his wife's benefit.

Just before the torch was thrown into the faggots the condemned asked the people to pray that God would forgive him his sins, and said that he was glad to be dying in the Christian Faith. One had to admit that this was a different sort of heretic. Again the people became quiet as the wood began to burn. Only a spontaneous gasp escaped several hundred throats as the flame mounted higher. There was some disturbance, but those close to the pyre were able to hear the man's

last words as the flames rose around him. He said, "Oh, my Heavenly Father; Oh, my Gracious God." At last the fire exploded in his beard and hair, and he cried out, "Oh Jesus --- Jesus!"

Hurrying away towards home and breakfast, Meyer noticed Doctor Stephan Sprügel, Dean of the University's philosophical faculty, talking and shaking hands with some of his colleagues. Evidently they were pleased with the handling of the affair, and Sprügel was proudly showing something he had written. Turning into his own street, Meyer caught a glimpse of the executioner's cart slowly lumbering back to the prison, unaccompanied and virtually unnoticed.

Meyer decided that he was not in a mood to discuss the event with his family or neighbors. Rumor had it that the man's wife was to be drowned in the Danube near the end of the week. He decided not to see the sight. The rest of March 10th, 1528 lay before him and barrels would soon be in great demand.\*

So died Doctor Balthasar Hübmaier of Friedberg, called Pacimontanus. He was but one of many heretics who were burned during the sixteenth century. Some of these were important religious personalities, but most were simple people caught up in the struggle for supremacy between the Roman and Reformed Churches. To which group did Balthasar Hübmaier belong? Did reformed Christianity lose or gain by his death?

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\* Suggested from the eye witness account of Stephan Sprügel, Dean of the philosophical faculty in the University of Vienna. Quoted by Loserth, J., Doctor Balthasar Hübmaier und die Anfänge der Wiedertäufer in Mähren, Brno, 1893, pp. 185-187.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE YEARS OF EDUCATION AND ADJUSTMENT

#### A. Friedberg, Augsburg, Freiburg 1485-1512:

The walled city of Friedberg in Bavaria was the place of Hübmaier's birth. Apart from this fact his early life is a mystery. All the Church and civic records of Friedberg were destroyed by the Swedish army during the Thirty Years War, and, consequently, no official record of his birth remains. The most reliable evidence suggests any time between 1484 and 1494.<sup>1/</sup> For reasons which will appear in the ensuing pages, this author suggests 1485 as the most probable year.

Absolutely nothing is known of his family. He never refers to his parents or his home life, but one gains the impression that he came from a lower middle class background. His early disposition toward the religious life indicates that he was exposed to wholesome influences, and the frequent snatches of humor, permeating his writings, suggest a happy childhood.

Hübmaier must have shown early promise as a scholar to account for the better than average primary education he received. There can be little doubt that he came to the atten-

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1. Heigerlein, Johannes, called "Fabri von Leutkirch", Adversus Balthasarum Pacimontanum, Anabaptistorum nostri, saeculi primum authorum orthodoxae fidei Catholicae defensio, (Introduction), Leipzig, 1538. Fabri records that in 1524 Hübmaier "appeared" to be between thirty and forty years of age. There is no clearer evidence.

tion of the village priest, schoolmaster, or some other influential person who made it possible for him to attend the famous Latin school for boys at Augsburg. Therefore, when he was eleven or twelve years old he left Friedberg and traveled five miles eastward to the largest city in Bavaria.

Situated on a plateau at the confluence of the Wertach and the Lech, Augsburg was the chief city of the Swabian League and a great center of trade between Italy and North Europe. It became an imperial city in 1276 and its citizens enjoyed an independence not known in other places. It was a center of German culture and Humanism, and it boasted a strong intellectual community. Altdorfer, Amberger and Burgkmaier were the famous personalities of the time.

Two families of merchant princes, the Fuggers and the Welsers, rivaled the Medici of Florence in their power and affluence. Painted masterpieces from the Augsburg studio of Hans Holbein went out to grateful buyers all over Europe, and the delicate ornaments of the goldsmiths Lukas Zotmann and Gregor Löffler found a ready market.

Augsburg was building. The church of St. Ulrich was half completed and plans were being made for the "Fuggerei," a miniature economic city within a city, dedicated to the furtherance of commerce.

Besides classroom study, there were things to be learned outside through the experience of daily living. All this contributed to Hübmaier's growing consciousness of an ever broadening world around him.

After five or six years at the Latin school, Hübmaier completed his course and sought admission to the University of

Ludovica Albertina at Freiburg. Why he was drawn to Breisgau when there were equally as reputable universities closer at hand, is another mystery of his early life. In the autumn of 1503 he left Bavaria and traveled across southern Germany by the ancient road which connects the valleys of the Danube and the Rhein through the beautiful "Höllenthal" gorge.

At the University of Freiburg we find the first clear date of an event in Hübmaier's life. In the matriculation book his name appears with this information:

"Baldezar Hiebmayr de Augusta, clericus  
dioeces Prima Maji. 1503 Matricul  
Universit." 2/

Hübmaier was introduced to Johann Eck when he was required to read Aristotle under the latter's direction.\* This association ripened into a deep friendship and an influence upon Hübmaier's life which lasted for thirteen years. The mutual admiration which drew these two men together may yield an additional clue to the year of Hübmaier's birth. He and Eck were very nearly of an age; Hübmaier being no less than two years older. Eck was born in 1487. From this information we may surmise that Hübmaier was born about 1485.

He alludes to these years at Freiburg only once in his writings. This is in connection with his part in a debate concerning the limiting of Church Festivals. From other sources, however, we learn more about his undergraduate experience. The

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2. Schreiber, Heinrich, Taschenbuch für Geschichte und Alterthum in Süddeutschland, p. 7. A later date suggests that Hübmaier did not begin a full university course until after 1503. It is possible that he spent one or two years in more intensive preparatory study.

\* Eck's true name was Johann Mayr von Eck.

later character of his ministry indicates that his love of debate was given early stimulus and encouragement. The atmosphere at Freiburg was conducive to violent disputation. As early as 1487 the theological and philosophical faculties had locked horns in a dispute between Nominalism and Realism. Simultaneously, other southwest German universities were blustering over the same matter, giving the deceiving impression that the vitality of the disagreement was directly proportionate to its ultimate importance.

Originally, the thought of William of Ockham had been the pivot of discussion at the university. Ockham's philosophical system was termed the via moderna or the neuer Nominalismus. During the second half of the fifteenth century, the via antiqua had gained the victory with its proclamation of a logical realism after the predilection of Duns Scotus. In 1487 the via antiqua took the upper hand at Freiburg due to the arrival of Magister Georg Nordhofer and Michael Lindelbach from the University of Tübingen. Had these men been so inclined, they could easily have pushed Scotus' philosophy to complete victory, but they desisted. As a result, the opposing philosophies twisted around the common support, cursing each other and claiming exclusive possession of the truth. The moderna labeled the antiqua, "Realisten" or "Scotisten," and the antiqua retaliated by throwing the names, "Neoterici," and "Nominalisten" back at their adversaries. Each professorship was doubly chaired, providing a unique opportunity for quarrels. The tension was carried over into the student life with undergraduate organizations, comprising the advocates of one or the other philosophy

gathering together. The via moderna joined the old "Pfauenburse" (peacock club), and the antiqua assembled in the "Adlerburse"<sup>3/</sup> (eagle club). Similar schism was current in other universities. Johann Eck took an active part in the disagreement and soon introduced his friend, Hübmaier, to it.

Eck had had a varied educational career prior to his appearance at Freiburg. He spent a year at Heidelberg before repairing to Tübingen where he loosely affiliated himself with the via moderna. When some of the student excesses, growing out of the philosophical animosity, proved repugnant to the thirteen year old scholar, he left Tübingen in favor of the University of Köln. In 1502, at the age of fifteen, he returned to southern Germany and obtained the post of "Dozent" in the Arts faculty at Freiburg. As in Tübingen, he joined the via moderna and became an active member.<sup>4/</sup> It was not long before Hübmaier was also exerting himself on behalf of the "Pfauenburse."

University life then, as now, kept the student busy. Besides attending a full complement of general lectures, each student was required to study grammar with a senior member of his particular "Burse." With Eck as his tutor, Hübmaier plunged into the texts of Alexander and Donat. He was so conscientious in his pursuit of knowledge that Eck had nothing but the highest commendation for him.

3. Sachsse, Carl, Doctor Balthasar Hübmaier als Theologe: (Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche) Studien 20, Berlin, 1914, p. 118. This author provides the major portion of information concerning Hübmaier's years at Freiburg.

4. Ibid., p. 119.

Approximately two years after his accredited university course began, Hübmaier reached the point in his study called magistralen infulam at which a decision had to be made as to the profession one was going to follow. Eck advised his friend to choose medicine, but, as he reports, Hübmaier turned his talents to the study of theology and the pursuit of the religious life.\* Shortly before his course was to begin, however, he left Freiburg and assumed a teaching position in the Swiss city of Schaffhausen. Eck explains that he was forced to travel this road due to a lack of sufficient money. Poor health may also have been a contributing factor. Had the lack of money been the only reason, the church authorities would have come to his aid. Hübmaier's name appears in the "Aller

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\* At a ceremony marking Hübmaier's successful candidacy for a graduate degree, Eck made these remarks concerning his pupil: "In den Anfangsgründen der Grammatik und den leichteren Lehrgegenständen gut unterrichtet, sei er an die Freiburger Hochschule gekommen und da mein Schüler geworden. Es sei wunderbar zu sagen, mit welcher Umsicht und Gier er die philosophischen Lehrsätze in sich aufgenommen, wie er an dem Munde seines Lehrers hing und die Vorträge eifrig nachschrieb. Ein fleissiger Lector, ein unermüdeter Hörer und emsiger Repetitor der anderen Hörer. So habe er mit grösstem Lob die Magister-würde erlangt. Viele hätten ihm zugeredet, er möchte sich den medicinischen Studien zuwenden. Denen habe er geantwortet: Er wolle sich lieber der Gottesgelehrtheit, als der heiligsten Herrin zuwenden, und mit dem Propheten sagen, 'Ich habe sie vorlängst schon erwählt und will ihr eine Wohnung im Heiligthume meines Verstandes bereiten.' Und obwohl die beschränkten Mittel des elterlichen Hauses ihm so hinderlich waren, dass er eine Zeit lang die Hochschule verlassen musste, und, um sich vor Noth zu schützen, eine Schulmeisterstelle in Schaffhausen annahm, so kehrte er doch bei der ersten günstigen Gelegenheit zu den gewohnten Studien und unter meine Leitung zurück. Welche Fortschritte er da gemacht, davon legen seine gelehrten Lectionen, seine Predigten vor dem Volke und seine scholastischen Uebungen hinlänglich Zeugnis ab." From Loserth, Johann, Doctor Balthasar Hübmaier und die Anfänge der Wiedertäufer in Mähren, p. 14.

"Amtlute Buch" of Schaffhausen under an entry dated February 28th, 1507.

"Notiz: Maister Baltisar Hubmer von Augsburg ist aufgenommen uf Reminiscere und hat die Ordnung geschworen."

Perhaps Hübmaier saw this as an unfortunate and objectionable delay, but the friendships made during a year in Schaffhausen were to be useful in later years.

By the beginning of the academic year 1508, Hübmaier had returned to Freiburg and resumed his theological studies. Concurrently, he enlarged his activity in the "Pfaunenburse," debating frequently and proving himself a disputant of consummate skill. As was mentioned earlier, he refers to one of these debates in his Rechenschaft, written January 3rd, 1528. He writes:

"Ettlicher annderer feyrtag halb, als weihnacht, Ostern, pfingsten etc. bin ich wol zufriden, doch nit in so grosser vile, wie jch den vor zwaintzig jaren de non multiplicadis festis zu freyburg im Breussgew Öffenttlich disputiert hab."<sup>5/</sup>

In 1510 his extra-curricular interest led to the managing directorship of the "Pfaunenburse." This important post was held by Johannes Calceatoris, the Dean of the Arts faculty, during Hübmaier's early years at Freiburg. It was an office of no small prestige and involved considerable responsibility.

The fact, as reported by Eck, that Hübmaier shortly became a "Repetitor" speaks well for his ability. A "Repetitor" was usually the brightest student in the class who was chosen

to "repeat" the lectures to his fellow students, clarifying points and answering simple questions.\*

Theological study in Hübmaier's day was primarily devoted to the study of Peter Lombard's sentences. These sentences were contained in a manual of four books called, Libri Quatuor Sententiarum. Lombard designed his work with a view to explaining the whole Roman Catholic system of theology and ethics by the comparison of Scripture sentences and the works of the early fathers. This manual served as the basis of all theological literature in Europe for centuries. The first book is concerned with God; the second, Created Things; the third, the Incarnation, Redemption and Human Virtues; and the fourth, Eschatology and the Sacraments.

Having this as his principal diet of prescribed study, and Nominalism as his forte in the "Pfauenburse," one may appreciate his final despair of sixteenth century theological education. Biblical studies were generally ignored or relegated to a place of insignificance. Long after leaving Freiburg he complained and confessed that he had become a doctor of theology never having completely read the Gospels and the Pauline letters, and without the remotest understanding of Christianity's fundamental beliefs. He received a full diet of Thomas, Scotus, Lombard, and Ockham, and concluded

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\* This procedure continues today in German Universities and particularly where a seminary and a university are in the same city but are not one educational unit. In Tübingen each important course taught in the University's theological faculty has its "Repetent" who sits the university course, has close association with the professor and then repeats the main points of the lecture in the Stift (seminary). This is quite a high honor and carries with it a small stipend.

after some retrospection, that the study had been "Heilish."  
 It is not difficult to conceive what the academic atmosphere must have been with the philosophical courses doubly chaired and the students subjected to contradictory opinions. He wrote these words to the council of Regensburg:

"Ich bin, wie andere, mit Menschenlehre verblendet gewesen und besessen. Deshalb ich öffentlich bekenne vor Gott und allen Menschen, dass ich also ein Doctor worden bin und nochmals etliche Jahre bei Euch und anderwo gepredigt und habe doch nicht gewusst den Weg ins ewige Leben!"<sup>6/</sup>

After a prescribed period of study had been completed, the theological candidate was required to give several lectures in Latin and to answer two disputations. If this work was successfully completed, a special lecture had to be presented over any portion of the Scripture and a further examination passed called Baccalaureus biblicus. At the end of this, the candidate was given the right to lecture on the first two books of Lombard and to be called Baccalaureus sententiarium. After a period of time in this classification and another series of tests, the candidate was called Baccalaureus formatus and allowed to teach the third and fourth Lombardian books. Hübmaier must have finished this work at Freiburg, as he was called "novus professor" when he went to Ingolstadt.

The friendships he made among other students and professors became more meaningful as time passed. Wolfgang Capito was one of Hübmaier's contemporaries at Freiburg. Capito later referred to him as a "Gloriosulus, turbulentus et furiosus vir." Johannes Heigerlin, commonly known as

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6. Loserth, op. cit., p. 41.

Fabri von Leutkirch, also shared Hübmaier's veneration for Eck. Twenty years later Fabri did his best to save Hübmaier from the stake, but to no avail.

During the same year that Hübmaier assumed the leadership of the "Pfauenburse" (1510), Eck was elevated to the doctor's degree. He was then twenty-three years old. Evidently he expected that his achievement would coincide with an advance to a regular teaching position. Incensed when this expectation did not materialize, he expressed his bitterness openly and was denied some previously earned, but uncollected wages. It is easy to visualize how this was received by Eck and the group of lively undergraduates around him. The conspirators divided the responsibility and the paint pots. The following morning a student poem, praising Eck and condemning the administration, stood out boldly from the walls of the university. A written copy was posted in the auditorium. The faculty acted swiftly and in accord, requesting this "clodium vertriebene Cicero" to look for recognition elsewhere.<sup>7/</sup> Had Eck not left immediately, violence would surely have followed. Lesser provocations had caused the "peacocks" and the "eagles" to sharpen their talons. Eck moved to Ingolstadt November 13th, 1510, followed by several devoted students.

Hübmaier remained in Freiburg for another two years, finishing his Baccalaureat and busying himself with the via moderna. The fact that he was given positions of trust and responsibility is enough to refute the accusation made later by the Zürich leaders that he stole a professional cloak from

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7. Schreiber, op. cit., p. 10.

the university. He was graduated September 29th, 1512, and was ordained a priest soon thereafter.<sup>8/</sup> He must have been twenty-seven years of age at this time.

B. Ingolstadt 1512-1516:

From Freiburg Hübmaier journeyed eastward toward Bavaria again after an absence of nine years. His destination was the ancient city of Ingolstadt which lies on the left bank of the Donau at its merger with the Schutter some fifty-two miles north of München.\* In Roman times the city was known as "Aureatum." It had been a royal villa since the beginning of the ninth century.<sup>9/</sup> The charter of civic corporation was granted in 1255.<sup>10/</sup>

Besides the university, founded by Louis the Rich in 1472, the Frauenkirche was the most imposing public building. Hübmaier came to this church as its priest and also assumed the duties of chaplain to the university. Eck's presence at Ingolstadt was a natural inducement to his devoted student and friend. Hübmaier's predecessor in the office, Johann Pettendorfer, had quit Ingolstadt for Wurzburg where he took the miter of a "Weihbischof."<sup>\*</sup> When Pettendorfer finally went over to Luther his heraldic shield was torn from the wall of the university's assembly room and this virtiolic epigram

8. Loserth, op. cit., p. 16.

\* See map in the Notes

9. "Ingolstadt," Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. XII, Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., Chicago, London, Toronto, 1954, p. 352.

10. Ibid.

\* A bishop entitled to a vote on the provincial council.

placed in its stead:

"Desertor fidei, mendax e praesule factus  
 Ex pastore lupus atque lutosus aper  
 Ultricem tulit hanc inverso stemmate peonam  
 Fumida Plutonis quod modo taeda cremet!<sup>11/</sup>

When Hübmaier followed a similar course in 1525, he was given the same verse with these additional words inscribed over it:

"Deus tradat eum in interitum carnis ut  
 spiritus salvus ficit!<sup>12/</sup>

A better idea of what Hübmaier found at the Frauenkirche may be discovered in the pages of Johann Eck's Pfarrbuch für U. L. Frau in Ingolstadt, edited by Joseph Greving. In 1472 the Bavarian Duke, Ludwig, desired to transform the Frauenkirche into a Kollegiatstift (collegiate religious foundation). Two jurists and six arts professors were hired. A further stipulation was made to the effect that the priest of the church, Frauenpfarrer, was to be a faculty member with a doctor's degree. He was to conduct regular daily lectures and preside over the official worship services of the university.<sup>13</sup> Hübmaier's realization of this high office must have been due to the influence of his friend Johann Eck. This notice may be found in the Catalogus parochorum:

"1507. Johannis Pettendorfer, doctor theologie:  
 15 fl. (resignavit.)  
 1512. Baldazar Hiebmaier ex Fridberg, doctor  
 theologie; 18 fl. (resignavit.)

Plümel premature abiit, similiter Pettendorfer.  
 Is tamen consilium dedit Baldasari successari,

11. Rothmari, Valentin, Annabilus Academiae Ingoistad-  
 iensis, 1515, p. 99, quoted also by Loserth, op. cit., p. 16.

12. Ibid.

13. Greving, Joseph, Johann Ecks Pfarrbuch für U. L. Frau in Ingolstadt, (Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte Heft 4 - 5) Druck und Verlag der Aschendorffschen Buchhandlung, Münster, 1908, p. 12.

qui emit ablationes a cooperatores et dedit cuilibet 8 fl., sed et tunc, licet silentium promisissent, tamen ubique ei detraxerunt et populum ab oblatione retraxerunt."<sup>14/</sup>

Eck accepted this office thirteen years later, taking up his duties October 25th, 1525. By this time there were fifteen beneficed clergymen serving the various altars and chapels, but in all likelihood the benefices had not appreciably changed since Hübmaier's tenure in office. Considerable <sup>\*</sup> organizational ability was prerequisite to the task as well as the intellectual capacity needed for university lecturing.

The duties of the various chaplains were carefully worked out. They had to be loyal to the priest, dress in clerics, take part in processions, sing, read, serve, and help in worship when required. They could not preach or hear confession without special permission and had to remain at the church unless specifically allowed to travel outside the city.<sup>15/</sup>

Because there were eight altar benefices, many masses were read daily. These comprised the entire catalogue of Roman ceremonial diversity; ampters, silent masses, preaching masses, early masses and the "Hochamt." Hübmaier performed for the congregation on Sundays and holidays. Extra masses, the "Exequiem," were said for the dead. These had to be observed the first, seventh, and thirtieth day of the month.<sup>16/\*</sup>

14. Ibid., p. 189.

\* Five benefices were established by the government and had precedence. These were "Trinitatis," "Barbarae," "Spiritus," "Catharinae," and "Salvatorem" or "Unsernherrn." Private individuals sponsored benefices, and several were established by the university.

15. Ibid., p. 99.

16. Ibid., p. 79.

\* Great emphasis was placed on the efficacy of the Exequiem. Prince Ludwig "der Bärtige" paid to have sixteen priests sing and pray at his grave day and night; always four men, in shifts lasting six hours.

Each year 157 anniversaries were celebrated and thirty-one "cum capellanis" organized, during which 122 silent masses were read. <sup>17/</sup> The university ordered masses on behalf of the faculty, living and dead, and all generations of alumni. At least ten masses were performed every day of the year. This brought a tremendous revenue into the church.

Religious processions were also numerous. Every Thursday one was held in honor of the Sacraments. This was followed on Friday by another, commemorating Christ's suffering. Daily parades were held during Easter and Pentecost weeks. On Palm Sunday, Easter, Ascension Day and Pentecost these were especially grand. The assumption of Mary was likewise celebrated and funeral processions, pilgrimages, university openings and the dedication of public buildings occupied the vacant time.

Prior to Hübmaier's coming to the Frauenkirche, it was customary for the priest to receive gifts of money at Christmas from the benefices, influential citizens of the city, officials and professors. He would then pass on a portion of the money to his functionaries. Hübmaier terminated this practice. He would not accept money or pass it on. Therefore, he was not invited to the large feasts which were held three times each year. Eck resumed the practice for the sake of public relations. <sup>18/</sup>

The reports of day by day events in Hübmaier's experience in Ingolstadt are again meager. Loserth reports that on August 31st, 1513, he was promoted to "Lizentiat" through the

17. Ibid., p. 79.

18. Ibid., p. 68.

good offices of Eck.<sup>19/</sup> It was on this occasion that Eck gave the glowing summary of Hübmaier's years at Freiburg. Soon thereafter the pupil was moved to return the compliment, and he wrote this verse in favor of his highly respected teacher.

"O felix nimium felix Germania, quae nunc  
 Doctiloquos gignis multisciosque viros.  
 Haud Cleopatream priscus satis extulit umbram  
 Obicient doctum saecula nostra virum.  
 Eckius is meus est Germano sidere natus  
 Illo nimirum Theutona terra vitet.  
 Theologus rarus, iuris sophiaequae peritus  
 Saepius in populum semina sacra serit.  
 Nodosam logicen (si mavis) rhetoris arma  
 Quaeque mathematicus, astronomusque docent  
 Quidquid habet rhetor, historia, culta poesis,  
 Dispeream si non singula solus habet."<sup>20/</sup>

On September 2nd, 1513, he was awarded the doctor's degree, "pro cancellario et promotare Eckio." He immediately took up his duties in the Frauenkirche and began lecturing at the university. No clue remains as to his subject.

We are indebted to Valentin Rothmari for the preservation of an interesting event in Hübmaier's life during this time. It may lend substantiation to Shakespeare's thought that "the evil men do lives after them." In 1513 Hübmaier was fined ten ducats and placed under a three day house arrest for rescuing a student who had been imprisoned for molesting a woman. His popularity with the students must have been immeasurably strengthened. As the story goes, the extrication

19. Loserth, op. cit., p. 16.  
 20. Ibid.

was accomplished through a window.\* Certainly the charge was not serious as it did not mar his standing in the eyes of the university, the city or the Church. This and other bits of surviving information simply help to clarify our picture of this man and show that he was human and liable to the impetuous actions of youth. Nevertheless, it does seem hard to credit this story when viewed alongside the weighty responsibilities of his office.

Soon after Easter, 1515, Friedrich von Brandenburg, Provost of the cathedral church at Wurzburg, was appointed Rector of the university. At that time Hübmaier must have been respected by all, as he was appointed Pro-rector. In this capacity he governed the university's theological faculty. In point of fact, Hübmaier became the virtual leader of the university. Friedrich von Brandenburg was little more than a figurehead.

Hübmaier now carried a large burden of responsibility. He had the oversight of the Frauenkirche and the official chaplaincy of the university, the lecturing to university classes, and the pro-rectorship of the university itself. He filled all these offices well and earned a high reputation in the city.

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\* This event is recorded by Valentin Rothmari in his Annabilius Academiae Ingolstadiensis. "Incarceratus quidem Lucas Vehlin Memingensis, propterea quod pauperem quandam mulierculam nocturno tempore tractarat misere, opera, sed & fraude Balthasaris Huebmair Parochus ab delictum 10 florenis Rhenensibus multatus, & per triduum in hypocaustum Doctoris Zingels ablegatus, ut ne per fenestram quidem prospectus illi esset concessus Laesae praeterea necessaria subministrare coactus fuit, & si contingeret eam mori, ut Lucam Vehlin Universitati sisteret." Quoted also by Loserth, op. cit., p. 17.

His good work here led to his being offered the office of "Domprediger" (Cathedral preacher) at Regensburg. He left Ingolstadt January 25th, 1516, after three years and five months of hard but fruitful work.

By this time Hübmaier may have come to the conclusion that he could make a greater contribution by devoting himself to the pulpit. At least it allowed more intellectual freedom and an opportunity of doing one thing well. He must have been spreading his talents very thin, and his health was not good. There is some indication that criticism and various accusations were being circulated which influenced his decision to leave. This must have little basis in fact, as both the university and the city council gave him written testimonials of their friendship and best wishes for his new tasks. Years afterward the university continued to defend him against slander.

By turning his back on Ingolstadt, Hübmaier put an end to an important chapter in his life. His preparatory years under the tutelage of Johann Eck were behind him. Now, in an intellectual maturity, he set upon a course of his own choice and determination. As long as he was in the immediate proximity of his friend and teacher, Eck's influence would be felt in his thoughts. An influence continuing over a period of nearly thirteen years is not easily ignored or discarded. Had this survived until Hübmaier's convictions were firmly established, it is questionable whether his later life would have been the same. How fateful it was that he severed connections with Eck just one year before the Reformation storm broke over southern Germany! From this point onward, the two

men drifted apart to diametrically opposite sides of the current question. In another eight years they were going to work as strenuously against each other's ideal as they once did for it.

## CHAPTER TWO

### AN ADVOCATE OF ROME

#### A. Regensburg 1516-1521:

Toward the end of January, 1516, Hübmaier entered Regensburg and assumed his new duties. The Regensburg cathedral to which he went as "Domprediger," is a magnificent gothic structure. The passing of time has only added to its beauty. In the pulpit of this edifice, and on the streets of the city, Hübmaier entered into the closing stages of a violent anti-semitic campaign. The intensity of this can be compared only to the Nazi anti-semitism of our generation. The Regensburg Christians had hated the Regensburg Jews for centuries, and the Jews returned the feeling. The reasons for this hatred are reviewed in the following pages.

Hübmaier believed that he was divinely ordained to rid this Christian city of a loathsome and heathen corruption. He purposed to smash every social, political, economic and religious structure raised by the "murderers of Christ." The

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\* Regensburg is one of the oldest cities in Europe. According to tradition, Tiberius founded a city there fourteen years before the birth of Christ. It was called "Castra Regina" and was situated on the site of an earlier village called "Radasbona." After the tribes conquered the area again the name was altered to "Regansburc." Forty variations of the name resulted, such as, "Reganespurch," and "Reynsburg" until it was finally established as "Regensburg." This and more information about the city may be found in Graf Hugo von Walderdorff's, Regensburg in seiner Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Druck und Verlag von Friedrich Pustet, Regensburg, 1896, p. 7.

Jewish downfall was hastened by his zeal. No one doubted the virulent nature of his impact. Ostrofrancus, in his chronicle, characterizes Hübmaier as, "ein prediger wie vom Himmel gesandt." The Jews preferred to believe that his preaching had its origin in Sheol. They scolded him in the streets, raised the cry around his house and, at times, attempted to stone him.

To place this situation in the proper light, considerable attention must be given to the history of the Jewish population at Regensburg and what had happened in the city before Hübmaier made his climactic entrance.

#### B. Social Tensions:

In the midst of the Regensburg Christian culture there existed a Jewish life and tradition actually older than the life and tradition of the Christian population. There is ample evidence that under Roman rule the Jews had organized a large community in the area by 500 A.D.<sup>3/</sup> It was not until 535 A.D. that the Germanic "Bajuwaren" entered the area. This much of the Jewish origin is certain, but their tradition went back much further. During Hübmaier's campaign, the Jewish elders produced a letter and claimed that it had passed between their forefathers and Jerusalem before the birth of Christ.

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1. Ostrofrancus, Christopherus, de Ratisbone, metropoli Bojoariae et subita ibidem Judaeorum proscriptione, Augsburg, 1519, p. 57.

2. Ibid.

3. Grau, Wilhelm, Antisemitismus im Späten Mittelalter, Das Ende der Regensburger Judengemeinde 1450 - 1519, Verlag von Duncker und Humblot, München und Leipzig, 1934, p. 4.

They did this to refute Hübmaier's charge. How could they be the "murderers of Christ" if none of their forefathers were in Palestine during Christ's lifetime? The Regensburg chronicle records:

"Die Juden waren im Besitze eines Briefes, der von den Juden Palästinas vor dem Auftreten Christi und seiner Kreuzigung an die Regensburger Juden geschrieben sein sollte. Damit sollte sowohl der Beweiss für die Unschuld der Regensburger Juden am Tode Christi erbracht sein, als auch für das hohe Alter der Judengemeinde." <sup>4/</sup>

A contemporaneous report states:

"Die Juden haben zu Regensburg gewohnt vor Christus unseres Heilmachers Mensch werdung bis hieher, daselbst eine hohe Schul und Sinagog gehabt, auch eine Sendbrief gezeigt, darinnen ihnen die Juden von Jerusalem, wie-dass sie ihren Widerwertigen und Verkerer ires gesetzes Jesum einen sun Joseph eines Zummermanns angespein, gegeiselt und mit Dornen gekront, gekreuzigt hätten, sich des mit inen zu erfreuen, zugeschrieben."<sup>5/</sup>

It was a bitter pill for the Christians to have the heathen Jewish tradition antedate their own.

The very location of the Jewish portion of the city was another point of rancor. Its center was the present day Neupfarrplatz, the hub of the city. The Ghetto was walled early in the twelfth century to protect the Jews from periodic outbreaks of Christian hostility, but during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the walls had served to confine and restrict

4. Gemeiner Chronik von Regensburg, I, 6, Stable 201, vgl. Beilage 368, reprint in vol. xiii of Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14 bis 16 Jahrhundert, Leipzig, 1824.

5. Scheurl, Christoph, Geschichtsbuch der Christenheit von 1511 - 1521, in Knaake's, Jahrbüchern des deutschen Reichs und der deutschen Kirche in Zeitalter der Reformation, Vol. 1, p. 134.

Jewish social, economic and religious life. The Ghetto's five tower gates permitted access to all the important streets and squares of the city. The synagogue was in the center with shops, business establishments, and dwellings clustered around it in typical medieval confusion. It was a long, Romanesque structure with accommodation for some 300 people.<sup>6/</sup> A distance of only 400 yards separated the synagogue from the Regensburg cathedral. The walls of the Ghetto were not high enough to separate the music of the opposed religions. There was often harmony in their songs of adoration to God, but this only resulted in a harsher dissonance in their mutual relations.

Through the influence of their High School, the Regensburg Jews were under a strict Talmudic religious regime. Since the Talmud is as much a social rule as it is a religious rule, the real leadership of the Jewish community fell to the rabbis. This is not to say that their government was an oligarchy, but it was not far from it.

As a political entity the Jews were independent of the Regensburg Christians and under the direct protection of the emperor. The leadership of the Jewish municipal government was in the hands of the "Rabo" or "Schulklopfers" who carried the title "Judenmeisters." The rabbis stood behind these men and manipulated the strings. In this way the Talmudic rule was stringently applied to every area of life.<sup>7/</sup> Part of the ritual connected with this rule was the necessity

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6. Grau, op. cit., p. 14.

7. Ibid., pp. 17-18.

of a cleansing in ground water. A deep pit was dug for this purpose. At certain times the Jewish women went there for baths of symbolical purification. The Christians were very suspicious of this practice and exaggerated it beyond all reason. Much of the hatred between the two groups was a result of ignorance and the lack of exchange between the two cultures.<sup>8/</sup>

The one public aspect of Jewish religious life was the funeral ceremony. Still within the territory of the Jews, but outside the walls and towers of the Ghetto, lay the Jewish cemetery. This was probably in the present Galgenbergstrasse behind the St. Peterklosterlein. Because the burial ceremony was elaborate and bizarre, crowds of Christians would turn out to watch it. When the constant tension between the two groups was at a high level these crowds often became rowdy. Eventually the council had to protect the Jews by law at these times.<sup>9/</sup> By this public display the Jews demonstrated the closely-knit character of their community. They survived so long simply because of their indivisibility.\*

The cemetery itself was no small place. Jews had been buried there for centuries, and it was recognized as the principal Jewish burial ground in Bavaria. At the time of the dissolution 5,000 grave stones are mentioned as having been thrown down.

Injustices growing out of the violent antipathy were frequent and numerous. More will be said regarding the reason

8. Ibid., p. 15.

9. Ibid., p. 16.

\*. By 1510 the Jewish population stood between 400 and 580 persons. This was approximately 15% of the total population. One out of seven persons in this city of 3,600 people was a Jew, from Grau, Antisemitismus im Späten Mittelalter, p. 18.

for some of them, but suffice it now to list a few common ones. Bodily violence was common. There were public beatings of both men and women. The police contributed slashings at the slightest provocation. A Jew who had been robbed was officially ignored. He was subjected to humiliation by being required to wear distinctive clothing; a special yellow disk sewn to all male garments and two blue strips of cloth in the coiffures of the women. On November 21st, 1505, the city council presented this injunction to the synagogue:

"dass nun hinfür auf gemeiner Stadt Pflaster keiner ohn ein Zeichen oder Kappen gehen soll: welcher aber daruber betretten wurde, der alle zehen Groschen Wandels geben, davon der halbe Teil den Knechten zustehe."

This habit had been prescribed in 1452 -- "Die Mann vorne an ihren Kleidern, Manteln, Rocken gelbe Scheublein und die Judin an ihren Sieiern und Umbpendten auch sichtbarlich Unterscheid und Zeichen, dadurch man sie aus dem Cristen-voik erkenne."<sup>10/</sup>

Any Jew arrested without these emblems in Hübmaier's day was required to pay a fine of two pounds. No Jew could wear an entirely new suit of clothes. Degrading excesses of every sort were prevalent. Christians often spat in their faces. The Jews could not use the public bathhouse with Christians. No Christian mid-wife could serve a Jewess. During "Fastnacht" it was customary for the Christian youths of Regensburg to kidnap a young Jew. The dawn found him tied, naked and beaten and held for ransom at the portal of the Ghetto. The Ghetto

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10. Stern, Moritz, Die Israelitische Bevölkerung der deutschen Städte, Band II, "Regensburg im Mittelalter," Verlag Hausfreund, Berlin, 1932, pp. 2 - 3.

11. A council protocol from 1512 reads: "Mittwochs nach Mattheie ist beschlossen, dass die jungen Bürger mögen etlich aus der Judischheit fahen, doch nit schlagen, und mit ihnen immassen vor Alter herkommen handeln." Ibid.

was closed to traffic at the slightest provocation. This could last for two hours or a period of months. No Jew dared to venture forth during Holy Week. Nevertheless, a small doorway was left open for the Christians to pass articles or to redeem pledges. A general curfew obliged the Jew to remain indoors after one a.m. A scurrilous sheet was published against them containing gutter songs such as:

"Der Jude ist der blinde Hund der verstockt  
ist in seinem falschen Glauben. Mordet und  
Wucher, Stadt und Land arm und leer macht,  
durch bescheisserei und grosse sund reicher  
geworden ist als alle fursten in dem  
Baierland."<sup>12/</sup>

Though excesses such as these added to the physical discomfort of the Jews, they did not appreciably endanger their livelihood. The cruelest blow was struck in the sphere of business and economics. When the feeling against them was reaching its peak, a complete boycott was organized against them. They were obliged to visit the market only during certain hours and heavy restrictions were placed on their loaning of money. The ordinance reads as follows:

"In der hanse ist der Juden wegen vorgenommen,  
dass sie im sommer vor 4 Uhr und im Winter um  
3 Uhr (that is before midday) auf dem markt  
nichts kaufen und an dem ertag (Tuesday) und  
freitag nachts (auf dem sogenannten Abend-  
markt), gar nicht gen markt an der haide  
gehen solle."<sup>13/</sup>

According to a law passed May 25th, 1459, they were prohibited from buying fish on Friday. They were allowed no salesmen and could do no more business than the Christian tradesmen.

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12. Grau, op. cit., p. 148.

13. Stern, op. cit., p. 9.

### C. Economic Tensions:

Concurrent with the upheaval in its culture and religion, Germany was undergoing a transitional period in its economic life. The centers of trade and production were shifting. Augsburg was beginning to totter from its former commercial eminence. Nürnberg, Ulm and other cities were also feeling the effects. Coupled with this instability were natural disasters, concomitant with an economic depression, drought, poor harvest and war.

Regensburg's economy was based upon the small artisan who worked for the local market. This was generally the case in all medieval cities. One of the big industries of Regensburg was cotton weaving. The mills were small and independent family affairs, bound together in a weavers guild. Their output was sold in the local market as well as in outlying areas. In times of prosperity this resulted in many wealthy families.

Early in the fifteenth century the city began to feel the economic pressure through the lack of markets for cotton, honey, salt, iron, cloth and fustian. By 1429, the fustian production had reached a disastrously low level. The producers lost their markets in Austria and Bohemia. Export came to a standstill. Coupled with the lack of foreign markets, and the introduction of a better quality product from Ulm, the Regensburg fustian industry was ruined. This drove them into competition with the linen weavers. The city attempted to subsidize the fustian producers but it availed little. The general depression was felt also by the dyers, painters, wood

carvers and cutlery makers. Apprentices and journeymen by the hundreds lost their jobs, creating conflict between master and workmen, as well as a mass of unemployment.<sup>14/</sup>

The natural elements appeared to be conspiring in Regensburg's downfall. A series of poor harvests and severe winters created a dangerous scarcity of food, and the population was steadily on the increase. Poverty was raising its emaciated face over the city and beggars were contemplating guild organization. The city legislated against strange beggars, closing the gates to them. The lower clergy participated in the common dilemma, while the nobility and ecclesiastical hierarchy kept business as usual in the lucrative and tax-free wine trade. Of course, the city council attempted to salvage and support the manufacturers, but it was woefully lacking in imaginative business technique. It retained one-third of the loaned capital while interest was reckoned on the total amount. People were driven to beg or borrow money from any available source. The Jew was available.

The economic story of the European Jew is well known. Coin of the realm was his only safe investment. It could be transported easily, and it was not subject to deterioration. If he had to flee, he would not have to leave property in the form of land, barns or stock behind. Consequently, the basis for the Jewish economy became the lending of money. This they turned to a fine art. When Christian businesses were prospering, little attention was paid to the Jew as an economic power. But when money was scarce, and more people were driven to the

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14. Grau, op. cit., p. 25.

pawn brokers, his position was seen in a different perspective. Nearly everyone was indebted to him. When these people failed to redeem their pledges the Jew naturally sought to realize something on his investment through the sale of pawned articles. Sometimes he was careless. A person would appear to redeem an article and find that it had been sold. When this happened once too often, twenty-five trade laws were promulgated against the Jews. The Jewish elders countered this measure with twenty-one trade restrictions against the Christians. The sword could cut both ways.

The Jewish money lending was in the foreground of observation, but it was not the only string of their economic bow. It must be remembered that the Regensburg Ghetto was a thousand years old. Within its walls were all the trades. Until the restrictions were laid down the Jews had prospered in grain speculation, cattle, lard, wine, pepper, saffron, spices, linen, fustian, silk, damask, wool, yarn, clothing, bed linen, hats, needle work, furs, knives, needles, nails, plumbing, iron ware, wagons, carts, tin, lead, gold and silver jewelry, drugs and saltpeter.<sup>15/</sup>

Of course, with the depression and a surge of borrowing, the Ghetto became a vast treasury of valuables. This was a common song of the day --

"So einer ein Kleid kaufen wollt,  
gar bald er zu den Juden trollt,  
Silbergeschirr, Zinn, Leinwand, Baret  
Und was er sonst im Haus nit Hätt  
das fand er bei den Juden zuhand.  
Mantel, Hosen und allerlei,  
Das fand man bei den Juden feil. . . "16/

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15. Ibid., p. 33.

16. Ibid.

The business strength of the Jews undoubtedly resided in their unity. Each Jew organized his own affairs, but they were all bound together in a common religion and ethic. No blanket indictment of their dishonesty is justified but, conversely, neither is a claim for their complete virtue. Sixteen trades accused them of concealing stolen property. According to the Jewish national right, a person had only to be ignorant of the property's original owner in order to buy it or take it as a pledge. They received an article on "good faith." They were shrewd enough, however, to suspect if something were stolen or not. They reworked raw material, altered stolen articles, and polished up the old until it appeared to be new. These things were sold in other cities to avoid detection.<sup>17/</sup>

It is not wise to minimize the antagonism created through individual elements of the Jewish business procedure, but the facts that ultimately brought about their downfall go much deeper. Grau attributes it to their general lack of association with Christians in trade. They completely separated themselves and had no sympathy for the distress of their Christian neighbors. As the Christians went down, the Jews came up. They smuggled in products already made in the city and sold them competitively against the local goods. They traded with foreign merchants and ignored the local businessmen. When done on a large scale, this had its effect. Even if the Jews had been absolutely honest in all their dealings, the final effect would have been the same. An economy as

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17. Ibid., p. 36.

shaky and impoverished as was that of Regensburg was only delaying the end by seeking the temporary aid of borrowed money. The regular and lawful interest charged by the Jews was two pfenning per week on the Regensburg pound. In a year this amounted to 43 $\frac{1}{2}$  percent.

#### D. Politics and the Jews:

If the Jews were a force to be considered in the economic life, a complementary appurtenance was their political power. By holding the purse strings of the imperial treasury they were able to manipulate policy in no uncertain terms. In 1519 the prominent actors in this scene of the drama were the princes of Bavaria, the Kaisers Friedrich III and Maximilian I, the councilmen of Regensburg and the bishops.

The background of the story is very involved, so let it suffice to say that Ludwig the Rich, as Kaiser, had mortgaged his ancestral property to the Regensburg Jews for 44,800 florins. The lien against the property came into the hands of the Bavarian Duke Ludwig von Landshut.<sup>18/</sup> Duke Ludwig had no use for the Jews, actually having persecuted them in 1450. Nevertheless, he appreciated their financial value and thus discontinued molesting them. His son, Duke Georg the Rich,

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\* This is the Talmudic advice concerning the loaning of money -- "Den Nichtjuden dürfte man auf Zins leihen, Eine von ihm verlorene Sache brauchte man nicht zuruckzugeben, Ein Irrtum, den er im Kaufen Verkaufen, oder Verschenken beging, wurde ihm nicht gut gemacht. Die Rückvergütung des Kaufpreises, wenn eine Ware um ein Sechstel des Wertes und darüber hinaus zu hoch bzw. zu niedrig berechnet war, galt ihm gegenüber nicht rechtliche Pflicht." Jüdisches Lexikon III, Berlin, 1927/30, p. 107.

18. Grau, op. cit., p. 89.

shared his father's antipathy but looked to his financial position and saw that his role must be that of the Hebrew protector. This received opportunity for its first exhibition during the "Ritualmord Prozess." Several wealthy Jews who were the financial support of Duke Georg's House found themselves in jail and unable to work in his behalf. The annual Jewish tax did not find its way into the ducal coffer. A boycott sapped their finances. Georg concluded that since the city was to blame for the impoverishment of the Jews, the council could pay him the uncollected tax. The city appealed to München and soon thereafter Regensburg became a free city under the direct rule of the emperor. The city belonged to Friedrich II, but the laws of lien and hypothecation were still the property of Duke Georg. This meant that any money destined for the emperor from the Jews had first to pass through Georg's hands. Usually one-half stayed with him.

The emperors Friedrich II (1440-1493) and Maximilian I (1493-1519) were motivated to spread their protecting robes over the Jews by the same thing. Friedrich hoped to use the Jews as his ministry of the exchequer. This was workable as long as his was the only claim upon them, but he was continually plagued by the Landshut nobles. When it came to raising money for the war against Burgundy, the emperor presented a bill for 4,000 florins to Duke Ludwig. Ludwig complained

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\* This was a charge against the Jews that they practiced human sacrifice. The skeletons of several children were uncovered somewhere near the Ghetto. An accusation of murder grew into a genuine legal indictment. The Jews were innocent, but, because suspicion and ignorance were so high, and sober reasoning so low, seventeen Jews were thrown in jail, their goods confiscated, their families made destitute, and a huge fine levied.

loudly, but Friedrich turned him aside with the advice that the money could be raised if all pawns, taxes and interest held by the Jews were turned over to him. <sup>19/</sup> When he saw that events were not progressing as he hoped, Friedrich tried another scheme. He demanded that the seventeen Jews who had been convicted of murdering Christian children by the "Ritualmord Prozess" (1476-1480) be released, but suggested that they be detained until a ransom of 10,000 florins had been paid to him. Therefore, they remained in prison for two years and two months. The city had to pay 8,000 florins and the Jews 200 florins per year for five <sup>20/</sup> years.

The freeing of the Jews renewed the hatred and brought on new persecution. Toward the end of December, 1499, two commissioners were sent from Maximilian to investigate the excesses against the Jews and propose some compromise. March 6th, 1500, saw the promulgation of a new law, which contained these stipulations --

- "1. Punishment for those who physically harm or persecute Jews without legal reason,
2. equal justice for Jews as well as Christians,
3. all pawned articles will be marked as to date, etc. and signed by depositor; if found to be stolen, one-half of the loaned money will be refunded to the Jews,
4. same price of goods for both Jew and Christian,
5. the Jews may buy, sell and work just as the Christians,
6. go to market at any time,
7. Jews may not sell cheese, lard, vegetables or bread,
8. Jews may not buy articles pawned, but only loan money on them,
9. Jews will be allowed to bury their dead in peace, anyone disturbing them will be punished,
10. no Jew may wear a completely new set of clothes; if he does these will be taken away from him,

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19. Grau, op. cit., p. 102.

20. Ibid., p. 108.

11. To the honor of God, the Judengassen will be closed to traffic from Wednesday before Easter until Easter Monday afternoon. Only a little door may be left open for emergencies and in order that the Christians can pawn or redeem articles.<sup>21/</sup>

Duke Georg and the city council were responsible for the enforcement of the new law, but they ignored it completely and the Jewish position was not greatly bettered. By 1501 the Jews were complaining that all the former abuses were back in vogue.

A particularly galling facet of the emperor's patronage was the ease with which audience was granted to the Jews. They would be admitted to him immediately upon request, while the Regensburg council members were obliged to wait six or seven months. The only thing that saved the Jewish community was the emperor's protection. When this terminated at Maximilian's death in 1519, it was doomsday for the Jews.

As far as the Regensburg council was concerned, the Jews had to be expelled. This is important, as the council was the instrument of public opinion. The fate of the community rested in its hands. Its legal arm controlled daily life and brought the inhabitants of the Ghetto to the awareness "dass das Hemd einem näher ist als der Rock." Day by day the Christian community weakened while "the murderers of Christ" grew stronger. The council mirrored the general hatred. Toward the end of the struggle a three pronged attack, combining the sharpened economic attitudes of the Church, the anti-Jewish propaganda of the clergy and the anti-semitism of the people was launched against the Jews. The council never

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21. Stern, op. cit., p. 10.



deviated in its initial purpose even though it ran a dangerous course against the desires of the emperor, the lords of Bavaria and the lesser nobles. It attempted to take the question out of a political realm and prove that the Jews were to blame for the Regensburg distress. The city presented its woes before the "Reichsregiment" at Innsbruck, but the Jews had stolen the march. The deliberations were prolonged but a Jewish victory was a foregone conclusion. This triumph was short-lived. On February 21st, 1519, Maximilian died. The Jewish hopes were buried in his grave.

#### E. The Church and the Jews:

The economic and political dissatisfactions were encouraged by the Church's attitude toward the Jews. The medieval Papacy was one of the foremost advocates of free capitalism. When the Pope saw that his interests and those of the emperor could be mutually served, he granted a papal bull which allowed the Jews to charge interest. This then put the emperor and the Pope on the side of the Jews against the bishops, city councils and lesser clergy.

It is well to remember that the lesser clergy were always liable to the distress of the common people. They lived among them and shared the vicissitudes of their fortune. From this group emerged the popular preachers (Volksprediger) who played such an influential part in the daily life of the Middle Ages. Among other things, these Dominicans and Franciscans agitated strongly against the taking of usury and aimed their verbal missiles against the Jews who were the most obvious, if not the only, exponents of free capitalism. No

doubt many a "Volksprediger" was suffering under the burden of 43½ per cent interest in the year.

In the larger cities, their preaching contributed to the alienation of the Jew. Their rallying phrases, "Fluch dem Wucher," and "gerechte Preise," adamantly expressed the general spite. As is so often the case, there was vast diversity in the attitudes of these men. Unfortunately, the utterances of the majority have slipped into oblivion. The name and attitude of only one Regensburg "Volksprediger" remains. This was Peter Schwarz, commonly called "Nigri." His work cannot be used as a common denominator.

Nigri made the first concerted effort to alleviate or compromise the explosive Regensburg situation. He began his Jewish mission with the wholesome attitude of self-criticism and directed his attack not only against the Jew, but also against the sinful and corrupt Christian population. He prefaced his campaign with the commendable phrase, "Love the sinner, but hate the sin."

"Ich hab yer person lieb, aber yre verstockung  
und yren missglauben und yer possheit hass ich  
allzeit."<sup>22/</sup>

Nigri had unique qualifications for the task he undertook to do. He was a recognized preacher, a debater, a Humanist, a Hebrew scholar, and he had lectured over the books of the Old Testament. He resolved to overcome the Jews with logical refutations of their own arguments. He began to prove the Trinitarian doctrine of God through expositions of countless Old Testament passages which speak of God in a plural sense.

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22. Grau, op. cit., p. 59.

He then turned his attention to the Incarnation of Christ. Neither of these efforts bore fruit, but at least matters were not worsened. He then tried to prove that the Jewish system of sacrifice was applicable only to the Old Covenant and was instituted to protect them from idolatry and heathen worship. Against this he advocated the Holy sacrifice of the Mass and used the Manna from heaven, the bread of the golden table, and the Easter lamb in some analogous sense to the Host used in the Mass. The Jews would have none of this and were incensed at his suggestion to cast off circumcision in favor of baptism. The Jews threw back the fact of Christ's own circumcision. Nigri gave the stock reply that it was done as a testimony to His Lordship over the Law and His descent from Abraham. His new Law connotes a spiritual circumcision. For this reason Christ founded the practice of baptism.<sup>23/</sup>

For the better part of a year this exchange of logic was carried on in a sensible way. Contributions were made by both sides. The achillean heel was touched, however, when the Virgin Birth and the whole Roman Catholic attitude toward Mary was brought into the discussion. In trying to prove Mary's virginity this Hebrew scholar ran into trouble with the language. The Jews brought forward the translation, "prostitute" or "a young girl who has lost her virginity", for the word "halma." That touched the nerve. With a gross blasphemy coming as a culmination to the failure of his other arguments, Nigri's program collapsed and his mission deteriorated into name calling and one violent charge after another. "The Jew

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23. Ibid., p. 70.

is a liar and a swindler!" he shouted. "He is foolish and putrid! He is a false Jew because he willingly remains in his error, casting aside and hating the divine light of God's truth!"<sup>24/</sup> The Christians screamed "false Sacraments" and "ritual murder," while the Jews cursed the Christians with "Götzendienst" (idol worship) rather than "Gottesdienst" (divine worship). They castigated the Christians for disobeying God's prohibition of idol worship, by honoring men and pictures and by fashioning likenesses of the Almighty. They said that the Christians make paintings of their God, pray to a crucified man, and honor pictures of Peter, Paul, John, Mary and the Saints.<sup>25/</sup>

From this moment on, Nigri devoted himself to the expulsion of the Jews. He stressed the idea that God has cast off and forsaken the Jewish people, not only because of their rejection of Christ, but chiefly because of their basic wickedness. Nigri's former exegesis was transformed into a monumental distortion of Scripture. He maintained that the Jews had been a wicked and perverse people from the beginning.

"Dass das Judisch volk von grunt auf, von dem pauch oder leyb seiner mutter, ist es ein schalkhaftiges volk gewesen, auch in der zeit als si waren in dem pesten stand yn yrem landt hat Got der herr sie also genent, viel mer nun yn dieser zeit."<sup>26/</sup>

He goes on to claim that the Jews are not descended from the holy patriarchs, but from the group which was cursed and

24. Ibid., p. 71.

25. Ibid., p. 74.

26. Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, Herausg. von Michael Buchberger, 2. Aufl., Freiburg, 1930, p. 195.

ordered out of the promised land. They are descended from the populations of Sodom and Gomorrah and will surely perish in Hell. Only a handful will turn from their sin and be saved. Because they rejected Christ, God cursed them all.

"Weil sie Christus verworfen haben, hat Gott das ganze jüdische Volk zerstört und verlassen, ausgenommen Christus, Maria, seine Jünger und die wenigen Gläubigen aus dem jüdischen Geschlecht."<sup>27/</sup>

The Jewish conception of the Eucharist was no more sympathetic or enlightened than the Christian conception of Jewish religious practice. The Christians were called murderers and cannibals because they claimed to eat, drink and digest their God. The Jews conjured up mental pictures which infuriated their neighbors; to wit:

"The body of Christ must have been consumed long ago, even if it were as big as a mountain. How could so large a thing get in, or under such a small wafer? It is impossible to think that one body could be in 1,000 cities simultaneously. How can the body of Christ have any rest at all if it is constantly carried in processions? The Christians must have no honor for their God, because at times they burn him, corrupt him, or let him be eaten by worms. Transubstantiation is an impossible doctrine because man cannot make his own god."<sup>28/</sup>

The story began to circulate that the Jews had stolen a Host from the Cathedral, which they soaked, fried and defiled in other ways equally unbearable to the mind of a medieval Roman Catholic.

In this manner the religious side of the tension raged back and forth for years complementing the economic

27. Ibid., p. 237.

28. Grau, op. cit., p. 74.

strain and the political turmoil. One would think that if the Christians had been sincere in desiring the conversion of the Jew, they would have encouraged his decision to enter the Christian fold. This was far from true. One of the prerequisites to such a decision was the surrender of all personal property because it had not been gained in a "Christian" manner.\* Graue illustrates this with the case of a Jewish cantor named Kalman. Kalman wanted to be a Christian and actually spoke to a bishop concerning baptism. His family and friends begged him not to leave the Jewish fellowship, and he was torn between his desire and his duty. Finally the clerical authorities pressed him to make his choice. His electing to stay within Judaism was followed by a legal process and a sentence of drowning because he was not sincere in his original inquiries.<sup>29/</sup>

After Nigri's mission failed, his successors in Regensburg forgot the wholesome ideal with which he had started and produced nothing but a homiletical jumble. The ingredients were a confused theology, a blind hatred and a biased ethic. In 1498 the "Domprediger" closed his sermon with the demand that the Jews be driven out. He promised to tell the congregation how this could be done in his next sermon. Boycott was

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\* Seven things the Jew had to agree to if he wanted Christian baptism as given in Tractatus contra Judaeos, f. 426, Pawlikowski, Constantin, Ritter v., Hundert Bogen über die Juden neben den Christen, Freiburg i. b. 1859.

"Sexta est infortunium quod eis ut in plurimum ex conversione accidit, sie tamen vere convertantur aliqui, nam conversi spreti ob omnibus habentur omnique dignitate aut officio inhabiles. Nominantur eciam iudei conversi, qui potius neofiti appealandi essent, nec mirum, quod communiter girofagi aut lusores aut mimi aut lenones efficiuntur."

29. Graue, op. cit., p. 144.

constantly preached from the pulpit, and excommunication was threatened to anyone who trafficked with the Jews in business.

This detailed survey of the Jewish-Christian problem at Regensburg has been given in order to catalogue the conditions Hübmaier discovered in the city, and to explain the background for the following events. No major emphasis has been placed upon this portion of Hübmaier's biography before. It receives only passing mention, which gives the deceiving impression that the Jewish expulsion was easily accomplished and that Hübmaier did not have to exert himself very much. It would be well to keep these major points in mind: (1) the Jewish population was entrenched through at least 1,000 years of history; (2) it was extremely wealthy, and protected by the State; (3) a disastrous economic condition stimulated old hatreds; (4) there was a complete cleavage between the cultures and traditions of the opposing parties; and (5) the era was not renowned for its demonstration of Christian virtue.

#### F. Hübmaier as "Domprediger":

Hübmaier reports what his first impression was upon arriving at Regensburg. He saw how impoverished the citizens were and attributed their plight to excessive usury charged by the Jews. From the Zürich "Thuferprozess" of 1526, comes this portion of his recorded testimony:

"Als er ouch predicant zuo Regensburg gesin syg, seche er den grossen überschwäncklicher wuocher, und dass auch geistlich und weltlich richter darüber richtind und urteilen gebind. Da bredte er/ das Volk/ an der kanzlien, dass man solichs nit liden noch vertragen sollte. Daran karte sich niemand und blibe anstan, bis dass der Keiser sturbe. Da brach ind die von Regenspurg so vil

zewegen, je dass die Juden von dannen  
muesstind."<sup>30</sup>

There is no reason to think that the sermons which grew out of this impression were any more elevated or reasonable than those of his predecessors had been. Judging by the violent Jewish reaction, they were far more intolerant and unreasonable. Intolerance was common in medieval Germany, but Hübmaier's brand must have been unique enough to encourage attacks upon his bodily welfare.

Toward the end of 1517, the Regensburg council made its appeal to the government at Innsbruck in the person of Prince Johann who was then Administrator of the Regensburg bishopric. As was mentioned earlier, the Jews gained the victory over this appeal through the patronage of Maximilian, but Prince Johann did succeed in promulgating a mandate which threatened any Christian with excommunication who was convicted of charging interest on a loan. In some degree this was a mixed blessing, as it left the Jews with a monopoly over the money lending business. The Christians were now deprived the slight solace of paying interest to one of their more affluent co-religionists.

Hübmaier, however, was not to be deterred. He proceeded to interpret this mandate, which in the meantime had been given Papal backing, in a more favorable fashion. Rising to the occasion, he proclaimed to his hearers that, "we have received a Bull from Rome which clearly states that anyone who

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30. Egli, Emil, Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Züricher Reformation in den Jahren 1519 - 1533, #911 from January 13th, 1526, Druck und Verlag von J. Schabelitz, Zürich, 1879, p. 429.

aids a Jew to gather his usurous interest will be excommunicated." This was a passive way of fighting the evil and it did not satisfy many people. Again there was violence, but the Jews counteracted it by invoking their imperial "safe conduct" mandate.

By 1518 the situation was too serious for the imperial government to ignore any longer. It was decided that the whole question would be treated thoroughly, and in secret, by the Reichstag at Augsburg. Here was an opportunity which Hübmaier could not ignore. He journeyed west to Augsburg with the commission to defend the clergy and to place the city's grievances before the council. His choice as spokesman indicates that he had the confidence of his colleagues and a convincing way of expressing himself. Once he had presented his case at this meeting better things could be expected in the city.

It was not necessary to convince the Jews of this fact. The manner in which they counteracted this threat testifies to their trepidation. They put every wheel in motion to deter Hübmaier in his purpose, and had so much influence with Maximilian that he sent his ambassador, Hans von Kamp, to Regensburg. Kamp stepped before the council and demanded, in the emperor's name, that Hübmaier be stripped of his position as cathedral preacher and banished from the city. He further forbade the council to bring the Jews before its courts, and to take punitive measures to stop the preaching of anti-semitism from the pulpits of the city. The council replied that they could do nothing as Hübmaier was not in the city and the jurisdiction over his status

as cathedral preacher resided in the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities. Kamp retorted that it was the duty of the council members to obey the emperor's decree. Since they controlled the keys of the city, they were obliged to close the gates to Hübmaier. Kamp then delivered the emperor's demand for Hübmaier's expulsion to the cathedral chapter.<sup>32/</sup>

While this was in progress, Hübmaier tried to place his case before the Reichstag at Augsburg. The Jews successfully blocked his attempts. It is doubtful whether he was ever permitted to attend the meetings. Hans Schmöller, who had been commanded by the emperor to defend the Jews at this meeting even though his personal feelings were just the opposite, saw Hübmaier on Saturday, St. Jacobsnacht, 1518. The following sentences were written shortly after his visit with Hübmaier.

"Es wird Mühe geben bevor er zu Gnaden aufgenommen wird. Ich habe Mitleiden mit ihm und kann aus seiner Sache nit kommen. Die Juden triumphierten."<sup>33/</sup>

Although the Jews won a decisive victory at Augsburg, they decided that some additional insurance money would be well spent. With this in mind they dispatched a delegation to Hübmaier in Augsburg with an offer of 12,000 gulden if he would cease and desist in his anti-semitic preaching. Scheurl gives us this report.

"Darzu hat Doctor Balthasar ein Theologus so heftig si gepredigt, dass sie auf bewussten Reichstag zu Augsburg mit 12,000 Gulden Gepotsbrief anbringen musten, im das predigten niederzulegen."<sup>34/</sup>

32. Loserth, J. Dr. Balthasar Hübmaier, p. 20.

33. Ibid.

34. Scheurl, op. cit., p. 134.

This was the wrong approach and served only to stimulate Hübmaier to more effective action. The populace used the attempted bribery as the subject of a song which made the rounds of ale houses and street corners all over southern Germany. One verse reads like this:

"Die Juden theten sich stark roeren  
12,000 Gulden drauf verseren."

The Augsburg meeting very nearly established a special magistrate at Regensburg to deal with civil suits against the Jews. The office was offered to Herr von Sturmfelder, but he refused it. The Jewish position would have been strengthened had he accepted.

Immediately following Kamp's presentation of the emperor's mandate, the city council appealed to the Reichskammergericht to permit Hübmaier to return to the city. With the invaluable assistance of Cardinal von Gurk, this permission was granted; to be sure, it was not without the extracted promise that in the future Hübmaier would devote himself to greater moderation. The city council members welcomed him back with a celebration and urged him not to lay aside the Jewish question. They pledged their complete confidence, gave the assurance that they held him guiltless on all counts, and promised to take the matter before the emperor. They were supported by the widowed Princess Kunigund von Baiern whose goodwill Hübmaier had won.<sup>35/</sup>

As 1518 drew to a close and the new year began, the silence which precedes the storm settled over Regensburg.

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<sup>\*</sup>From Holl'schen Sammlung, cited also by Loserth,  
op. cit., p. 21.  
35. Ibid.

Maximilian was gravely ill and not expected to survive. An interregnum was to be established and with that the downfall of the Jews was sure to come. Nothing had been done in a literal sense, but already the division of the spoils was being debated. Come what might, the Jewish structure was coming down, but to whom would the proceeds go; to the city or to the Austrian State? The question was resolved by the age old axiom -- "first come, first served." The Christian population poised itself around the Ghetto and awaited the inevitable.

#### G. The Death of Maximilian and the Expulsion of the Jews:

The long anticipated death of Maximilian, and the confusion it caused sealed the fate of the Regensburg Jews. Immediately after the news was given out the final act in the long drama of Jewish persecution began. Rioting broke out. Demonstrations were organized around the Ghetto, in the market place and in front of the Rathaus. From every pulpit came the encouragement for action, and Hübmaier spoke the loudest. By the middle of February, 1519, the council had drawn up charges against the Jews. These were announced to the people and presented to the ecclesiastical authorities for endorsement. The blame for the decline and impoverishment of the city was placed upon the Jews.

"dass der Verfall und die Verarmung der Stadt  
das Werk der Juden sei."<sup>36/</sup>

The proclamation was sent to Innsbruck and soon became public

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36. Loserth, J., op. cit., p. 21. also quoted by Scheurl, C., op. cit., pp. 184-5.

in Linz and Heidelberg. A general cry went up for the expulsion of all Jews from Austrian territory. The Habsburgs did not share this general enthusiasm and hastened Dr. Zasius to Innsbruck to represent them. He was too late to stop the universal judgment. February 21st, saw crowds outside the Rathaus at Regensburg claiming that during the last forty years the Jews had extorted 132,000 gulden. Pence for pence redress was demanded. On the same day an announcement was read in the Ghetto. It advised that the Jews could no longer depend on the emperor's intervention and that all Jews had to leave the city within five days. They could take with them any possessions which could be carried in their hands, but other weighty or bulky property was to be left in the care of someone else. What to do with the synagogue was a question which could not be unanimously decided by the city fathers. They brought the matter to Hübmaier. He suggested that it be destroyed, and a chapel dedicated to Mary be erected in its place.

"Da warind etlich in irem Rat, die wolltind die Sinagog schlissen; etlich warind darwider; nun schichtind si nach im (Hübmaier), fragtind in ouch rats. Da riete er inen, dass si die Sinagog nit schlissend, sonder ein Kapell darus machtind in der ere unserer lieben Frowen; und damit sie widerumb geeret wurde, so sollte man es 'zuo der schonen Maria' namen; dann die Juden hettind's vor entuneret; und wann dann die Juden hortind, dass man's also gnampt hette, wurdent villicht si und der adel sich der sach desterminder annemen und beladen/"<sup>37/</sup>

The destruction of the synagogue was to begin two hours after the reading of the announcement.

The Jews had been expecting the end, but they did not

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37. Egli, op. cit., #911, p. 429.

meet it with a stoical attitude. It was with great gnashing of teeth that a procession was organized to transfer the scrolls, sacred articles of worship and other important documents to a safer place. To the accompaniment of the Songs of Sorrow the procession made its way to the home of Rabbi Samuel.<sup>38/</sup>

Some of the Jews hoped to tear down the building with their own hands rather than have the Gentiles defile the structure with theirs, but this hope was short-lived. No sooner had the building been cleared than the Christian workmen appeared on the spire and began tearing it down. The demolition was pursued with such reckless abandon that a workman named Jakob Kern was buried beneath a wall. His friends bore him away for dead amid the jeering of the Jews, but the next morning he was back on the job. He said that as he fell he called on "die schöne Maria"<sup>39/</sup> at which she took him in her arms and saved him. This was the first of a flood of miracles to be recorded at this spot.

As soon as the Jews were out of the way, the Christians came by the thousands to aid in the destruction. The bishop arrived followed by the higher clergy, and with his own hands began to clean away the tainted debris. The wealthier women of the city worked next to their maid servants and the men. Not having worked off enough hatred, the mobs proceeded to the Jewish cemetery. After tearing down the gate, they laid waste to the area. The Widmann chronicle reports that 5,000 grave stones were uprooted and carried into the city for building material.

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38. Loserth, op. cit., p. 22.

39. Ostrofrancus, op. cit., p. 25.

"In diesen Tagen warf man der Juden Grabsteine um, führte sie in die Stadt zum Bau; es waren ihrer über 5,000, hübsch und gut."<sup>40/</sup>

Many of these were used in the building of the new chapel.

After all had been done to deface the cemetery, the women of Regensburg erected a cross in the middle of it to commemorate the great day.<sup>41/</sup>

While the destruction of the synagogue progressed in a more orderly fashion, the mob began a systematic looting of the Jewish homes. They uncovered some remarkable things. Secret rooms and passages were discovered under the synagogue. A large stone, covered with what appeared to be blood stains, was found in one of the rooms. This was all the evidence they needed to vindicate the "Ritualmord Prozess." They found subterranean fire places which suggested alchemy and the smelting down of stolen objects. They discovered a labyrinthian<sup>ne</sup> series of passageways connecting all parts of the Ghetto and providing clandestine access to the outside. This explained why it was so difficult to locate stolen goods. With their looting completed, the mob returned to assist in the final stages of the synagogue's destruction.<sup>42/</sup>

It was a mark of particular spirituality to take a vigorous part. Farmers brought their wagons from miles around to carry away the useless rubble. Young girls put on their festive clothing and paraded with lamps in their hands, signifying the wise virgins of Matthew's Gospel. After a few days

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40. Widmann, Leonhard, Chronik von Regensburg a. a. 1519, in Chroniken der deutschen Städte, Band XIII, Leipzig, 1878, p. 32.

41. Grau, op. cit., p. 158. 42. Ibid.

the synagogue had completely vanished. While final plans were drawn for the new chapel, "zur schönen Maria," an altar was consecrated in a rude shed and masses read continually day and night.

On March 25th, 1519, the permanent altar was consecrated by Archbishop Peter Krafft while the builders were still completing their work. After the celebration of the Eucharist, Hübmaier preached the first sermon in the chapel. In honor of his part in the expulsion he was named as the first chaplain of the new chapel. Again Widmann records the details:

"An heut, den 25. Marci ist der altar in der hilzen capellen geweiht worden, durch herrn Peter Krafft, weihpischofen, got zu lob das erst götlich ambt gehalten worden. Item es gefiel gross guet dazu; und nach tisch hat Doctor Walthasar Hiebmaier, thumprediger auf dem Platz gepredigt."<sup>43/</sup>

Back to normal once again, the Austrian government required the city to pay reparations to the Jews for the destruction of the synagogue, cemetery and personal property, but that was no deterrent to the general and enthusiastic rejoicing. The citizens summed up their feelings with this verse:

"das ist gar recht,iez seind mir fro benedicamus Domino."<sup>44/</sup>

The immediate result of these proceedings was a mass pilgrimage without counterpart in the history of southern

43. Widmann, op. cit., p. 32. Widmann says that Hübmaier was given the honor of naming the new chapel and gave it the name "zur schönen Maria." Possibly he chose this because it was the name of his charge in Ingolstadt. "Demselben erber Doctor muest es zu der schenen Maria heizen."

44. Grau, op. cit., p. 153.

Germany. Pilgrims by the tens of thousands inundated the city, spilling into every vacant niche, and kneeling en masse before the chapel to receive the priest's blessing. Constant adoration was in progress within the chapel. A picture of Mary was hung from one of the pillars. The worshippers sang, danced, and prostrated themselves in front of it. Miracles by the score began to be attributed to this picture. When the news circulated to outlying areas new thousands poured into Regensburg, hundreds having come from Bohemia, Moravia and the eastern side of the Rhein.<sup>45/</sup>

With these pilgrims came gifts of homage almost beyond number and description. The general wish was that they be used to defray the cost of a genuine edifice in honor of "the mother of God." The council quickly acquiesced to this desire and prudently made itself the Patron of the church. On September 9th, 1519, the corner stone was laid on which were inscribed the names of the Administrator, the Archbishop and Hübmaier, the first chaplain.

Hübmaier's duties were numerous, but the most important was the faithful recording and numbering of miracles which were experienced in the church. His first report to the council listed no less than fifty-four miracles within a space of seven days. This stimulated new pilgrimages and gave rise to a rash of religious fanaticism. Women with insufficient clothing

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45. Straus, Raphael, Die Judengemeinde Regensburg im ausgehenden Mittelalter, Heft 61, (Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur mittleren und neuern Geschichte), Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, Heidelberg, 1931, p. 92. This author states that in no other city was the Jewish expulsion accompanied by so much outward and miraculous religious manifestation.

marched through the streets carrying pitchforks and scythes and a dancing mania seemed to seize some who gazed too long at the Marian placard. Because this disgusted Hübmaier, he sought out a reason for it from his friend Wolfgang Reichard, the city physician. Reichard suggested that it was the result of nervous irritation.<sup>46/</sup>

When one of the citizens of the city asked Luther to comment on the miraculous happenings, the reformer gave this laconic answer:

"It is my considered opinion that the Devil has taken up the residence of the dispossessed Jews and is doing things in the highly esteemed name of Mary for his own benefit."\*

During the first six months no fewer than 3,864 masses were read in the new church, an average of twenty-one each day of the week. By 1522 the cumulative total had risen to 25,374. It is estimated that shortly after the dedication of the new building, fifty thousand pilgrims were in or near the city. Two church functionaries, whose sole duty was to number the pilgrims and gather their gifts, were not sufficient to cope with the deluge. The income of the church for 1520 amounted to 2,000 gulden, not counting the money placed in the offering

46. Loserth, op. cit., p. 25.

\* Luther, Martin, "Luther an Bürgemeister und Rat der Stadt Regensburg" in Weimar Ausgabe, Luthers Briefe, Bd. 3, p. 141-2, #652. A letter from 1523. "Ich wollte leichtlich erweisen, dass der Teufel, nachdem die Juden vertrieben sind, sich selbst an ihre Stelle gesetzt hat und durch den hochgelobten Namen Maria Zeichen thut und Euch sammt anderen betrugt. Auch ist das ein gewisses Zeichen des Teufels, dass die Leute so geschwind zulaufen, gleich Unsinnigen während doch der hl. Geist ein Geist des Rathes ist, der nicht so ungestum fährt auch nicht lehret Gesinde, dem Herrn entlaugen, sondern Gehorsam halten. Wir sind nicht so fromm, dass die Meiligen sich so öffentlich zu uns thun. Das glaubt sicherlich." --

boxes. The total of 2,000 gulden was figured on the value of gold and silver bowls, chalices, candlesticks, dishes, valuable paintings, jewelry and other miscellaneous articles.\*

Needless to say, Hübmaier was carried along on this wave of religious enthusiasm. Not many months passed, however, before the tide ebbed and he was left on the sand surrounded by the peculiar regurgitations of this cataclysm. Had the triumph over one evil given rise to a greater one? The Zürich investigation again reports Hübmaier's thoughts during this period.

"When the chapel was completed there was an enormous influx of strange people to whom I was asked to preach. This I did, but soon realized that there was danger of a serious abuse. I preached against this, and time bore out my fear."<sup>47</sup>

Illustrative of the abuse Hübmaier feared is this hymn in honor of Mary. It indicates the extent to which

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\* D. Michael Beuther in his Chronicle of 1566, written at Strassburg says: "Es lieffen Männer, Weiber, Kinder, Knechte, Magde, und allerley andere Personen, etwa eynen sehr weiten Weg ungesen und zum theyle mit mancherley rüstunge, Sichel, Milchköbel, Hewgabel, Kechen, Beihel und dergleichen wie es jergend eynen oder den andern in seiner arbeyte, zu hause oder zu feld ankommen, und aus seinem geburliche Dienste, oder von Gott aufferlegtem Beruffe getriben. Etliche kame es bey nächtlicher weile an, dass mannicher kaum eyn Hemd erwüschet, und seine Wallfahrt zu leisten dahin zoge. Etlich lieffen tag und nacht ohn eynig reden, und zwar nicht anders, denntalle, vnsinnige oder vom bösen Geyste besessene Leuthe, und gaben für sie konten oder müchten nit bleiben. Wann nun solch Gesind zum Marien-Bilde kam, ubergabe ein jedes nach vermögen und gelegenheit, sein Opfer von Golde, Silber, Wachs, oder anderen Dingen. Da wurden uzehliche vil Messen gehalten, mannicherley fürwitziger unbevohlener Gottesdienst erdacht vil Blinde, Lame, und andere dgl. gebrechliche Leuthe dargebracht, welche danoch zum theyle etwa zu gesundheit widerumb kamen, und froehlich daruon zogen. Ab aber solch wunderlich wesen für Gottes oder des Teufels werck zuhalten, mag ein jeder Christ, nach der Regel Gottliches Wortes leichtlich haben zu richten."

47. Egli, op. cit., #911, p. 429ff.

Mariolatry went when given the proper setting.

"To Her, God Himself must obedient be,  
 And according to Her will agree,  
 Far less important is the Son  
 When from the Mother's breast he's hung.  
 Such is right and concrete reason  
 A means to prove the true, or treason.  
 Who Mary's command loyally obeys,  
 Will find his way to Heaven one day."<sup>48/</sup>

1519 merged into 1520 amid general yuletide and New Year rejoicings, but ominous clouds were gathering again. Regensburg was not to enjoy its ill-gotten gain without paying a price. During the spring, a dispute broke out between the city council and the ecclesiastical authorities over the question of the "Marienkirche" patronage. The council sought to keep the exclusive administration of the church and the substantial income connected thereto. The ecclesiastics claimed that they had been collecting funds for such a foundation long before the council had thought of the idea. Caught in the middle of this dispute, Hübmaier was forced to take a stand, although he tried for some time to remain neutral. He ultimately decided in favor of his professional colleagues and said that the chapel had been erected to the glory of the Almighty

48. Schelhorn, Johann Georg, "Nachricht von Dr. Balthasar Hubmár, einem der ersten und vornehmsten Wiedertäuferischen Lehrer in Deutschland" in Schelhorn, J. G. Acta Historica Ecclesiastica, I, Ulm, 1738, p. 115.

The hymn reads in German:

"Gott selbst muss ihr gehorsam sein/  
 und thun nach ihrem willen sein:  
 Die Mutter ja vil mehrer ist/  
 Als der Sohn/ wann er hängt an brust/  
 Solches die Vermunft und das Recht  
 Ausweisen thuen/ warhafft und schlecht.  
 Wer sich Maria thut befehlen/  
 Dem thut der Himmel gar nit fehlen."

and not with a design to the council's financial increase.<sup>49/</sup> He suggested that a division of the receipts could be made, but neither side viewed this proposal favorably. Hübmaier was placed in an awkward position. This dispute also provided an opportunity for the igniting of grudges against him that had been smouldering under the surface.

The Mendicant friars had long bemoaned the fact that their church, dedicated to St. Erhard, was empty. There had been a mass exodus to Hübmaier. The depletion of their alms boxes encouraged them to preach against attending Hübmaier's chapel. They gave the advice that it was better to seek the home of St. Erhard because he was there in the flesh. The Mendicants probably started the rumor that Hübmaier was a magician and thus able to draw the crowds to him. Here was something with popular appeal. Soon it was common knowledge that Hübmaier was either the victim of demonic possession or that he had the power to conjure up some poltergeist gifted with an appeal to numbers.<sup>50/</sup>

Nevertheless, the chapel continued to flourish throughout 1520 until another enemy showed itself inside the walls of Regensburg and among the pilgrims they sheltered. The plague

49. Mau, Wilhelm, "Balthasar Hübmaier," Dissertation - Freiburg i. Br., Abhandlung zur Mittl. und Neuen Geschichte, #40, Berlin und Leipzig, 1912, p. 9.

50. Schelhorn, op. cit., p. 114.

"Balthasar Huebmair, Pacimontanum Theologum, primum ibi Sacellanum instituerunt, qui diffamatus fuit homines fascinasse, ut longis itineribus quibuscunque negatiis occupati ex Urbibus, villis ac ipsorure, quasi spiritu aliquo rapti veloci cusu Ratisponam currerent, ac praedicatum ligneam aedicueam, quasi mentus impotes visitorent." From Wigulei Hund Metropoli Salisburg, Tom. 1. f. 144 edit., Ratisbon, 1719.

made a pilgrimage to the "Marienkirche" and exhibited its gregarious nature by carrying away hundreds of people. There were still processions in the streets, but those taking part were mute and their destination was an isolated graveyard. Crowds no longer gathered outside the "Marienkirche" and the receipts drastically diminished. The Mendicants now criticized the money wasted through the building of the imposing edifice.

The accumulating difficulties with the council and his ecclesiastical colleagues coupled with his despair over the flagrant fanaticism and the grudging attitude of former supporters, made Hübmaier's position uncomfortable toward the end of 1521. It may well be true that just at this time he began reading some of Luther's writings and hoped for a chance to ponder these new ideas in a quieter atmosphere. Whatever the final reason was, he made inquiries and was offered a better benefice at Waldshut. The cloister of Königfelden had jurisdiction over this Black Forest parish and accepted Hübmaier's application on the strength of Count Palatinate Johann's recom-  
51/  
mendation.

In November or early December of 1521, Hübmaier left the red shield and two silver keys of Regensburg's crest behind him and journeyed westward once again to the Black Forest. The red shield was a symbol of Regensburg's piety, and the keys signified its dependence upon the Church at Rome.  
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51. Loserth, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

52. Walderdorff, Hugo, Graf von, *Regensburg in seiner Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Druck und Verlag von Friedrich Pustet, Regensburg, New York, Cincinnati, 1896, p. 64.

It is to be regretted that no official mention is made in the city records as to the reason for Hübmaier's departure. After he became an Anabaptist many odious and completely false charges were made concerning this event with an eye to enlarging his guilt. He did not leave because he was accused of preaching heresy, nor was he ordered out by the council. 53/

In order that he would not leave the city in sore financial straits, the council gave him a purse of forty gulden in gratitude for his good service in the city. In the introduction of Ein kurtze Entschuldigung (published at Nicolsburg in 1526) Hübmaier gives this account of his departure:

"How it was that I left Regensburg is known to the illustrious Prince Johann, administrator, my especially gracious Lord, and also to counsellor Fuchs of the city board and general council. Wilhelm Wyland, also a member of the council, transported me and my household effects on his barge from Regensburg to Ulm. I was not required to pay duty at any of the boundaries or check points, nor to show the pass I received from the Regensburg council members who I hold in high esteem." 54/

Hübmaier, at the age of thirty-six, was now on the threshold of an experience so different from that which he was leaving behind that he himself did not realize even a small portion of its implications.

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53. Loserth, op. cit., p. 25.

54. Hübmaier, Balthasar, Ein kurtze entschuldigung, Christopher Froschauer, Nicolsburg, 1526, Introduction. Appendix #XV, pp. 11-12.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE YEARS OF INDECISION AND THE BEGINNINGS OF REFORM

#### A. Waldshut 1521-1524:

"I was built by Albrecht, Count of Land,  
Whose Son, Rudolf, God had in hand.  
The House of Austria founded he,  
Which high aloft was swung in radiant prosperity!  
Preserved in bounty for all time,  
Loyally have I returned in kind.  
With body, life and blood  
Did I stem the menacing flood.  
Beleaguered by sixteen thousand Swiss men-at-arms  
For seven weeks and a day without the slightest harm.  
This was truly my glorious fate in  
Fourteen hundred and sixty-eight.  
Because so well did I guard my trust,  
Austria's House so loved, honored and protected from  
thrust  
Archduke Sigismund to me permitted.  
A red lion with white outfitted,  
In a blue field illuminated  
So my crest was thus created.  
Through your name, O God, preserving  
This noble tribe so richly deserving."\*

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\*Translated from the following verse which is carved  
on Waldshut's "Oberes Tor."

"Landgraf Albrecht hat mich erbaut/ dessen Sohn  
Rudolf/ Gott vertraut/ hat gestiftet das Haus Oesterreich/  
welches gloriurding und mildreich sich geschwungen hoch  
empor der Hochst erhalte allzeit im Flor/ fur das hab ich  
getreu hergeben mit meinem Blut/ mein Leib und Leben da  
das benachbart Schweizerland wohl mit sechzehn tausend Mann  
mich sieben Wochen und ein Tag ohn geringsten Gewinn belagert  
hat und alles dieses war vollbracht im Jahr vierzehn hundert  
sechzig acht/ da Erzherzog Sigismund im Schild zu fulzren mir  
vergunnt ein roter Low mit weiss verziert im blauen Feld  
illuminert weil ich mich hab so trefflich g'wehret Haus  
Oesterreich liebt und best geehrt O Gott erhalt durch deinem  
Namen diesen so hochst glorreichen Stammen/ "

When Hübmaier read this announcement over Waldshut's east gate he probably complimented himself on his new charge. In spite of the lauding verse, however, there was a period in Waldshut's history during which its loyalty and love of freedom found expression in a way displeasing to the Habsburg House. Though brief, this defection was stormy and accompanied by acts of open rebellion. Its failure is now either forgotten or ignored. The prodigal did return, but father Austria was content neither to await his return with patience, nor to reward it with clemency.

Besides an interesting and varied history, Waldshut still boasts a natural beauty not unlike that of neighboring Switzerland. It abounds in densely wooded hills and green valleys of productive farming land.

During the early sixteenth century the Habsburgs used Waldshut and its environs as an exclusive holiday and hunting area. Rudolf von Habsburg considered the city the most prominent of his possessions in Breisgau. From a purely military point of view its location was strategic. A glance at the map in the Notes will confirm that Waldshut, along with Säckingen, Laufenburg, and Rheinfelden guarded the only roads over which armies could march into the under-belly of the Upper-Austrian territory. Situated directly on the Rhein, it was also in a position to control all river traffic passing between Konstanz and Basel. In Hübmaier's day, the Rhein formed the natural barrier between Austria and the Swiss kanton of Aargau.

The boundaries of the city as Hübmaier knew them are still to be seen. The stout wall continues to confine the old

city; the southern portion dropping directly into the river from a height of sixty feet. One main street bisects the city from east to west and is bordered by open drains. Within the old city no significant architectural changes have been made in the last five hundred years.

When Hübmaier entered Waldshut the ecclesiastical chapter was composed of twelve secular priests who were divided between the "upper" and the "lower" churches. Hübmaier was installed as the priest of the former body and aided in his duties by two helpers. Eight chaplains worked under his direction. Konrad Armbruster of Laufenburg filled the office of priest in the "lower" church and was also Dean of the rural chapters.<sup>1/</sup>

Waldshut's serenity and stability did much to assuage Hübmaier's tired body and confused mind. He was now removed from the Mendicant jealousy and the bickering between council and cathedral which had been so unsettling to his life in Regensburg. He no longer had to tally miracles and speculate as to the value of the Mariolatry which grew out of his anti-semitic preaching. The miles between the two cities helped to mitigate the shame he probably felt and allowed him a freedom with no loss of prestige. When one is convinced of a personal blunder, it is natural to flee from the scene forthwith and to seek an obscurity among people who are unfamiliar with one's past. Whether Hübmaier admitted any such shame or confusion, even to himself, is a speculation. He refers to his new home

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1. Schreiber, Heinrich, "Balthazar Hübmaier, Stifter der Wiedertäufer auf dem Schwarzwalde" in Taschenbuch für Geschichte und Alterthum in Süddeutschland, p. 35.

as, "my little nest" so he must have been contented.<sup>2/</sup>

The course of his early ministry in the city suggests that he was afraid of losing all that he had gained through thirty-seven years as a Roman Catholic. He sensed that something was amiss in his religious convictions, but the alternative was too extreme and foreign to what he knew and cherished. He sought to repair the inroads of decay in a way honored by time and tradition. If the display, the pageantry and the forms which appealed to the senses could be newly activated, a salvation was possible. He became an even greater ceremonialist, far out doing his predecessors with innovations in worship and gala festivals in honor of Christ's sacred Body. He threw himself into his work, giving particular attention to the care of the suffering. He feverishly observed all holy days and preached at every opportunity. In the summer he blessed the return of good weather from the door of the church. Fabri reports:

"Insonderheit hat er es für gottlich angesehen dem hochwürdigen Sacramente neue Ceremonien aufzurichten."<sup>3/</sup>

Because of this two year dedication, he completely won the hearts and confidence of the Waldshut citizens. They had an unrestricted faith in him, but he had no faith in himself. Regardless of how he innovated, supported, bolstered and repaired, he realized that as far as personal satisfaction was concerned his labors were for nought. He was substituting

<sup>2.</sup> Loserth, Johann, Doctor Balthasar Hübmaier und die Anfänge der Wiedertäufer in Mähren, p. 26.

<sup>3.</sup> Heigerlein, Johannes, Ursach warumb der Wiedertäufer Patron unnd erster Anfenger Doctor Balthasar Hubmayr zu Wien auff den zehnten Martii Anno 1528 verbrennt sey, Wien, 1528. See Note A.

equally rotten boards for those he threw away. His dedication to the task was beyond reproach, but the material he had to work with was not meeting his own high standard. A superficial structure of some merit was erected, but its foundation was out of plumb. His spare time was devoted to the reading of Scripture, particularly the Pauline books of Romans and Corinthians, a thing which he had never done before. As his hands built, his mind and heart razed until he reached a state of mind between hope and fear. He saw that the Church was in immediate need of reform, but how was it to be accomplished?

In the summer of 1522 Hübmaier was studying the writings of Luther and keeping his eye on the rapid spread of the Lutheran heresy throughout southern Germany. He shared the new ideas with his friend, Johannes Adelphus who was a physician and translator of medical books at Schaffhausen. Hübmaier also discussed the heresy with intellectuals in neighboring cities. His religious confusion forced him to seek guidance and help from men of his own background. He could confide his doubts to none of those around him as their minds had not yet grasped the enormity of the problem.

At Basel in June of 1522, he discussed Purgatory and part of John's Gospel with Busch, Glarean and Erasmus. Busch impressed him as a man of principle, but he characterized Erasmus as one who "speaks courageously, but writes fearfully." Hübmaier was looking for straight-forward answers and an "Open Sesame" to a new realm of thought. This trip convinced him that he would have to rely on his own resources. No one was ~~overly~~ anxious to take a stand which might bring about his downfall, regardless of personal conviction. In the course of this

visit he also learned that many priests were marrying secretly. He reported the phenomenon to Adelphus on the 23rd of June, 1522.

From Basel he made a pilgrimage to his alma mater at Freiburg, but the returning alumnus failed to recapture the carefree joys of his undergraduate days. He writes:

"I have found the city absolutely different in nature from the claim of its name. It is not 'free,' but in bondage, and torn apart by biased partisanship."\*

The return trip was lightened by the stimulus of discussion and debate which Hübmaier led in a competent manner. Many topics were discussed, but the major emphasis was placed on Purgatory and the meaning of the Mass. With his return to Basel, he observed how quickly the convents were emptying and how readily the celibate vow was being broken.

He returned to Waldshut with a mass of new impressions and applied himself more diligently to his study of the Scriptures. Part of a letter to Adelphus speaks of this study:

"Quod iam multo tempore nihil dederim ad te litterarum, nimial occupationes tum domesticea, tum eciam literariae Pauli ad Corintho scripta nunc sudo, absoluta ea quae est ad Romanos."

#### B. Hübmaier returns to Regensburg, 1522:

In the late summer of 1522 the Regensburg council sent Hübmaier urgent entreaties to return there and resume his duties. In the meantime, the differences between council and bishop had

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\* This and the following quotation are taken from Loserth, op. cit., p. 27. Hübmaier's letter to Adelphus may be found in Veesenmeyer, Georg, Vermischte Beyträge zu der schwabischen Kirchen und gelehrten Geschichte, Ulm, 1765, p. 232.

been settled. The whole question of patronage had been placed before the Bavarian Duke for arbitration. Out of the ensuing discussions it was agreed that the bishop was to retain the spiritual jurisdiction over the chapel, the control of bequests and the right of investiture. As Patron, the council was responsible for the proper administration of the income.<sup>4/</sup>

The decision to leave Waldshut was not easily made, but Hübmaier finally did accept the offer. His new duties began on Advent Sunday in November of 1522. He was welcomed back by a crowd of Regensburg citizens. Hübmaier took up the ceremonial banner again and pursued his work with determination. On December 8th, he began to preach expository sermons from Luke and mentioned that he intended to work through the Gospel during one preaching year. His love for display had not diminished in the slightest, but he was now coming to the conclusion that an appeal had to be made to the mind and heart as well as to the eye. He organized processions with this dual purpose in mind. A sermon was usually preached somewhere along the way. It became as common to see Hübmaier preaching on public thoroughfares as in his own pulpit. The content of this preaching was decidedly evangelical, and no small part of it was devoted to the criticism of any preaching which was not Christ-centered. His Mendicant brethren felt the verbal whiplash again. Hübmaier pointed to Nürnberg and claimed that three of that city's ministers were preaching "Christ" in an unadulterated manner. There were many in Bavaria, he said, who would do likewise but

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4. Loserth, op. cit., p. 27, and Schreiber, op. cit., p. 24.

were being restrained by the government.

As the days passed, he intensified his New Testament study, perused the writings of Luther and kept his eye on the dispersion of the evangelical aspiration throughout Switzerland. Concurrently, he evaluated the effectiveness of his preaching and wondered what the consequences of it might be. He saw that its powerful content could cause open schism in the city again. Although the average person would welcome and respond to the revolutionary conclusions that he was formulating, the council and the ecclesiastics gathered around the bishop would prove formidable in defense of their beliefs. Hübmaier was not the kind of man who could be content only to tell others what was right, valuable and beautiful. He was compelled to illustrate these conclusions with a recitation of what he considered wrong, valueless and ugly. While there were no Jewish apologists, it was quite safe for him to present tirades against the "murderers of Christ", but not so now if the object of his attack was to be the Mother Church and her contemporary failings. To criticize the State was safe enough. It had always been cursed for one thing or another, but a criticism of the State's religious policies was a step not very far removed from a criticism of the Church itself. As long as he attacked something which was disliked by the community in general, Hübmaier had nothing to fear. If such an attack, however, did not have the support of the community's prime movers, the council and the ecclesiastics, the one who voiced it was in danger of being given short shrift. By this time there can be no question that Hübmaier was inclining toward the left, but he wanted to be sure that the spot to which he wanted to leap was

at least as firm as the one whereon he then stood. Any open break with the Church was impossible for him to make in Regensburg. Hübmaier probably listed the pros and cons of the question something like this: the laity would follow where he led; that had been demonstrated in 1519. Perhaps many of his cathedral colleagues would join his opposition party. The council members might even follow him, because they were not happy with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, no matter what mediating influence had been exerted to the contrary. But two groups in Regensburg would have opposed any reforming desires Hübmaier had. The Mendicants would have opposed him on general principles. They were jealous of his ability to sway the masses and would do anything to thwart his purpose no matter how worthy or justified. And secondly, the bishop and his immediate circle of higher clergy would trample to dust anything that looked like a threat to their comfortable position. The bishop was too near at hand. Waldshut offered a much more favorable location for reform. There, Hübmaier himself was the head of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, answerable only to the tottering convent of Königsfelden near Windisch, and to the bishop whose seat was in Konstanz, some seventy-five miles, or two days strenuous journey, removed.\* Waldshut was also very near Zürich where the Swiss reformation was rapidly gaining headway. His position with the Waldshut people was firmly established, and he would be close enough to Switzerland to draw strength from the movement there. Above all, he was not free to think in Regensburg. There were

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\* On November 20th, 1523, the City of Bern made it possible for the nuns of the Königsfelden convent to renounce their vows and leave.

too many odious past associations which militated against his desires for the future. He had not yet made up his mind as to which way he would go, but there was no possibility of like-minded sharing in Regensburg. In Waldshut he could not only discuss his doubts with others, but also he could observe and study a reformation in progress.

Consequently, Hübmaier made his decision to leave Regensburg for the second time. He left before his probationary year was completed and returned to Waldshut on Sunday, March 1st, 1523. As an indication of their goodwill and disappointment at his leaving, the Regensburg council made him a present of fifteen gulden. His position was waiting at Waldshut and the populace welcomed him back with sincere enthusiasm.

#### C. Return to Waldshut and Contact with the Swiss Reformation 1523:

Only one month passed after Hübmaier's return before he was in close contact with the Swiss Reformation. During April of 1523, he met with Zwingli in Zürich and discussed with him portions of Philippians and James and the Scripture passages pertaining especially to baptism. Reporting this meeting, Hübmaier said that Zwingli was opposed to infant baptism on the grounds that the Scriptures especially state that children should not be baptized until they have received proper instruction. <sup>5/</sup> Soon after this meeting Sebastian

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5. Ein Gespräch-- "habe ich mit dir (Zwingli) persönlich conferiert/ die Schrifften von dem Tauff/ auf dem Zürichgraben/ da hast du mir recht geben/ das man die Kinder nit Tauffen solle/ eh sy im glauben underricht seyent/ es sey vor zeitten auch also gewesen/ der halb man sy catechumenos genennt hab/. . . Darbey ist gewesen Sebastian Ruckensperger/ von S. Gallen/ danzmal Prior zu Sion zu Klingau/" Appendix VIII, p. 28.

Ruckensperger, Prior of the Klingau convent, invited Hübmaier to be a guest preacher at St. Magnus' Church in St. Gallen. Hübmaier readily accepted this invitation because a trip to St. Gallen would put him in touch with Vadian. The two men found much in common and became good friends. On May 3rd, the citizens of St. Gallen and St. Leonhard joined forces in a grand pilgrimage into the mountains to participate in the papal remission of sin. The burghers called on Hübmaier to preach. This he did, choosing the angelic annunciation of Luke's Gospel as his text. The profound impact of this sermon caused the people to follow him to his lodgings after the procession, and to plead for more of the same. Standing in the doorway, Hübmaier preached again, this time from Galatians.<sup>6/</sup> His magnetism was operative among individuals as well as among the masses. Vadian said in the summer of 1524 that Hübmaier could return to St. Gallen any time he cared to. He would be assured of a friendly welcome.

Returning to Waldshut, the reformer may have begun innovations in worship on a small scale, but in Zürich the Reformation was forging ahead unabated and possibly faster than Zwingli was willing to go. The clergy were marrying by the score and the convent at Octenbach was dissolved. Religious ceremonies were being conducted in German and the "Chorherrnstift" of the Grossmünster had been reformed according to Zwingli's ideas. The rumor was spreading that the Mass was no

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6. Simmler, Johann Jacob, "Reformations Geschichte der Stadt St. Gallen" in Sammlung alter und neuer Urkunden zur Beleuchtung der Kirchengeschichte von nämlich des Schweizerlandes, Vol. I, Bd. I, p. 118ff.

sacrifice after all and that the honoring of pictures was idolatry and forbidden by Scripture. The radical wing, led by Grebel, Vadian's brother-in-law, Manz, Blaurock and R ubli, was advocating a complete change in religious practice. More people were taking up the cry every day. Finally the city council compelled Zwingli to call another disputation before the matter went beyond control. This was hesitatingly done and the meetings began October 26th, 1523. The disputation was organized in a way honored by tradition, having complete ecclesiastical backing. The subjects to be discussed were: (1) the meaning of the Mass, and (2) the legitimacy of religious pictures. Several hours before the disputation was to begin, the Rathaus was crowded out. Everyone who had a professionally religious calling was in attendance and others who were interested but uninvited, waited in the street outside. As it was, six hundred people crowded into the hall. They were so tightly squeezed together that there was not room enough to kneel down. H bmaier made the journey from Waldshut to take part in the disputation. Zwingli opened the meeting with an invocation for God's Grace and Blessing. It was decided to give the matters at hand a complete airing. H bmaier's contributions to the discussion may be found in Vedder's book between pages 58 and 65. There is no need to reiterate all of it here, so let it suffice to give the gist of his statements. Before speaking his mind, H bmaier commended the city for calling the disputation and urged that the Holy Scriptures might judge whether images were lawful or not. He said:

"The holy Writ is the only light which may  
disperse the darkness of human wisdom. The  
error in the Mass and in the images must be

made known only through the true and clear word of God, because whatever is built upon that is sound and enduring -- the word of God cannot be slain." 7/

Evidently, he had nothing more to say in this regard during the first day, but if he had immediately agitated against images, his additional words could not have been more cogent. With these few words Hübmaier, the strict, ceremonial traditionalist, cast aside the conclusions of former Roman councils, the attitudes of the papacy, and a millenium of Roman Catholic tradition concerned with images, pictures and holy relics. For all this, he substituted the simple authority of Scripture and claimed that it had the first and last word in the matter. One runs a danger of impertinence by being repetitious, but it cannot be stressed too strongly that just months prior to this time Hübmaier was leading worship in a hyper-traditional way. Almost overnight he had come to the conclusion that his ministry had been misdirected and that he now had to bring it in line with Scriptural authority. That he reached this conclusion by himself cannot be questioned. During the deliberations of the second day Hübmaier said that the previous discussion clearly outlawed images as far as the Scriptures were concerned. After several others had spoken he again rose and quoted a verse with

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7. For a more thorough survey of the second Zürich disputation see the eye witness report of Ludwig Hetzer which appears in Salat's Chronik (Archiv für Schweizerische Reformationsgeschichte I, p. 61) also Heinrich Villinger's Reformationsgeschichte, von Hottinger und Vizeli, Zürich, p. 126ff. and Bauz, Al, Zwingli's Theologie, pp. 324 - 341. For Hübmaier's part see Loserth, op. cit., pp. 30-31, and Schreiber, op. cit., p. 27ff. A concise summary of the debate may be found in McNeill, J. T., The History and Character of Calvinism, Oxford University Press, New York, 1954, p. 39 ff.

a view to ending the discussion. It did. He quoted:

"Cursed be the man that maketh any  
graven or molten image, an abomination  
unto the Lord. Deut. 27:15."

It is ironical that the Jews had used the same verse against the Christian idolatry at Regensburg.

The third day's debate was devoted exclusively to the meaning of the Mass. Here feelings ran high and the debate became chaotic. What seemed propitious to one was pernicious to another. Zwingli could hardly keep order. He was willing to repudiate the Mass as a continuous repetition of Christ's sacrifice, but he suggested that it could be a continuous representation of that act. Hübmaier gave five points which may be abbreviated as follows:

- "(1) What is celebrated in the Mass is the remembrance of Christ's death through which he offered himself once and for all. As a sacrifice the Mass profits neither the living nor the dead. As I cannot believe for another, neither am I permitted to celebrate the Mass for another; it was instituted by Christ as a sign in which the Faith of the believer is confirmed.
- (2) The body and blood are only tokens of Christ's words. Therefore, the priest should proclaim only the pure word of God of which these are signs.
- (3) He who does not proclaim the word of God does not celebrate the Mass.
- (4) The Mass should be read in the common vernacular. Latin for the Latins, French for the French, and German for the Germans. Christ did not speak 'calichutisch' to his disciples.
- (5) He who celebrates the Mass must endeavor to feed, not only the spiritual, but also the physical hunger of his people. He must do this by example."<sup>8/</sup>

He concluded this speech by acknowledging that his interpre-

tation of the Scriptures might be in error. He would welcome any illumination which those present could offer him. He only prayed that such illumination and criticism be given in the Spirit of Christ.<sup>9/</sup>

Hübmaier began to preach these ideas from the pulpit after his return to Waldshut. Simultaneously, he worked on plans for a thorough reformation along the lines of that which he had observed across the Rhein. He continued to follow Zwingli's pattern for nearly a year. The Waldshut people were quick to grasp the new ideas as their priest worked through a series of sermons based on Scripture and designed to appeal to the spiritual consciousness of the congregation. He condoned no violence, and the beginnings of reform were carried out quietly and without disturbance.

Neither the clergy nor the leading citizens criticized him for his conduct at Zürich, but the Upper Alsatian government office at Ensisheim did not approve and was busy during November of 1523 preparing legal action against him. The bone of contention was not Hübmaier's theological position, but the fact that he presumed to speak for the entire Black Forest.

On December 5th, the Waldshut council was informed that Hans Immer von Gilgenberg, the Governor at Ensisheim, and Ulrich von Habsburg, the Provost of Laufenburg were going to hold an investigation at Waldshut during the forenoon of

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9. Loserth, op. cit., pp. 30 - 31.

December 9th.<sup>10/</sup> The government was sorely displeased and had prepared three charges against Hübmaier. The council was shocked but rallied in time to cover their dismay with a brave front. The commissioners arrived on time and delivered their charges.

- "(1) The city was sheltering a doctor who preached things contrary to the emperor's pleasure. The emperor demanded that this man be banished from the city.
- (2) Hübmaier was preaching an original Gospel which was causing a scandal throughout the surrounding countryside.
- (3) He had gone to Zürich and represented himself as an official delegate from the Black Forest without official sanction and presumed to speak for the cities of Waldshut, Säckingen, Laufenburg and Rheinfelden."<sup>11/</sup>

The council members listened patiently until the commissioners had finished, and then answered that they knew of no such person as represented in the indictment. Their Doctor was theologically sound, as far as they could tell, and he had adhered to all the published imperial and episcopal mandates. They were confident that the other clergy and Dean Armbruster would confirm that Hübmaier was only attempting to preach an unadulterated Gospel. Such an attempt could not be contrary to the emperor's pleasure. As far as his participation in the Zürich disputation was concerned, the commissioners must have been misinformed by Hübmaier's enemies. They asked why it would not be a good idea to allow Hübmaier to appear in person to

10. "Schultheiss und Rath der Stadt Waldshut an die Statthalter Regenten und Rathe im Oberelsass. Bericht über die Thatigkeit Imers und Ulrichs von Habsperg wegen der Auslieferung des Balthasar Hubmaier Waldshut, 1523, Dec." This report is printed in Archiv für Osterreichische Geschichte, Vol. LXVII, pp. 95 - 99.

11. Loserth, op. cit., p. 31.

the charges? No doubt he could do it to everyone's satisfaction.

Immer and Ulrich did not expect such a resolute answer or welcome the tendered suggestion. Hübmaier, they asserted, would forthwith disclaim his guilt and, as far as they could see, there was no one present who could judge whether he was heretical or not. The dinner bell sounded at this juncture and fifteen minutes later Hübmaier had heard the whole story from two of the councilmen.

When the afternoon session was convened, the two councilmen who had seen Hübmaier, appeared with his hastily written petition of innocence. The stubborn attitude of the council, however, more than Hübmaier's note, compelled the commissioners to grant the city from ten to fourteen days in which to decide what action it was going to take in the matter. It was to forward its decision to the government.

That same afternoon Hübmaier directed a letter to the Zürich council, asking that it send a testimonial of his innocence to the Bishop at Konstanz. In this letter Hübmaier first uses the phrase "The Truth cannot be slain," which he assumed as his own slogan henceforth. Part of the letter reads:

"Darmit aber die recht gründtlich untüdtlich  
warheit an die Sonnen khume, bitt ich umb  
gottes willen und durch das jungst gericht,  
Ew. Weyshheiten wollen mir ein öffentliche  
kunstschaft meiner unschuld in schrifte  
zuschicken und anzeigen, was massen mich  
mit warten und werken bey euch ze Zürich  
gehalten habe . . ."<sup>12/</sup>

The Zürich council gladly complied with his request

and wrote immediately to Konstanz. He had said a few words at Zürich, it reported, but nothing that could be construed as heretical. He was guiltless of the charges brought against him and had proposed nothing more than what was common grist for such a theological mill.<sup>13/</sup>

By December 15th, Waldshut had prepared its reply to the authorities at Ensisheim. How thorough or objective the council's own investigation was is not certain, but one may assume that its bias was pro-Hübmaier. The councilmen found no taint of heresy clinging to his robes and suggested that some group which bore a grudge against the city and its priest was behind the injustice. If this reply did not meet with the government's favor, it would be best to send someone to Waldshut capable of judging the caliber of Hübmaier's theology. If this were not possible, they demanded that a pass of safe conduct be granted him for his trip to Konstanz. Ten days later the city forgot this encounter in favor of Christmas joys.

#### D. The Beginnings of Active Reform 1524:

If 1523 were the year of conscientious searching for Hübmaier, 1524 became the year of decision. He renounced the celibate vow and married Elsbeth Hügline, the daughter of a Reichenau burgher. The city honored the nuptials with a great feast January 13th.<sup>\*</sup> This and the news from Zürich caused considerable excitement in Waldshut. After a new disputation the

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13. The original of this letter is in the Zürich city archives.

\* See Loserth, op. cit. p.44 Loserth's authority for this is a letter from Salat to St. Hilarius.

religious affairs of Zürich were in the hands of a supreme council. This council had asked Zwingli to preach the Word of God. At the end of April the Kanton of Appenzell was clamoring for the preaching of the Gospel. A Carthusian monastery at Ittingen in Thurgau was razed. Everywhere people were reading the Bible.

Hübmaier decided that it was time for him to declare himself in print. His first pamphlet entitled, Achtzehn Schlussreden so betreffende eyn gantz Christlich leben/woran es gelegen ist,<sup>14/</sup> was the result. This had been prepared shortly after his return from Zürich, but because of the government's intervention, Hübmaier thought it wiser to await a more propitious moment to publish. The work is addressed to all members of his Synod and calls for a discussion over certain controversial issues. In all probability it was circulated privately among the Waldshut clergy before appearing for public consumption on June 11th. Because it is short and the first example of his reformed thought, a complete translation will be offered. It might be suggested that the winning of the minds of men whose theological dispositions he knew already, was a secondary reason for these articles. Their tone indicates that his purpose was to jar the thought of his colleagues and to appeal to the minds of the Waldshut populace.

#### "Eighteen Conclusions"

I, Balthasar Frydberger-Doctor and Priest at Waldshut wish Grace and Peace in Christ Jesus our Lord to all my Synod brethren and chaplains.

Dear Sirs and brethren, According to an Apostolic practice, when difficult problems confront the Faith (It is

necessary and fitting) that certain of those who have been called to preach the Divine Word should gather together in the Spirit of Christ to examine the Scriptures, in order that, through the contents of God's Word, the Christian sheep may be illuminated and guided. In the past, these gatherings were called Synods, but now we refer to them as Chapters or Fraternalis.

Since now in these last, dangerous times little has been done to counteract the great error and division which has infiltrated our Christian Faith, and also because it is our duty to nurture the spiritual, as well as the physical lives of our sheep, let us lay aside all rumors and shameful words. I beg and admonish you, dear sirs and brethren, through the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to observe the Scriptural foundation of these conclusions, and then to bring your questions and comments to the next Chapter meeting at Waldshut. Here we will discuss these things in a cordial and fraternal manner. Will you please bring your Bibles in order that we may not be blinded and confused by human wisdom which has corrupted our highest thoughts and opinions for so long. If you do not own a Bible, bring your Mass books anyway. In this manner we will be able to dispense Christian instruction based on the Holy Writ. Afterward I invite you all to be my guests at a fraternal dinner. I could not allow you to return home hungering and thirsting. Live well in Christ, our only Saviour.

- (1) Faith alone makes us just before God.
- (2) This faith is the knowledge of God's Mercy which He has shown us through the offering of his only begotten Son. Thereby all superficial Christians who have nothing but an historical Faith in God are laid low.
- (3) Such a Faith must not go empty but must manifest thanksgiving toward God and all manner of works of brotherly love toward mankind. Hereby all mock ceremonies are pushed aside, such as candles, palms, and holy water.
- (4) Only those works which God has commanded are good, and only those which He has forbidden to us are bad. Here fall fish, flesh, cows, plates.
- (5) The Mass is not a sacrifice, but a remembrance of Christ's death. Therefore it may not be offered as a sacrifice either for the living or for the dead. Soul Masses, sevenses, thirtieths and annual festivals are for nought.
- (6) As often as such a remembrance is held, the death of the Lord should be preached in the common vernacular. Herewith all mute Masses fall together in a pile.
- (7) Pictures are good for nothing. Consequently, the money that has been previously spent on wood and stone should be laid to the good of the living and thirsting images of God.

- (8) As each individual Christian believes and is baptized for himself, so must each individual decide through the aid of Scripture whether his shepherd is administering the elements properly.
- (9) As Christ alone died for our sin, and we are baptized in his name only, so also shall he alone mediate for us in heaven. Here fall all pilgrimages.
- (10) It is much better to interpret one verse of a psalm to the people in their own language, than to sing five whole psalms in a strange tongue which is not understood by the congregation. Here disappear matins, prime, tierce, nones, vespers, compline and vigils.
- (11) All teaching which God himself has not planted is worthless, condemned, and should be uprooted. This drives Aristotle, the Scholastics, Thomas, Scotus, Bonaventura, Ockham and also all teaching which does not come out of the Word of God to the ground.
- (12) An hour will come, and is here now, when no one will be considered a priest who does not preach the word of God. Here fall the sayers of early masses, suffragists, requiemists, and the sayers of intercessory prayers.
- (13) The members of the congregation are obliged to provide food and necessary clothing for the one who proclaims to them the pure Word of God. This pushes to the ground all Courtiers, pensioners, incorporators, absentees, liars and dream prattlers.
- (14) Those who seek purgatory are they who have spent long years building a belly to worship. They are like those who seek Moses' grave -- it will never be found.
- (15) To forbid priests to marry, and then to ignore their carnal lewdness, is to release Barabbas and execute Christ.
- (16) To demand chastity within the power of man is nothing more than to command one to fly over the sea without wings.
- (17) Whoever, for the sake of worldly gain, denies or says nothing concerning the word of God, sells God's blessing as Esau sold his birth-right for a mess of pottage, and will also be denied by Christ.
- (18) He who does not earn his bread by the sweat of his brow is condemned and not worthy of the food he eats. Herewith are condemned all idle sluggards, wherever they may be found.

"The Truth cannot be slain"

1524

Quite apart from the sensation caused by this open

avowal of reformed thought, the theological temper of the pamphlet is interesting and important to the Hübmaier story. In truth one may question whether the contents are primarily theological or not. Far more space is devoted to the practical application of the Christian faith than to systematic theology. As more of Hübmaier's writings are presented for our consideration, this will continue to be observed. Hübmaier never wrote treatises wholly devoted to specific theological topics such as the Atonement, the Person of Christ, Sin, and the like; but scraps, concerning all these, may be gathered here and there as he drives toward his goal of making Christianity practicable and in tune with Scripture. Hübmaier dealt with doctrine only as it applied to, or helped to explain his current idea.

An original theology is equally hard to find. Most of what is presented in these Achtzehn Schlussreden may be found in contemporary writings of any of the reformers -- particularly in those of Luther, Melanchthon and Zwingli. This brings us to the query -- to what extent was Hübmaier influenced by those reformers contemporary with him? His first conclusion has a familiar ring.

It is true that Hübmaier never expressed his indebtedness for a reformed idea to its first advocate. He was not prepared to be the disciple of anyone else, and, more often than not, he placed himself on a par with those whose ideas he adopted. He was a man with a reputation of his own. His education was as good as any at the time, and his prestige as a preacher, teacher and administrator was well established. Moreover, had he professed open gratitude or indebtedness to Luther,

Melanchthon and Zwingli, being in the position he was, he would have given his adversaries one more reason to persecute him. Conversely, the other reformers never showered an abundance of praise and admiration on Hübmaier. Luther had not been complimentary in his statements regarding the Regensburg pilgrimage and actually mentions Hübmaier only once in print. This was in answer to a later accusation that Luther denied infant baptism in one of his early works. Sachsse substantiates his claim of Hübmaier's ingratitude with a remark given in Waldshut's Entschuldigung. Therein lies the assertion that it is slanderous to intimate that Hübmaier and the other Waldshut clergy were preaching the Lutheran heresy. What follows this statement, however, sheds a rather different light on the problem and shows that Hübmaier was not anti-Luther, but rather pro-Christ.

"In the second place, those who claim that we are guilty of Lutheran teaching, are doing us a great injustice. We do not know who Luther is, and we also do not acknowledge his teaching. No doubt he is a human just as we are. If he indeed speaks or writes the truth, he does not do it of himself but of Christ. We confess Christ and daily come to know him better through his holy word . . . We are not baptized in Luther's name or in the name of any other man, except Christ. In His name we bow our knee and not in Luther's. In His name are we saved."<sup>15/</sup>

That Hübmaier was called "Lutheran," is no evidence that he followed Luther's thought. "Lutheran" was synonymous with "heretic" and often Zwingli was similarly labeled.

In two places Hübmaier expresses a rather veiled admiration for Luther. In one of his writings to the Regensburg

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15. Ein Wahrhaftig Entschuldigung und Klag gemeiner Stadt Waldshut. Original in Basel Stadt Archiv. See Note B.

council he refers to the rapid spread of evangelical Christianity in southern Germany and defends it by suggesting that all of Saxony could not be fools. Later, in his Ainfeltige Unterricht, he draws a parallel between Emmaus and Christ, and Friedrich of Saxony and Luther.<sup>16/</sup>

Hübmaier certainly knew the literature of the Lutheran school whether he was influenced by it or not. He used Melanchthon's Annotationes in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos et Corinthios and asked his friend, Adelphius to send all of Melanchthon's writings to him for study. Of Luther's writings prior to 1524, he doubtless was familiar with In epistolam Pauli ad Galatas M. Lutheri commentarius 1519, Sermonen von dem Wucher 1519 & 1520, Verklärung D. Martin Luthers etlicher Artickel in seinem Sermon von dem heiligen Messe 1520, De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium 1520, Bulla coenae domini, das ist, die Bulla vom Abendfressen des allerheiligsten Herrn, des Papstes, verdeutscht durch Martin Luther 1522, Von beider Gestalt des Sacraments zu nehmen 1522, Von weltlicher Oberkeit, wie man ihr gehorsam schuldig sei 1523, and particularly, Eyn Sermon von dem heiligen, hochwürdigen Sakrament der Taufe 1519. More regarding the latter will be said in connection with Hübmaier's attitude toward baptism.

Returning to Hübmaier's first and second conclusions, we see that if he does exhibit Lutheran indebtedness, it is neither fully understood nor correctly stated. Had he been of one mind with Luther, there would have been no need for the third conclusion which urges that works of brotherly love must accompany faith. This was obvious for Luther under the

correct interpretation of the phrase "justification by faith." Hübmaier commandeered the phrase, but not all of the thought behind it. Whether it was Luther who influenced Hübmaier's thought at this point is conjecture. He may well have reached the conclusion by himself. He had studied the New Testament carefully for five years prior to the publication of these conclusions. Galatians 2:16 could hardly have escaped his observation, and his special interest in Romans would have been rewarded with passages such as 3:34, 4:25, and 5:16-18. Luther provided a provocative German phrase which Hübmaier bent to his own purpose.

All the reformed thinkers during the early years of the sixteenth century were contributing their ingredient to the common theological stew. When one reserved a dipper full of this concoction as his own, something contributed by each of the others was bound to appear in his bowl. Until one man organized his thoughts into a system, the contributions of all were the common meat of all. In one of the two areas where Hübmaier was to make a unique contribution, to wit, baptism, the field was wide open to speculation. Curiously enough Luther, Zwingli, Jud, Oecolampadius, Hübmaier and others were in quasi agreement. This will be made clear during the discussion of <sup>von</sup> Hübmaier's epic Von dem Christennlichen Tauf der Gläubigen, and the complementary writings of the others. It would be well to keep the eighth conclusion in mind. Whether or not Hübmaier immediately realized the implications of this statement is questionable, but it does indicate that the problem was on his mind long before he had close contact with the Swiss Anabaptists.

These Schlussreden are important also because they show how completely Hübmaier had broken with tradition and begun to affirm the authority of Scripture. Only those works which God commanded -- in His Word -- are good. Only the teaching which God has planted is worthwhile. All teaching which does not emerge from God's Word should be cast aside. A strong biblicism was to remain the most important characteristic of his religious thought.

The traditional interpretation of the Mass was swept aside in favor of a ceremonial remembrance. The celebration of the Supper had to be complemented by preaching in the common tongue. Christ's exclusive mediatorial office is affirmed in Conclusion nine, and it is combined with a renunciation of pilgrimages. This is singular when it is remembered that Hübmaier had ignited the most consuming fervor for pilgrimage that southern Germany had ever experienced. The most significant portions of this pamphlet, however, are those in which the duties of Christian living and witnessing are emphasized. The priest must preach with a view to the spiritual, physical and moral betterment of his congregation (Art. 12). Any service or ceremony is condemned which does not have this as its goal (Art. 3). The people must understand what is being said in order that their confession of Christ may be meaningful (Art. 10). The days when worship for the laity was a passive conformance to ritual and a vicarious ceremonial sharing, were over as far as Hübmaier was concerned. If one wanted to be called "Christian" he was obliged to use what talents he had in Christ's service.

Shortly after this writing was published he put his

congregation to work.

According to the bishop of Konstanz, Hübmaier did not honor his promise to feed the bodies of his Synod brethren after he had fed their souls.<sup>17/</sup> As the bishop's report is dated February 20th, 1524, the meeting must have been held several weeks before. The other Waldshut ecclesiastics were generally antagonistic, but none had the knowledge, will power, courage or inclination to oppose him. Only his two helpers were won to the new ideas. The meeting served primarily to alienate the feelings of Armbruster and confirm the suspicions of the others. No such suspicion was shared by the citizens of Waldshut. Every day after the publication of the Articles, the people drew closer to their preacher while the exciting tidings continued to arrive from Zürich.

In Waldshut as well as in Zürich, Pentecost Sunday, 1524, was designated as the day for the spreading of the Gospel. With the consent of the citizenry<sup>2</sup> assured, Hübmaier ignored those who were remaining true to the old religion and forged ahead with his reform. Two neighboring cities of Kenzingen and Rheinfelden also joined in casting off their religious ties. A considerable number of priests in the outlying areas were won to Hübmaier's church betterment standard. Among these were Ulrich Wagner of Dogern, Hans Ulrich Müller of Stein, Hans Rebmann of Griessen in Klettgau and Valentin

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17. "Bericht des Bischofs von Konstanz über Hübmaier." Gesandt an Statthalter Regenten von Oberelsass, von diesen an den Erzherzog, 20th Feb., 1524. This may be found in the Statthalterarchiv in Innsbruck, Pestarchiv Vol. XVIII, p. 55. See Note C.

Fastmüller of Altstettin.<sup>18/</sup>

Emotions ran high around Hübmaier again. Men and women mingled together freely during the worship services and joined in supporting their pastor against the loud but futile objections of Heinrich Gutjahr. Junker Gutjahr, the Waldshut civil prosecutor, raised the only public objection. He was woefully outnumbered and was obliged to beat a hasty retreat. The people vowed to adopt Hübmaier's teaching and to protect him with their very blood. Dean Armbruster and eight chaplains left the city, making their way to Thiengen by way of St. Blasien. For the second time Hübmaier had been instrumental in bringing about a city-wide movement.

The Waldshut reformation was patterned after that which Zwingli had so recently organized in Zürich. A new order of worship appeared in the churches with German being spoken throughout. Pictures, images, statues and other decorations, catalogued as idolatrous, were abolished. Both elements were administered to the communicants during the Lord's Supper, but Hübmaier made it plain that the people were eating only bread and wine. He discouraged calling upon Mary for intercession and allowed the people to eat meat on Friday.

With the Waldshut situation temporarily stable, it is now necessary to gather together a few threads of history which have been neglected in order that the salient facts could be

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18. Küssenberg, Heinrich, "Beschreibung ettlich denkwürdiger Sachen, die sich während der Glaubensänderung hin und her in der Eidgenossenschaft, auch den umgränzenden Orten zugetragen" published in Sahrn, Bened., Geschichtliche Darstellung der Schicksale und der jezigen Beschaffenheit der Stadt pfarrei Waldshut, Schaffhausen, Hurter, 1820.

given without confusion.

Concurrent with the new evangelical aspiration sweeping Germany during the first quarter of the fifteenth century, was a new social and economic hope. This too made its appeal to the lower classes, particularly to the peasants. As Hübmaier's name was linked with the resulting Peasant Revolt, a few words should be devoted to it. \*

The first outbreak of open hostility against the landed aristocracy occurred during August of 1524, in the Black Forest near Stühlingen, but there had been minor disturbances in scattered areas earlier in the year. On June 28th, Duke Josef am Berg aus Schwyz painted a very dark picture of the peasant activity in Thorgau to the Governor of the area. Had the governor investigated Duke Josef's charges, he would have found them to be grossly exaggerated and based upon a personal antagonism against Untervogt Wirth von Stannheim whose popularity Josef envied. Moving ahead, the Governor ordered that Pastor Oechsle of Burg be seized and incarcerated for his malicious and inflammatory preaching. During the night of July 17th, Oechsle was seized out of his bed, but not before his cry for help was heard and the alarm sounded. People streamed to his aid from all sides; distress shots pealed from the walls of Hohenklingen Castle, and a general pandimonium ensued. Not knowing what to do after they had gathered and armed themselves, the people vented their spleen on the Carthusian

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\* See Schreiber, Heinrich, Der Deutsche Bauernkrieg, 3 Vols., Freiburg, 1863, p. 66; and Bax, Ernest Belfort, The Social Side of the Reformation in Germany, Vol. II, for an excellent discussion of the Peasant uprising.

monastery at Ittingen. Breaking down the gate, they plundered and destroyed from cellar to garret before burning the monastery to the ground.<sup>19/</sup> Armed bands of peasants began to prowl the countryside.

Emperor Ferdinand watched what was happening in the Black Forest with an ever increasing anxiety. The authority of the Church was being denied by a heretic priest at Waldshut, and the authority of the State was being denied by groups of revolutionary peasants. Both of these threats to Austria's stability had arisen in the same general area. Ferdinand concluded that the dual revolts had a common source. Organized action had to be taken against both immediately. But if Ferdinand was organizing, so were the peasants. They formed themselves into a fellowship called the "Evangelische Bruderschaft" and took the footgear of the German peasant, called the "Bundschuh" as their emblem. This rough legging, bound with leather thongs, symbolized for the peasant his feudalistic oppression.

In the Black Forest area Hans Muller von Bulgenbach was the principal peasant leader. He learned the arts of war in several campaigns against the French. When asked to define just what sort of animal this "Bundschuh" was, Bulgenbach replied, "He usually feeds on roots and herbs, but when driven to hunger, may consume priests, bishops and fat citizens."<sup>20/</sup>

19. Schreiber, Taschenbuch, p. 51.

20. Bax, Ernest Belfort, The Social Side of the Reformation in Germany, Vol. II, Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., London, 1894 - 1903, p. 117.

Returning to Waldshut, we notice that a full month before Hübmaier's Schlussreden were published, the bishop of Konstanz sent seven charges against him to the government at Ensisheim. These were:

1. On Sunday April 10th, he called himself 'The good shepherd'.
2. Said those who preached fables, untruths, and dreams put the Gospel aside and murdered the souls of Christian people. He said such were thieves, robbers, priests and monks.
3. Entertained in his home twelve or thirteen accused Lutherans from Zürich.
4. Pays no attention to the statutes of his synod.
5. He went to Zürich and took part in the iconoclasm. Threw out the Mass, holy pictures, statues and holy articles and wanted to tear down the altar in the church.
6. He has become Zwinglian in his teaching. He went to Zürich as an unauthorized representative of the Black Forest and preached at Waldshut so that the people destroyed pictures in the church and tore down the crucifix from the pulpit.
7. Furthermore he told the people not to pay tithes, rents and taxes to the government.<sup>21/</sup>

The bishop's anger was strengthened by the rapid spread of heresy in all areas over which he had jurisdiction. He used Hübmaier as an illustration of all the evil currently underfoot in the Black Forest. Therefore, he attributes many excesses to the Waldshut priest which were never committed by him.

On January 22nd, 1524, another deputation was sent to Waldshut to demand that Hübmaier's preaching be terminated and his literature suppressed. On February 27th, the Supreme Council at Innsbruck promulgated this mandate --

"...als solche, welche wider diese Mandate die Lutherische Secte halten, Ihren Kammerprocurator handeln lassen. Auch möge F. D.

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21. Loserth, op. cit., p. 39.

den Grafen von Zollern und Ulrich von Hobsperg befehlen lassen, dass sie jene geistlichen Personen, so die Lutherische Opinion predigen und das gemeine Volk hiezu verführen, als Aufruher gefangen nehmen und ihren Ordinarien ausbefern."<sup>22</sup>

Early in April of 1524, the Oberelsass government made an important decision concerning Waldshut. After reviewing the evidence of Hans Immer, Ulrich von Habsburg and the bishop of Konstanz, the government decided that Hübmaier was completely "Lutheran" (meaning heretical) and dangerous to the spiritual well-being of the city. Unless the city acted promptly, turning Hübmaier out and reinstating Gutjahr, Armbruster and the eight chaplains, strong counter measures would be taken.

While Hübmaier was deliberating this latest pronouncement, he received another communication from Regensburg urging him to take back his old position. His successor had cast aside the cowl in favor of the new teaching. Evidently the Regensburg officials were unaware of what was happening in the Black Forest. Hübmaier answered on the 4th of April:

" . . . Furthermore, I am sorry to hear that even today human wisdom is preached in your city rather than the pure word of God; this strikes me to the heart because what does not stem from the living Word is dead in the eyes of God. . . I must confess that heretofore my eyes have been blinded by human wisdom. I confess before God and men that I attained the degree of Doctor and preached several years before you and other people not knowing the path to eternal life. Only in the last two years has Christ taken residence in my soul. Until now I have never been able to preach His Grace with such conviction. I beg that you will forgive what I have done (previously) because it was done unwittingly. . . Dedicate yourselves to God, trust Him, build upon His word and He will never forsake you. And if men call you 'heretic' without

cause, rejoice for great is your reward in heaven. The 'Sophistheads' have recently called us heretics, but unless they can prove it by Scripture they had better postpone the stoning. Think for a moment -- Nürnberg, Nördling, Augsburg, Ulm, Reutling, Konstanz, St. Gallen, Appenzell, Zürich, Schaffhausen, Basel, Strassburg, Worms, Speier, Mainz and the whole land of Saxony cannot be total fools!"<sup>23/</sup>

Hübmaier's dedication to the reformed cause was now complete.

When the government at Ensisheim saw that its warning was being ignored, an exceptional Diet was called at Säckingen for June 24th, 1524. Ferdinand himself came from Nürnberg to Freiburg in order to hold a planning council for the June meeting. An invitation to attend this Diet was extended to the officials at Waldshut because of the city's former loyalty to the Habsburg House. Hans Immer von Gilgenbach and Ulrich von Habsburg carried the invitation to Waldshut and received the city's stout refusal.\* On June 2nd, Ulrich reported this stiff-necked attitude to Ensisheim and accompanied it with an eye witness account of the terrorism rampant in the city. Here are a few lines from his report:

"...Two hundred people swore to defend their Doctor to the last man...They are in absolute earnest...happily there is not much to worry about from Zürich, they will help with speeches and letters...Immediate action is of the essence or soon Laufenburg, Säckingen and the Forest will be uncontrollable..."<sup>24/</sup>

With the failure of their peaceful overtures, the Diet

23. Ibid., p. 41.

\* Heigerlein, op. cit. Heigerlein reports that it was the women who prevailed upon their councilmen husbands to stand by Hübmaier. When they decided to do so, their wives ran to the city bell and rang it for joy.

24. "June 2, 1524" -- Innsbruck Stadt Archiv Pestarchiv Vol. XVIII, p. 39, Schreiben von Ulrich von Habsburg.

concluded that it was futile to send more messages demanding Hübmaier's banishment and the city's return to the faith. Punitive measures were required. The Austrian government would move against the heretics and stamp them out by force of arms. <sup>25/</sup> Waldshut was given until July 4th to avert the peril. While the government was busy planning its attack, gaining approval from the lesser nobles, gathering arms and food and conscripting troops, Waldshut was sending out frenzied pleas for help in all directions. Hübmaier wrote personal letters to Zwingli, Vadian, Oecolampadius and others and aided the city in its drafting of a petition to Ensisheim. This appeared under the title, Ein Wahrhaftige Entschuldigung und Klag gemeiner Stadt Waldshut. The writing begins with the affirmation of Waldshut's constant loyalty to Austria and a reference to the city's defense of its rulers in the 1468 war against Switzerland. If there were a stone in the city which did not bear a genuine Austrian pedigree, the citizens would gladly scratch it out with their hands and throw it in the Rhein, even if it were buried an hundred feet deep. These words follow:

" . . .we should not be condemned for proclaiming a new teaching . . .the Jews said even of Christ, 'what new doctrine is this,' (Mk. 1:27). . .we know from the words of Saint Peter that Christ demands an open confession of our Faith. . . Gracious God, you know that it is not enough to cry, 'crucify!' 'crucify.!' One has to prove that evil has been done. . .We beg you, gentlemen, to point out our error through your universities or learned men -- of course, on the basis of Scripture. We will gladly accept instruction, but desist calling us heretics when you do not

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<sup>25.</sup> Hug's Chronik von Villingen, "Über die Verhältnisse in Rheinfildden", p. 97 or Kapp, Geschichtsblätter aus der Schweiz, Vol. II, p. 31.

know what you are talking about. Send to us one or two men, well learned in the Bible. We will receive them gladly. But do not think that you may convince us with bribes, fines or punishments, because Faith resides in the heart and cannot be bound by chains . . . Our priests are not Hussite or Lutheran-- after all, they received their ordination at Konstanz, and preach only the pure, clear and unadulterated word of God. . . Our Faith does not come from priests or monks but from God's word. If, however, you in Freiburg and Breisgau believe your priests and monks, you have truly a rotten, delapidated Faith. We acknowledge no ancient or other precepts except those contained in the Bible. If you know something better, please show it to us . . . Even if our parents were pious Christians, our salvation is not won through their Faith; we must believe for ourselves. Personal, not vicarious faith saves us. Just as we here in Waldshut cannot be baptized for our forefathers, so they cannot believe for us. Our Faith does not see the need for any extra ordination save the preacher. The harvest is great but few are the laborers. No man can serve two masters. Paul writes -- 'He who pleases men is not a servant of Christ.' Gal. 1:10. We give God thanks for your admonition."\*

In this tract Hübmaier has considerably narrowed his interest. In the Schlussreden he wandered "überall hin," but here, only two main areas of concern are emphasized; a faith based upon personal experience, and the authority of the Bible. Not once does he speak of being justified by faith, and rarely does he use the words to explain his thoughts in succeeding writings. What he says about receiving ordination at Konstanz is noteworthy. Hübmaier did not begin his reform by separating himself from the Roman Church, but only from those Roman practices which had no biblical basis. His original desire was to reform and not to instigate a new so called, "True Church" according to his own ideas. In this respect he

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\*see Note B.

differs greatly from the churches established by both the Swiss Anabaptists and the Zwickau Prophets. When finally he did organize a separate fellowship, his action was due to circumstances, and not to a burning desire. A definite tone of defiance surrounds this writing. Hübmaier dares his opponents to prove him wrong if they can. That this challenge was not accepted indicates that the government despaired of changing his mind.

During the summer of 1524, Waldshut's relations with Ensisheim rapidly worsened. The government, however, was finding it difficult to create unanimity among the nobles, and, consequently, its plans to storm Waldshut were delayed. Nevertheless, the threat created an uneasy atmosphere in the city. Ultimately Hübmaier came to the conclusion that his presence aggravated the Habsburgs more than his religious reforms. Rather than bring unnecessary bloodshed and sorrow upon his friends, he resolved to leave the city. His congregation was reluctant to let him go, but seeing his determination, they gave him a present of forty gulden and an armed escort to the boundaries of Schaffhausen. He left at midnight on September 1st, 1524.

Even in Switzerland Hübmaier did not feel safe in a private house. He took asylum in the ruined "Allerheiligen" convent. Hearing of Hübmaier's flight, the Diet at Ensisheim communicated with Schaffhausen and demanded that the heretic be surrendered. It put every wheel in motion to make Hübmaier a universal fugitive. The council at Schaffhausen was offended by Austria's presumption and retorted that it knew nothing of Hübmaier's supposed misconduct in Waldshut. It will be recalled

that Hübmaier spent a year as Schaffhausen's schoolmaster in 1507. Having been known personally by the civic leaders, his cause would not be ignored. Adelphus and other friends also spoke in his behalf, but he was anxious that the council assure him of its protection and spent the first week of his voluntary exile writing petitions. Three were sent in rapid succession and were later published with the title, Ein ernstliche Christenliche erbietung an einen Ersamen Rate ze Schaffhausen.<sup>26/</sup> These were followed by a fourth which urged the council to act on the first three.

The first petition states that he is in Schaffhausen only temporarily, but he fears that there are those who would like to imprison him on false charges. He would appreciate it greatly if the council could offer him protection.<sup>27/</sup>

In the second he requests that his previous communication be sent to priests in Lucerne, Appenzell, Uri or Baden with a view to arranging a religious discussion. If he is proven wrong according to Scripture, he will submit freely to punishment, but if his adversaries lose the debate, they must acknowledge their error. He begs his freedom not because he fears imprisonment, but because he would like to prepare for this spiritual battle in an unrestricted manner. Whatever happens, the divine truth cannot be slain, "even if it is scourged, crowned, crucified and buried, it will rise again on the third day to rule and triumph in eternity."<sup>28/</sup>

Unfortunately, the council did not move as quickly as

26. Appendix #II.

27. Ibid., pp. 2-3.

28. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

Hübmaier wished. In his third petition which is six times as long, he purposes to explain what the duties of the council are in judging his case. He prefaces his remarks with the sixteenth and seventeenth verses of Deuteronomy 1: "Judge righteously between every man." Four points follow which may be summarized as follows:

1. One should not be damned before his case is heard. He judges rightly who has God's divine law squarely in focus.
2. Divide justice equally between everyone. Do not be biased against a man because he is a stranger.
3. A specific judgment must not be swayed by the disposition of one's higher authority. God's law alone must be the criterion. If any judgment contrary to that is given, it is man's duty to oppose it.
4. In difficult problems such as those concerning the soul, it is prescribed that only Moses shall judge through the words in his five books. A temporal judge has no business with the likes of this. In this respect the councils of the Church are best qualified to act.<sup>29/</sup>

He closes the petition with a complaint against all the charges laid at his door. He has preached nothing which is not grounded in Scripture, but confesses that he has not clarified his words adequately. He is human and liable to error. If he has erred, he would appreciate illumination. He requests that nothing detrimental to the welfare of Waldshut be done because of him. If the slanders and injustices are not withdrawn, he will do all in his power to bring the matter before God and man.<sup>30/</sup>

Hübmaier's hope that his writing would be received with sympathetic understanding was short lived. As each day

29. Ibid., pp. 5-8.

30. Ibid., pp. 9-11.

passed the faithful Schaffhausen Catholics exerted more pressure upon the council for the reformer's imprisonment. They bent every effort to brand him as an anarchist and a heretic. Hübmaier was compelled to take his pen to answer the renewed charge of heresy. The resultant tract was sent to the publisher during the first week in October of 1524. It bears the title, Von ketzern und irren verbrennern.<sup>31/</sup>

Defining who may be classified as a heretic, Hübmaier lists those who oppose, veil or interpret the Holy Scriptures in a way not guided by the Holy Spirit.<sup>32/</sup> Secondly, he argues that to burn heretics is absolutely against the word of Paul in I Cor. 11:19.<sup>33/</sup> It is God's prerogative to deal with the chaff at the final ingathering. Because God does bring good out of evil, an evil heresy should be tolerated. God may very well be working through it to bring His own ends to pass. To subvert God's plan is the greatest heresy. A vital faith is built proportionately to the strength of the evil it meets and overcomes.<sup>34/</sup> For these reasons, it is plain to Hübmaier that a law for the burning of heretics is demonically inspired.<sup>35/</sup>

It is to be regretted that he does not follow his concept of evil further than this. It would be interesting to see how he reconciles his ideas about the origin of evil with his professed belief that it is within the permissive Will of God, that God works through it to bring about good, and that

31. Appendix #III. For a complete translation see Vedder, H. C., Balthasar Hübmaier, the Leader of the Anabaptists, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1905, pp. 84-88.

32. Appendix #III, Art. 1-3, p. 2.

33. Ibid., Art. 8-16, p. 4.

34. Ibid., Art. 17-23, pp. 4-5.

35. Ibid., Art. 26-36, pp. 6-7.

it is necessary to the spiritual growth of the Christian believer. We will return to this problem during the discussion of Hübmaier's thoughts concerning free will.

Centuries passed before the kind of religious freedom mentioned in this tract was granted to all persuasions of Christianity. Hübmaier's thoughts went far beyond the understanding of his own age, and he should be commended for them. But if his ideal of freedom and toleration were to be consistent, he had to be willing to extend the same type of toleration to others. Had the positions been reversed, it is doubtful that he would have done this. We see that he did not tolerate Rome or the extremist reforming persuasions. He believed that religious freedom should be granted to those who "rightly divined the Word of truth," but in his estimation, there were not many in this group.

Von ketzern und irren verbrennern had little meliorating effect in Schaffhausen. His plea for the right of spiritual self-determination was premature. There was more agitation against him every day and his petitions proved ineffectual. The council was vacillating in its pledge of sanctuary, and new demands for Hübmaier's arrest had been presented to the city. With his security threatened again, Hübmaier elected to return to Waldshut and meet his enemies amidst what solace and encouragement a friendly citizenry could give. Leaving Schaffhausen October 29th, he furtively directed himself toward Waldshut.

During Hübmaier's absence, the city did not realize the return of peace and tranquility. Two inquisitors made their way to Waldshut and held hearings in an attempt to

sway the religious sentiment, but this was unsuccessful. The people defended their convictions and maintained that the phrase, "Lutheran Heresy" did not describe their pious Christianity. The inquisitors threatened official punishment and returned to Ensisheim.

Veit Suter, Ferdinand's secretary, was the person who did the most to encourage armed action against Waldshut. Ferdinand was prepared to close the matter after Hübmaier's withdrawal to Schaffhausen unless some new indiscretion arose in the city, but Suter was not so easily satisfied. By subtle suggestion he managed to plant further suspicion in the minds of certain lesser nobles who were annoyed with the Waldshut nobility for a number of reasons already. Along with any spiritual merit to be gained by the destruction of such a black heresy, there was also the very real possibility of material gain. Whether Ferdinand would have condoned a campaign on this basis is conjecture, but when he did decide to act there was a better reason.

In the Autumn of 1524, Hans Müller von Bulgenbach and twelve hundred peasants entered Waldshut carrying the Reich's flag. On the surface they seemed to desire a part in the civic celebration then underway, but their underlying purpose was to organize the "Evangelische Bräderschaft" into an effective body. Their effectiveness had already been demonstrated in a sweep through the Black Forest. In April they marched through Bondorf, Hufingen, Braunlingen, Donaueschingen, Fürstenberg, Wartenberg, Engen, Ach, and Radolfzell where Duke Ulrich von Wurtemberg joined the movement. After a brief encounter with an army raised against them by the Swabian League,

Müller led his troops up the Hegau to protect the isolated groups in the Black Forest. After passing through Huffingen he turned toward Walterdingen and Vahrenbach and on the way burned the castles of Zindelstein and Neufürstenberg. At the latter, Müller impaled the chief bailiff on his pike. The sagacity of priory abbots along the line of march was often the difference between their life and death. Those who welcomed the peasants were not harmed. The rich convent of St. Blasien was not gifted with such a leader. The peasants plundered and destroyed for six days and nights.<sup>36/</sup> Illustrating the callous nature of this destruction are the words of a drunken peasant who, breaking into the cabinet where the Host was stored, stuffed a handful of the wafers into his mouth and mumbled, "At last I have a man-sized portion of the Lord God."<sup>37/</sup>

While Müller was working in the Forest, Hans Hamerstein and his followers from Roteln, Sausenberg and Badenweiler were moving across the flat lands against Freiburg.

At Waldshut, Müller made extensive plans for the "Bundshuh's" future. All who wanted to join were required to pay one-half ~~B~~atzen per week. This money would be used to

<sup>36/</sup> Schreiber, Heinrich, Der Deutsche Bauernkrieg, 3 Vols. "Das Breisgau im Bauernkriege vom Jahre 1525," Freiburg, 1863-1866, p. 243. Schreiber reports that the peasants killed all the officials who did not escape, stole 900 cattle, drank all the wine in the cellars, tore out the stoves, removed the ironwork, made the lead into bullets, burned the library, tore all the decoration out of the old and new cathedrals, as well as the chapel, turned over the altars, stole the relics, removed the jewels from vestments, took down twenty bells, and smashed all the stained glass.

<sup>37/</sup> Ibid.

propagandize and to support a secret courier service. Müller hoped to encourage all the peasants to rise simultaneously against their lords and to unify the local insurrection into a general movement under a trained leadership.<sup>38/</sup>

It is impossible to think that Hübmaier was unaware of these events. Those who tie him closely to the movement point to the wording and tone of the Peasant Articles and find them similar to Waldshut's Entschuldigung und Klag. It is fairly certain that Hübmaier had some part in them, but his complicity has never been proven beyond doubt. Much has been written about the Twelve Articles of the Peasants, but there is great disagreement as to their origin. L. Baumann in his, Die Oberschwäbischen Bauern im März 1525 und die Zwölf Artickel, says that the writing is dependent upon the Memmingen Petition.<sup>\*</sup> Goetze asserts just as confidently that the articles originated in Upper Swabia and that the authors were Lotzer and Schappeler. Wilhelm Mau uses form criticism in his comparison of the Twelve Articles and various writings of Hübmaier to prove that the Waldshut reformer was the author. Throughout the controversy Müller's literary abilities are generally ignored or negated. To be sure, he was a soldier and not an author, but he was no fool. Müller was quite capable of formulating ideas, even if he lacked an ability to express them clearly. This is where Hübmaier may have lent his assistance. Hübmaier's consistent attitude toward magistracy, however, militates against this suggestion. Although

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<sup>38.</sup> Schreiber, Taschenbuch, p. 72. The original source is the Handschriftliche Chronik der Stadt Villingen, found in Walchner, C., Geschichte der Stadt Radolphzell, Freiburg, 1825, p. 90.

\* See Mau, W., Balthasar Hübmaier, D. Rothchild, Berlin 1912, pp. 40-62.

he was often in conflict with the government and prepared to defend himself, he never was an advocate of hostile action. His later book, Von dem Schwert, illustrates his respect for the constituted authority, but he did believe that God was the supreme ruler, and that those who ruled on earth should be guided by the insights of Christian virtue. Hübmaier could easily have lent his support to the just side of the cause while opposing the way in which redress was being sought.\* In 1526, he categorically denied that he had taken part in the Peasant revolt. In his Ein Kurtze Entschuldigung, he remarks that he never agitated against taxes or tithes, but concerned himself exclusively with the spreading of God's evangelical word.<sup>39/</sup>

The day Hübmaier returned from Schaffhausen (October 30th) was proclaimed a holiday. His re-entry was heralded by rolling drums, shrilling flutes and blaring horns.<sup>40/</sup> The jubilation was heightened by the presence of a strong voluntary army which had marched to Waldshut's aid from Zürich. It was a private endeavor and not officially sponsored by the Zürich council. Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen and Appenzell were invited to join a defensive alliance with Waldshut on an official basis, but only Basel and Schaffhausen responded. On September 27th, Zürich had corresponded with Ensisheim to the effect that the city would not look favorably upon a war in the immediate neighborhood. For all intents and purposes,

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\* See Note D for Bulgenbach's introduction to the Twelve Articles.

39. Appendix #XV, p. 10.

40. Heigerlein, op. cit., See Note A.

the citizens of Zürich were supporting their co-religionists across the Rhein.

As soon as Hübmaier was resettled he tried to organize another disputation. As a basis for discussion he prepared twenty-six conclusions based on Scripture, and directed them to his old friend Johann Eck who was now recognized as the greatest apologetic pillar of the old faith. What a scene it must have been as Hübmaier invited his former colleague to a debate at Waldshut! Eck's failure to appear may be attributed to the tense political situation in the Black Forest. The twenty-six conclusions were published toward the end of 1524 in both Latin and German. The former bears the title, Axiomata and the latter, Schlussreden die Baldazar Fridberger.<sup>41/</sup>

The conclusions are important in so far as they show Hübmaier's close connection with Zwingli and his thoughts concerning the proper basis of theological discussion. The gist of the entire writing is that no authority except the "level of Scripture"<sup>42/</sup> may legitimately judge in matters of religion. He challenges Eck to debate with these concluding words:

"Where now is this wise man? The man learned  
in the Scriptures? The disputer of this world?"

41. See appendices #IV and V.

42. Ibid., Art. 8, "nach dem richtschyt der heiligen-geschrifft."

\* Eck did not answer this challenge until 1530 and then only indirectly. Hübmaier appears in articles #227 (baptism), #246 (Lord's Supper), #325 (purgatory) and #392 (eliminating of the altar from the church) of Sub domini Jhesu et Maria patrocinio. Articulus 404, partim ad disputationes, Tipsisam, Baden, et Bermen attinentes, partim vero ex scriptis pacem Ecclesiae perturbantium extractos; coram divo Caesare Corcio V. Rom. Imp. semper Aug. etc. etc. ac proceribus Imperii, Joanni Eckius minimus Ecclesiae minister, offert se disputaturum ut in scheda latius explicatur. Augustae Vindellicorum. Die et hora, consensu Caesariae posterius publicandis. (I.F.) Ingolstadii impressum 1530.

Eck? Let the noble Hercules of Ingolstadt come to us. If I am not mistaken, with a Herculean infirmity, and hold a disputation in the affairs of the Faith. If he comes now we will praise him."43/

The following days saw Hübmaier continuing to encourage his congregation in its resolve to further the Waldshut reformation. With the threat of imminent invasion over their heads, the citizens were busy building new defenses, cleaning arms, and standing watches. Hübmaier took his full share as a citizen in these activities, laying aside his ecclesiastical inaccessibility and contributing as much labor as he could. His new apparel, which smacks strongly of that affected by Zwingli from time to time, was replete with battle ax, armor, blunderbuss and broadsword. He took his place upon the bulwark and watch tower and shouted encouragement to the workers. Heigerlein reports:

"Er hat auch ain Hackenpuchssen in seinen Haus gehabt, und zu seinem harsch ain fewrpuchss, etwan ain Schlachtschwert, darmit an die thor gesessen, hat die bolwerck helffen beratschlagen, und zu dem arbeitenden volck gsagt; es sey ain schickung von Gott, das sy ain der arbeit so gutwillig seindt."44/

While Waldshut prepared for the worst, Austria continued to consolidate her position. Emissaries from the special Diet at Rheinfelden brought new demands to the city, but these fell on deaf ears as had the other demands. Markgraf Ernst von Baden und Hochberg tried to arbitrate between Waldshut and the imperial commission, but without success. Similar unsuccessful attempts were made by Laufenburg and

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43. Appendix IV, p. 7.

44. Heigerlein, op. cit., see Note A.

Säckingen. With the concurrence of the governmental offices at Innsbruck and Stuttgart, the Ensisheim commission had cleared away many of the obstacles blocking their active drive against the Forest. Provisions were being gathered by the Bishop of Konstanz and Count von Sulz of Klettgau. The eight Roman Catholic regions around the city were asked to allow free passage of the army to the Rhein and unrestricted purchasing was arranged. Artillery was gathered from Ensisheim, Freiburg, Breisach, the three Rhein cities and Stockach. Troops were drafted in the normal manner.<sup>45/</sup>

In answer to Waldshut's renewed appeals for help, representatives of Zürich, Basel and Schaffhausen presented themselves to the Diet at Rheinfelden and suggested that they mediate the differences between Austria and Waldshut. The Diet refused this offer on obvious grounds, but noted with respect that these powerful cities were on guard.

Matters remained in this state for months without appreciable change; Austria rattling the sword menacingly while seeking support for a unified effort, and Waldshut standing firm with its hopes tied to secret allies in the neighborhood, and to Zürich across the river.

With new trouble arising with France, the peasant activity and the threat of Swiss intervention, Austria could not move rashly. At the moment Waldshut had too much support. This stalemate led great numbers to believe that the

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45. Schreiber, Taschenbuch, pp. 76 - 77.

supplementary help from Zürich was no longer needed. On December 4th, 1524, all the Zürich volunteers left for home, and tensions were relaxed. The relations between Hübmaier and the Swiss reformers during 1524 were close and cordial, but this was not to endure. The year 1525 witnessed the collapse of mutual esteem between Hübmaier and his Swiss friends, and the destruction of Waldshut's spiritual aspirations. The collapse was due to a difference of opinion regarding baptism.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE SPOKESMAN OF ANABAPTISM

#### A. Zwingli and the Swiss Radicals:

While Hübmaier was facing an external threat to his reformation at Waldshut, Zwingli was struggling against an equally dangerous internal threat. His conservative party urged caution and stability, but his radical wing agitated for more drastic reforms. With the disputation of 1523 ushering in a new era, the advocates of complete spiritual reform saw their hope for an unhindered evangelical Christianity as a distinct possibility. They did not hesitate to set their faces in that direction. The lines were clearly drawn between the Free Church and the National Church; the primitive Christian Ideal and contemporary culture; and the ethic of Love opposed to that of expediency.

Zwingli's radicals viewed the renunciation of Roman forms and practices as only a step in the right direction. The introduction of something revitalizing was far more important than merely discarding Roman forms. Foremost among their hopes was that the new attitude toward religion would culminate in the creation of a regenerate, free Church. Such a Church would be founded upon the public and personal confession of Christ by those who sought admission. This personal confession would provide that resuscitating element which sixteenth century Christendom needed to make the Gospel alive and compelling.

By 1524, the radicals concluded that the baptism of infants could neither fulfill the membership requirements of such a Church, nor be proved justifiable through the Scriptures. Consequently, they substituted the baptism of regenerate believers.

Hitherto, Zwingli's relation with this group had been harmonious, but discord was soon to appear. He did not decide to move against them simply because he was opposed to their baptismal sentiments, but because they claimed that the Church founded upon personal confession was to be free of national interference.

Prior to 1525, Zwingli himself had written things which encouraged his radicals. In 1523 he wrote the following words against traditional religious ideas which have no basis in Scripture.

"Im Euangelio lernet man, das menschen lere und satzungen zu der saligkeit nüt nützend."<sup>1/</sup>

Regarding the individual faith prerequisite to salvation, he gave this interpretation of Mk. 16:16 also in 1523:

"Die erste ist, dass, so wir im gloubend, das wir sällig werden. Marc 16. Welcher glouben wirt und getoufft, der würt sällig. Welcher gloubt und sicher vertraut in das güt, das uns gott uss gnaden ggeben hatt, dass es unser heil syg, das da ist der sun gottes, der würt sällig. Daby aber, welcher Christum nit für sin heyl und einigen trost hat, der wirt verdampt. Diss ist ouch nützlich dem menschen, se wüssen, damit er sich vor verdamnus hüte."<sup>2/</sup>

1. Zwingli, Ulrich, Die 67 Artickel Zwinglis, #16 in Egli, Emil, "Zwingli's Werke," Corpus Reformatorum. Vol. LXXXVII, Bd. 1, C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, Berlin, 1905, p. 459.

2. Zwingli, Ulrich, Auslegung und Gründe der Schiussreden, #15, Ibid., Vol. LXXXIX, Bd. II, p. 74.

In the same writing Zwingli admits that baptismal practice has altered since the time of the apostles. Originally instruction was given, and a personal confession of faith obtained before the candidate was baptized.<sup>3/</sup> He has heard that in olden times the catechumen was asked to give his name, to confess his faith, and to repeat the Lord's Prayer. Obviously, no infant could do this. The custom was broken when all children of believers were gathered into the Church on the strength of their parents' and godparents' faith. Be that as it may, Zwingli agrees that the Sacrament is being handled much too casually in sixteenth century Europe. He writes regarding the ancient practice:

" . . .sunder man hat sy (the children) öffentlich mit einander gelert, als sy zu verstantnus kummen sind, dannenhar sy ouch katechumeni hand gheissen, das ist: die berichten (sind), das wort des heils. Und so sy dem vesten glouben imm hertzen ggeben habend und mit dem mund verjehen, hat man sy getoufft."<sup>4/</sup>

Although Zwingli recognizes this fact, he is not prepared to discard infant baptism, but to lay more emphasis upon confirmation than has been done heretofore.

Luther had encountered a similar difficulty in his re-thinking of this question. In Ein Sermon von dem Neuen Testament, das ist von der heiligen Messe 1519, he attempts to deal with the problem of faith and its relation to the Sacraments. He is anxious to deny that the laying on of outward forms provides internal spiritual security and stresses forcefully that the personal confession, or "Testament," is

3. Ibid., "Von der firmung," p. 122ff.

4. Ibid., p. 123.

more important than the Sacrament. He writes:

"Now, even as more depends on the Testament than on the Sacrament, so also more depends upon the word than on the sign, for the sign may not be applied unless a person has the word, and therefore salvation (is possible) without the sacrament, but not without the Testament. For this reason I can have the benefit of what is in the Mass everyday, if I only have the Testament (that is the word and the Christian vow) which I have taken to heart, and by an effort attempt to widen and strengthen my inward Faith. Therefore we see that the mass is the Word and Christian vow, without which the sacrament is dead, just as a body without a soul, a barrel without wine, a pocket without money . . ."5/

This was no less the Anabaptist position with the exception that, as water baptism was commanded by Christ (Mk. 16:16), it must follow the confession as an outward sign that the "Testament" has been received in the soul.

Luther draws closer to the problem in another writing from 1519 entitled, Eyn Sermon von dem heyligen hochwüerdigen Sacrament der Taufe. In twenty divisions of the question he presents the three things signified in baptism, to wit: the sign, the meaning, and the faith. He defines the sign as "an outward indication of release which separates us from all unbaptized people, through which we confess that we are the people of Christ."<sup>6/</sup> He conceives that baptism means a spiritual death through sin and a resurrection in God's Grace; "Eyn bad der newengepurt" according to Titus 3:5 and John 3:3-5. What is "drowned" through baptism is mankind's original guilt, but

5. Luther, Martin, "Ein Sermon von dem Neuen Testament, das ist von der heiliger Messe, 1519", Weimar Ausgabe, Luther's Werke, Vol. VI, art. 17, p. 363.

6. Luther, Martin, "Eyn Sermon von dem heyligen hochwüerdigen Sacrament der Taufe," Weimar Ausgabe, Luther's Werke, Vol. II, p. 724.

not man's inherent inclination toward sin. The state of sinlessness cannot be attained in this life, but only after the flesh is "pulverized" and the spirit released to be clothed in a new body as God has promised.

Luther then attempts to answer the question, "How does baptism help me if it does not completely remove sin?" He does this in the ninth division of his discussion by explaining what baptism means and how man is joined to God through it.

"What it is that you affirm through the act, and the correct understanding of baptism is your desire to die with sin and be made new at the judgment. This done, God takes you, allows you to be baptized, and breathes His Grace and Holy Spirit into you. You also bind yourself to the promise that you will perpetually attempt to kill your sin, dedicate yourself to the practice of good works, and submit to sorrows in order that God may do what you demand through baptism."<sup>7</sup>

Had this paragraph appeared in one of Grebel's writings it would not be startling, but coming from Luther it requires some consideration. He is speaking about the personal acts and desires of the baptismal candidate who seeks to join the separated fellowship of Christians. He does not say that this individual's desire "to die with sin and be made new at the Judgment" can be substituted, nor that his promises to "kill sin", "dedicate himself", and "submit to sorrow" can be made in his behalf by someone else. What a person does for himself is the topic of the passage. How then could he write in this manner? Is Luther supporting the Anabaptist belief?

It should be remembered that in 1519, no violent struggle was in progress against anti-pedobaptists whose ideas

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7. Ibid., p. 730.

"threatened" Christendom with the separation of Church and State. No contemporary group had seriously suggested that a free Church be built upon the kind of personal confession Luther advocates in these words. He had only one outward form of baptism in mind, the traditional form, but he recognized the danger of the Roman Sacramental idea. The soul is not saved by the sprinkling of water or the saying of words, but by the faith of an individual, or, as Luther terms it, the "Testament."

In so many words Luther never advocated a re-baptism on the basis of personal confession. But, had circumstances been different, he might well have taken that step. At least the meaning of baptism, as he gives it in this writing, is closely related to the meaning it had for those who practiced re-baptism. 17

Luther concludes this writing with the third and most crucial thing connected with baptism. Upon faith alone depends the ultimate success or failure of the soul in its journey toward salvation. It is of first importance that Christian people have an unshakable faith in God's unfulfilling covenant through Christ. Luther writes again:

"Also finden wir, das die touff durch sund wirt woll vorhindert an yhrem werck, das ist vorgebung und tödtung der sund, aber allein durch den unglouben yrs wercks, also gar ligt es alles am glauben."<sup>87</sup>

This is precisely the conclusion reached by the Anabaptists and the reason why they laid such heavy emphasis upon the re-institution of a baptism preceded by the personal

confession of such a faith. They saw in their own lives that a faith, substituted for them in infancy, did not survive the rigors of time until the responsibility for it could be personally accepted. To be sure, most of them had been given Roman baptism. No faith had been substituted for them, because it was not necessary. The Sacrament itself brought salvation. Regardless of what the Reformation's leaders said to the contrary, the act of water baptism was equated with salvation in the minds of the laity.

That the parents were ignorant of their duty, and confused about the meaning of baptism, is evident through later writings of Luther. These purpose to instruct parents in their responsibilities. Das Tauffbüchlein auff's neu zugerichtet 1526, specifically charges that the baptismal ceremony should not be conducted by drunken or crude priests; that loose-living people should not be chosen as godparents; that the prayers should be said in German and not mumbled, and that it should be taken seriously and not as a joke.<sup>9/</sup> The opposite side of these admonitions suggests that even after the Lutheran order had been established for some years, the baptism of infants was not accompanied on the mental level of the common people by the same high ideals of the leaders. How much less meaningful and more incomprehensible was the medieval, Roman Sacrament, surrounded as it was by myth and saturated with superstition. It was against this

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9. Luther, Martin, "Das Tauffbüchlein auff's neu zugerichtet 1526," (Introduction), Weimar Ausgabe, Luther's Werke, Vol. VI, p. 192 ff.

that the Anabaptists fought. Their Roman baptism with its ritual and foreign language meant nothing. Regardless of the new interpretation of baptism, and the attempts to purify and clarify the form, the Anabaptists felt that infant baptism smacked too strongly of Rome and an easy way into the Church. Faith, not form was now the all important word, and that faith had to be justified by the final authority of Scripture. The Anabaptist conviction was strengthened not only by their discovery that infant baptism is nowhere commanded in the New Testament, but also by the fact that no clear case is recorded of a person being baptized except a believer upon his personal confession of faith.

Zwingli, more than Luther was willing to elevate the Scriptures to the highest place of authority, but as his reformation progressed, he realized that the stressing of biblical authority was dangerous to the State-Church idea. He could have borne regenerate baptism, but a Church separate from the State was an innovation too drastic for him to make. A Church without the State was no Church at all, and a State without a Church was equally impossible.

Two opposing parties had divided his ranks; one striving for a free Church, autonomous within its own sphere and denying the world's authority in religious matters, and the other advocating a Church united and subject to the authority of the State. The former could be entered only by individual desire; the latter could compel people to enter by threat of law. Being a patriot, Zwingli allied himself with the latter cause.

Within the context of a State Church, the view of

baptism considerably altered. Coupled with its spiritual meaning was an equally compelling patriotic duty. After the union of the Zwinglian church and the kanton of Zürich, the denial of <sup>a</sup>pedobaptism was recognized as an act of open rebellion against the new constitution, just as the denial of circumcision would have constituted rebellion to the Hebrew covenant. Similarly, the Anabaptist refusal to swear, take part in armed action against an enemy, condone the death penalty, and act as civil magistrates made the current idea of a Christian State untenable. To make matters worse, these former friends of Zwingli were proposing unheard of things just when the Zürich reformation had reached a critical stage of development. A giant battle with Rome was in progress and an uneasiness had divided the sympathies of other kantons. The Zürich reformation had to be saved at all costs. This fear of disintegration haunted the major reformers more than anything else. If Protestantism were to survive, it had to display a united front. Schism could not be tolerated no matter how justified the cause of a minority might be. Zwingli and Luther had to take the larger view and win Protestantism's freedom from Rome forever. An atmosphere of religious toleration would have to wait until this was achieved.

The support of governing bodies and influential nobles was an absolute necessity. To gain such, both Luther and Zwingli used an expedient ethic and compromised their own beliefs. Had they not done so, Protestantism might well have died in its infancy.

During the early part of 1525, the Anabaptist agitation was especially virulent in the St. Gallen area. The potential

for disruption was too strong to be ignored. The St. Gallen council decided that on May 19th Pastor Burgauer and his assistant, Herr Wetter, would answer the claims of the Brethren in a disputation. Before the meeting adjourned Vadian asked permission to read a voluminous charge against the Anabaptist persuasion. When he finished, the Brethren asked for an extension of time to prepare their rebuttal and were granted another month. Hearing of the St. Gallen episode, Zwingli hurried to prepare his own condemnation in support of Vadian. This appeared under the title, Von der Taufe, von der Wiedertaufe und von der Kindertaufe and bears the date May 27th, 1525.<sup>10/</sup> In his introduction Zwingli criticizes the condition of the Gospel in the territory around St. Gallen. Discord and dissension are rampant and the Anabaptists are at the bottom of it. They have cried, "Down with symbols," but they have raised up one of their own -- "Baptism."

He devotes a great deal of space to the refutation of Anabaptist ideas, but in so doing he gives a confused picture of his own. He admits that "some time ago" he was led astray by these heretical sentiments. It seemed self-evident that the sign cannot secure the faith in an infant who possesses no capacity for belief.<sup>11/</sup> How to extricate himself from this embarrassing admission is the next problem. He discovers the least obstructed road out of the dilemma to be the divorcing of faith from the outward act of baptism. Following this course he brings several instances into the discussion which

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10. Zwingli, Von der Taufe, von der Wiedertaufe und von der Kindertaufe, op. cit., Vol. XCI, Bd. IV, p. 188ff.

11. Ibid., p. 228, "Do man aber das so blümpig hatt, etc!"

prove that faith existed without baptism. Nicodemus, the malefactor, Joseph of Aramathea and Gamaliel provide illustrations.

He deals less gracefully with the meaning of and qualifications for John's baptism. He cannot deny that John preached repentance and appealed to the consciences of his hearers before he baptized. But this, he says is no proof against the <sup>d</sup>pedobaptist praxis. "We do that too. No one brings his child for baptism unless he (the parent) has received previous instruction."<sup>12/</sup>

Anticipating the Anabaptist objection that John baptized only those who had heard his preaching themselves and taken it to heart, Zwingli presents the crux of his argument. He conceives baptism to be a covenantal mark similar to Hebrew circumcision. He writes:

"Wyr sind styff bekantlich, das Johannes erstlich hat gelert und demnach getoufft. Das kan aber nieman leugnen, dass darnach die, so gelert sind, ouch ire ungelerte kind habend lassen touffen, das ist: mit dem touff got verzeichnen."<sup>13/</sup>

It does not bother Zwingli in the least that no Scripture supports his contention that John baptized infants, or that parents brought their children to be marked with the new sign. He reasons that if all of the people from Jerusalem and the surrounding area went out to John (Mat. 3:5-6) then children must have been in the crowd. As this line of thought does not prove very satisfactory, especially when the question of repentant confession is posed, Zwingli withdraws with the

12. Ibid., p. 238.

13. Ibid.

remark: "aber wir wellen hie gar nit kempffen; denn es bewart den kindertouff nit; so kert es inn ouch nitt umb."<sup>14/</sup>

What this "mark of baptism" or "baptismal sign" is, follows in due course. Zwingli continually speaks of baptism as a Pflichtzeichen, by which he means a sign of duty. To what duty is the recipient then obligated? Zwingli answers that the child is obliged to better his moral and spiritual life and to follow after the example of Christ. By this he must mean that the child is obliged to do these things when he becomes responsible for his own actions.

The parallel between circumcision; the sign of God's covenant with Abraham, and baptism; the sign of God's new covenant with mankind through Christ, is now enlarged. Just as the Jews promised, through circumcision, not to lead their children to any other god, so the Christian parent promises, through baptism, to lead his child to a dependence on God through Christ. Zwingli can find very little substantiation for this thought in the New Testament so he attacks criticism from a negative point of view. He says, "Neither does the Scripture speak of women partaking of the Supper; there is much not in the Scriptures which is nonetheless approved by God." The truth of this can hardly be questioned, but coming from Zwingli who just a year or so previously had said, "What is not grounded in God's Word, is good for nothing,"<sup>†</sup> the remark is inconsistent.

Zwingli agrees with Luther as to the effect baptism has upon original sin. The guilt of the old Adam is washed

14. Ibid., p. 239.

\* See Egli, op. cit., Vol. XCI, Bd. IV, p. 197.

away from the children of believing parents, but the inclination towards sin remains as an integral part of the flesh.

A long section follows which attempts to justify <sup>a</sup>pedobaptism as an apostolic practice. Among the most frequently used texts are I Cor. 1:16, Acts 16:15-30 and I Cor. 7:12-14.

Toward the end of the discussion he shows where his main concern lies; that the Church is a unity and must not be divided by factions, or obtuse opinions.

"For Christ has no more than one Church and not more than one baptism (Eph. 4:5). How then can it be that one part of the Church should be baptized and the other unbaptized, for are not all persons one people and born of one another?"<sup>15/</sup>

Concluding his remarks, Zwingli summarizes the major portions of his argument under the three titles: of baptism in general he writes, "The soul cannot be purified through outward things, therefore, baptism does not serve to wash away sin, it is much more a divinely ordained Pflichtzeichen;" of <sup>g</sup>pedobaptism he says, "The children of Christian parents are similarly children of God; for this reason water baptism cannot be denied them any more than circumcision could be denied the children of the Old Testament;" "Re-baptism," he concludes, "has no example or advice in the New Testament and, consequently, those who practice it crucify Christ again."<sup>16/</sup>

By the 28th of May, Vadian received Zwingli's writing and attempted to bring it to the attention of the disputation at St. Gallen. In the course of the meeting the Brethren complained that they had come to dispute the question on the basis of the Scriptures and not upon Zwingli's or Vadian's interpreta-

15. Ibid., p. 318.

16. Ibid., p. 335 ff.

tion of the same. A heated argument resulted and the Brethren walked out. Soon thereafter, legal action was instituted against them, driving many out of Swiss territory and others into prison.

Behind the obvious reason for Zwingli's writing against regenerate baptism lay something more subtle and aggravating. If his confessed purpose were to combat error inside the Swiss reformation, the implied purpose was to make his position absolutely clear to interested people on the outside. He was speaking to an audience for the special improvement of his fellow actor across the Rhein.

Hübmaier had not been neglecting his study of baptism during this period. Zwingli's misgivings that he and the Waldshut reformer were not of one mind in the matter had been strengthened by the tone of Balthazars Friedbergers zu Waldshut offentliche erbietung an alle Christgläubige menschen, which had left the printing press February 2nd, and certain remarks Hübmaier made in a letter to Oecolampadius, dated January 16th. After several false starts and three years' study, Hübmaier finally came to grips with the problem and decided that <sup>a</sup>pedobaptism had no Scriptural foundation. Writing to Oecolampadius, he said that for the moment, he was resolved to accede to the wishes of his weaker members who pleaded for their children's baptism. This was, however, only a temporary acquiescence. He was preparing to instruct his people properly in the question and determined to restore baptism as well as the Supper to their own original purity. He was working on twenty-two theses with sixty-four remarks which his correspondent would

soon see.<sup>17/</sup> Two weeks later his Offentliche Erbietung was published, causing both consternation and rejoicing in Switzerland. This leaflet was soon followed by Ain Sum ains ganzen christlichen Lebens. The latter is the longer work promised in Hübmaier's correspondence with Oecolampadius. Both of these enjoyed a wide circulation and formed an added goad to Zwingli's literary talents. Zwingli was stung with words like these:

"Whoever wants to prove that one ought to baptize infants, let him do so in German with clear and simple Scriptures which relate to baptism and without glossing. On the other hand, Balthasar Friedberger pledges himself to prove that infant baptism is a work bereft of foundation in the Scriptures, and this he will do in German with the aid of the Holy Scriptures. Let a Bible fifty or a hundred years old be the judge between these two propositions. . ."<sup>18/</sup>

"O God, pardon what we have done unwittingly. The red whore of Babylon has made us drunk with her chalice full of scholasticism and fables, but shall do so no more through our repentance. Therefore, dear Brethren. . . establish yourselves upon the Scriptures, because they are from Christ and give the right testimony as to how one should live a Christian life."<sup>19/</sup>

From this time forward, Hübmaier championed the Anabaptist cause, and became its principal exponent in southern Germany and Switzerland, at least as far as the question of baptism is concerned. We have seen already that he was not in

17. For Oecolampadius' letter to Zwingli concerning this, see Egli, Emil, Corpus Reformatorum, Vol. XCV, Bd. VIII, p. 29 and Staehlin, Ernst, Briefe u. Akten zum Leben Oekolampads I, Leipzig, 1927, p. 34lff.

18. Hübmaier, Balthasar, Offentliche Erbietung, for complete work see Appendix #VII b, p. 70.

19. Hübmaier, Ain Sum ains ganzen christlichen Lebens. This work has been appended as the last chapter of Von der Christenlichen Tauf der Gäubigen. See appendix #VII a, p. 62.

tune with the Anabaptist ideal of pacifism. His coming relation to magistracy appalled a large group of true Anabaptists.

Early in March the Zürich council ordered the arrest of all persons who refused to show their patriotism by submitting their children for baptism. By March 20th, Manz, Grebel, Blaurock and their little congregation of twenty-one souls were thrown into the "Hexenturm" with these words of Zwingli ringing in their ears: "You will exist on bread and water, and never again see the light of day until you repent your heresy!"<sup>\*</sup> Wilhelm Rübli, pastor at Wytiken, was banished from Zürich and made his way to Waldshut. Grebel and Manz, having effected their escape via a loose shutter and a rope swing, fled first to Schaffhausen and then to St. Gallen.

B. Hübmaier accepts believers' Baptism April, 1525:

The reason for Rübli's flight to Waldshut is obvious. He knew that Hübmaier was inclined towards Anabaptism and had great leadership potential. It would be an example for others if Hübmaier were to accept re-baptism. Rübli and Hübmaier discussed the matter for several days. At first Hübmaier hesitated, but only for a moment. He made his decision and accepted believers' baptism at Rübli's hands a week before Easter, 1525.

Easter Sunday dawned on a scene without parallel in the religious history of Europe. Hübmaier baptized three hundred believers from a milk pail which had been placed in

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\* See Egli, Emil, Aktensammlung zur Geschichte Züricher Reformation 1519 - 1533, #864, "November 1525", p. 406.

the font. The following Monday he broke plain bread and distributed both elements to his congregation. This innovation in the Supper was hinted at earlier in the year in Ettlich beschluszreden von Doctor Paltus Fridberger zu Waltzhut allen christen von und'richt d' mess. The German Mass had been held in Waldshut since 1524, but now the Mass, as an ordinance in memory of Christ's sacrificial act, was celebrated for the first time within the reorganized fellowship. Hübmaier sees the Supper in this light: the broken bread distributed to the fellowship is a symbolic representation of Christ's broken body, and the wine likewise symbolic of Christ's shed blood. The partaking of the elements is a ceremony of grateful remembrance and nothing more; no Grace comes through the bread and wine. Later in Ein Form des Nachtmals Christi, Hübmaier expresses his dissatisfaction with Luther's Eucharistic doctrine. He believed that consubstantiation was mere philosophism. Hübmaier was in closer agreement with Zwingli, who believed that Christ is present for those who contemplate their faith, but he never admits this agreement in so many words. He was unrelenting in his attempt to destroy the idea that the acquisition of Grace is dependent upon, or connected with, outward ceremonies and physical elements.

Hübmaier stipulates that a preaching service must precede the Supper and that the communicants must be at peace and in brotherly accord with one another. The Lord's Supper and an ordinary meal are completely different. In the Supper one proclaims the Lord's death till He come. The second thing signified by participation in the ordinance is one's willingness

to spread Christ's Gospel to those who have not heard it.<sup>20/</sup>

From this moment on the obligation to serve and evangelize was stressed with unqualified determination at Waldshut. Eighty more believers were baptized by the following Tuesday evening. In less than a week the regenerate, free Church at Waldshut numbered nearly five hundred people. This was the largest and most active free Church union in Europe.

The gauntlet thrown down by Zwingli in his tract, Vom Tauf, Kindertauf und Wiedertauf, was soon picked up. On July 10th, Hübmaier directed a request to Zürich that he be granted a safe conduct pass to travel there for a debate with Zwingli. He just finished reading Zwingli's latest work, and has been employed "night and morning" since July 7th on a little book of his own. He has proven in this writing that infants should not be baptized. His argument contains seventy pages and bears the title Von dem christenliche Tauf der Gläubigen.<sup>21/</sup> It was completed July 11th, and printed at Strassburg.

In seven chapters Hübmaier seeks to refute <sup>g</sup>pedobaptism from every conceivable angle, and similarly support the baptism of believers after repentance and confession. One need not read too far to see that the fundamental problem is not baptism, but its relationship to the Church. Consequently, any agreement between Hübmaier and Zwingli is doomed at the outset. The chasm between the Church as "free" or "national"

20. Appendix #VI, p. 3.

21. See appendix #VII.

is too wide to bridge. To be sure, the issue still divides Christendom.

Hübmaier introduces his study with a rebuttal of Zwingli's introductory accusations against the Anabaptists.

"It is not true," he says, "that we are factionists and in rebellion against magistracy. We pledge ourselves to peace and pious obedience to our government in all things which are not in opposition to God's commands. The reason we do not acknowledge our childhood baptism is that it does not meet the New Testament stipulations. To say that we hold ourselves to be sinless after baptism is ridiculous. We continue to be poor and miserable sinners afterward as well as before. We have founded our practice upon the Scriptures and not upon the words of rhetorical theologians."<sup>22/</sup>

The first chapter is devoted to the meaning of baptism. The outward act is only the public testimony through which the believer willingly places himself among the repentant. It signifies that personal repentance and confession have gone before, and that the soul has been renewed through the work of the Holy Spirit. The renewing work of God is dependent upon the contrition of the sinner. God gives the desire for rebirth to whom He will, making man totally dependent on His Grace. Through the confession of sin and guilt, the sinner is forgiven, washed by Christ's remedial act, and made worthy in the sight of God. Benefiting from all this undeserved blessing, the regenerate believer is then obliged to confess Christ before his fellowmen, and to direct his life after the example and command of Christ in order that others may be saved. One must expect that trials will come and be prepared to withstand them by putting complete trust in God.<sup>23/</sup>

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22. Ibid., p. 2-5.

23. Ibid., p. 6-8.

According to the definition, it is prerequisite that preaching or instruction precede the ordinance of baptism. A person must be led to an awareness of his sin. This was the goal of John's preaching. The proper understanding of baptism is threefold: (1) repentance of sin (2) free pardon (3) God's promised help in redirecting one's life.

It is evident that Hübmaier is no more immune to confusion and inconsistency than were other reformers. He urges in this section that God alone gives the desire for rebirth to whom He will, and yet he says that the individual must make the decision for himself. Hübmaier, however, does not dwell on predestination, nor does he return to the question again. The inference is that God can work through a believer to touch another soul which saves both God's omniscience and the evangelical obligation. Each believer is an ambassador of Christ. His example can be instrumental in extending Christ's Kingdom.

Hübmaier tried to organize a Church containing none but confessing believers. In a very real sense this Church was separated from the world, but not as an ingrown and exclusive religious fraternity. He believed that a Church gathered around Christ receives from Him the commission to carry His Gospel into the world. The world is the work field, and the visible Church is the storehouse of inspiration, fellowship and encouragement.

This was a Church with an optimistic attitude toward the power of Christian witnessing in the fight for men's souls.

To support his conception of baptism, Hübmaier now appeals to the authority of John. John's method was always the same. He preached, baptized, and showed the way to Christ.

He was greater than all the other preachers of the Law, because he not only saw the future expectation, but he recognized the present Christ. He did not preach the Gospel, but he prepared the way for it. He baptized those who repented/their sin. This excludes infants who neither know that they are guilty nor are inclined to repent. Before the resurrection the disciples baptized in the same manner. They baptized the "repentant" and directed them to the "Physician of Sin." After the resurrection Christ gave them the power to forgive sin through the Holy Spirit and, therefore, the act before and after Christ's resurrection is not the same.<sup>24/</sup>

That Christ himself did not baptize, leads Hübmaier into some confusion. He extricates himself by ignoring the problem and answering that Jesus commanded His disciples to baptize and there the matter should rest. Hübmaier finishes this section with the advice that John could preach only the Law, but Christ could forgive sin. "Gott führt durch Johannem hynab inn die hell/vnnd durch Christum wider auffher."<sup>25/</sup>

The third chapter reviews such Scripture passages as pertain to John's baptism and seeks to fix an invariable order of events:<sup>26/</sup> (1) the Word (2) the hearing of the Word (3) the re-orientation of life and the awareness of sin (4) baptism (5) works. "By this series of events," he writes, "you can judge if John baptized babies or only those who can fulfill these conditions."<sup>27/</sup> The words, "repent your sin" are

24. Ibid., pp. 9-13.

26. Matth. 3:21 ; Mk. 1: ; Luke 3:7 ; Acts 19:

27. Appendix VII, p. 16.

25. Ibid., p. 15.

ample proof for Hübmaier that John could not have baptized infants.

Hübmaier's second attack purposes once and for all to prove that the baptisms of John and Christ were not the same. Zwingli maintains that they were the same. Hübmaier quotes Acts-19:1-5.

"This passage speaks so clearly of the difference between John's and Christ's baptisms that no one can misunderstand. Yet there has been so much juggling with Holy Theology lately that it has become an Anaxagorian philosophy. We are asked to accept so many new beliefs that one would think that a new New Testament had been printed. Then every 'cricket-head' would have one for himself; a baptism for a theology, a name for an imported name, and finally a new Christ would have to grow out of a pumpkin!"<sup>28/</sup>

Following Acts 19, his exegesis moves along this line: the Ephesians were baptized in repentance of their sin. They knew nothing of forgiveness or the Holy Spirit. Paul preached "Christ" and the Ephesians believed. Thereafter, they were baptized in Christ. This Hübmaier declares, is the true "re-baptism," because John's was a true baptism to begin with. Infant baptism is not a true baptism, because it fails to follow the New Testament pattern. What is called "Wiedertauf" now, is falsely named. X

The fourth chapter is devoted to Christ's charge to the apostles. Primary Scriptural advice for this section comes from Mark 16:15 and Mat. . 28:19. Again the pattern is repeated: (1) to preach (2) to strive to bring people to belief (3) to baptize. Evangelization is fundamental. He writes, "The most important thing is that Christ has sent out his

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28. Ibid., p. 22.

disciples, just as God sent Him, with the commission to win others and forgive sin in His name."<sup>29/</sup> People must know that Jesus suffered and died for their sin, and this can only be done through preaching and intelligent hearing. Through preaching man sees his sin. He confesses it and requests further instruction so that he may cry to God and beg pardon. This works faith in him and removes his doubts. Through faith he is made whole and his sin is forgiven. He gives himself to God, binds himself to the fellowship of the Church, and submits to baptism as an outward sign of what has happened in his soul.

It is plain to Hübmaier that two things must precede the sign: (1) intelligent recognition and (2) a conviction that one has a personal Saviour. The "yes" or "I do" given by the candidate to the question, "Do you believe in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, and do you believe in the forgiveness of sin, resurrection of the body, and life eternal" is the decisive thing. Upon this expression of an inward faith, the person is forgiven. Baptism follows only as a public testimony.

The reformer now hits the substitutionary "yes" given in behalf of infants. "First of all," he writes, "one cannot tell if, in the future a child will be able to fulfill the responsibilities placed upon him. It is like setting out a promising vine at Easter, and expecting it to bear good fruit in the autumn, regardless of frost and hail in the meantime."<sup>30/</sup>

29. Ibid., p. 27.

30. Ibid., p. 33.

There is no instance in the New Testament where one was baptized for another's faith or in the faith of a group. Christ says, "He who believes and is baptized will be saved." If his opponents will show him where they receive their authority for the claim, Hübmaier will tell them how Melchizedek's father was named.

Against the assertion that <sup>a</sup>pedobaptism is a "sign of beginning" Hübmaier asks what is begun through it. Surely it is not the Spirit of God. The child must have that already since it does not come through outward forms. Neither can it be the beginning of faith, because faith proceeds only out of the Word which the infant has not heard.

After some reiteration of Mat. 28; Mk. 16; Acts 2; and Heb. 5:19, he suggests that several passages in Acts be given closer consideration. These are Acts 8, 9, 10:11; 16, 18, 19, 22, the gist being that he who believes should be baptized. He closes this section with the demand that a visible Church must have a visible sign.

"Where there is no water baptism there is no Church, no servants, no brotherly reprimand, excommunication or reinstating. Faith alone is in the heart, but through baptism one acknowledges what has happened and that he is resolved to live according to the rule of Christ. He also acknowledges that the brethren have the right to punish, ban and receive again."<sup>31/</sup>

The fifth chapter is given over entirely to Scripture passages. Hübmaier asks his readers to consider the following and to keep in mind the five-fold plan he gave in chapter three. Mat. 16; John 5:3; Acts 2, 8, 5, 16, 18, 19, 22; I Cor. 1; 6-10;

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31. Ibid., p. 44.

I Peter 3; Hebrews 5; Romans 6; Gal. 3; Eph. 4; Col. 2;  
Titus 3

In the sixth division of his statement Hübmaier introduces and answers three common questions. (1) Does Scripture forbid <sup>a</sup>pedobaptism? (2) Has the practice been customary since apostolic times? (3) What is the fate of unbaptized children? He answers the first question in the affirmative. Although it is not forbidden in so many words, it should be obvious that baptism is for believers only. He writes:

"For those who have eyes, it should be manifestly clear that even though the words 'Do not baptize infants' are not in the Bible, the practice is still in error. Using the same argument I can baptize my dog or my ass, circumcise girls, say masses . . . take infants to the Supper, bless palm branches, salt, lard. . . and sell masses. Neither are these things forbidden. But you say 'ass baptism is forbidden, because Christ said to baptize people.' Well that suits me; then it is all right to baptize Jews and Turks. Then you will say, 'well, of course, I meant you should baptize believers.' That is fine -- then why do you baptize babies?"<sup>32/</sup>

That infant baptism has been practiced for many years does not make it right in Hübmaier's mind. False is always false. He then cites certain Roman canons to show that the Church was not always of one mind in the matter.

32. Ibid., p. 54.

\*Hübmaier cites ten canons from the Corpus Juris Canonici, 3 Vols., B. Rembolt, Paris, 1518. All these are taken from De Consecra, Distinctio IV.

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|---|-----------------|
| 1. "Non ratiōne" p. ccccxliviii         | Col. iii        |
| 2. "Proprie" p. ccccxliviii             | Col. iiiii      |
| 3. "Ante Baptismum" p. ccccxlviiii      | Col. ii         |
| 4. "Ante Viginti" p. ccccxlviiii        | Col. iii        |
| 5. "Baptisandos" p. ccccxlviiii         | Col. iii        |
| 6. "Non Liceat" p. ccccli               | Col. ii         |
| 7. "Siqui" (Si qui apud) p. ccccxliviii | Col. iiiii      |
| 8. "Catechumenos" p. ccccxlvi           | Col. ii         |
| 9. "Venerabilis" p. ccccxliviii         | Col. ii         |
| 10. "Baptisandi" p. ccccxliviii         | Col. ii and iii |

In answer to the third question Hübmaier places the fate of unbaptized babies in God's hands. If God handled the matter according to our righteous deserts, no one would be saved. But He does not do that, and in like manner He can make innocent children righteous and save them. Of this we cannot be certain, however, because Scripture is silent in the matter. Matthew 19:14 does not mean that children belong to the Kingdom of Heaven. The passage refers to the virtue of humility -- "Such" is the Kingdom of Heaven -- not "theirs" is the Kingdom of Heaven. The faith of parents does not aid their children. The New Testament knows nothing of an "effused" faith, and the Sacrament does not work ex opere operato.

In summation Hübmaier outlines once again his baptismal thoughts:

1. The Law convicts one of sin and deflates the ego.
2. Then Christ appears as the soul's physician. He aids the sinner and intercedes with the Father.
3. Man must then confess his faith openly through baptism and resolve to better his life. If he fail, he must accept the discipline and punishment of the Church.
4. Man promises to do these things through the strength of God. So girded, he is prepared to fight sin and obliged to bring forth good works.
5. Through the Lord's Supper the grateful remembrance of Christ's act is rekindled in the minds and hearts of the believing participants. As Christ has done for us, so must we do for our neighbors. If we beseech God, He will give us the power to fulfill this duty.\*

Hübmaier succeeded admirably, if his purpose was to cause consternation and gnashing of teeth within Zwingli's

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\* Von der Ordnung einer Christenlichen frombmachung, Appendix VII a, pp. 61-77. An abridged outline.

ranks. This tractate was widely read, especially in Basel where Oecolampadius characterized it as "presumptuous." Capito in Strassburg was no less shaken, and Zwingli's wrath knew no bounds. Writing to Vadian on October 11th, he accused Hübmaier of gross exegetical inaccuracy. <sup>33/</sup> Nevertheless, Hübmaier was convinced that his standpoint was justified and proved his confidence by undertaking a journey to Zürich for another debate, regardless of the tempest brewing all around him. In company with thirty companions he gained Lochringen before his party was attacked by three hundred cavalry and one hundred foot soldiers. The secret of Hübmaier's departure had been revealed to the Austrian government. It could not allow such an opportunity to pass without attempting this insurgent's capture. The attack failed and the reformer managed to reach Waldshut before his pursuers.

This time Zwingli prepared a direct answer to Hübmaier which appeared November 5th, with the title, Über Doctor Balthazars Touffbüchlein, wahrhafte gründliche Antwort durch Huldrychen Zwinglin. <sup>34/</sup> Unfortunately, it reveals little more than Zwingli's personal bitterness. Egli says of it, "Infolgedessen ist sie formell nicht die glücklichste, sie entbehrt <sup>35/</sup> der Grosszügigkeit und arbeitet mit stark persönlicher Polemik." Zwingli has given already all he intends to give respecting baptism. He establishes himself upon the unalterable conclusion

33. Zwingli, Brief an Vadian, "Oct. 11th, 1525, op. cit., Vol. XCV, Bd. VIII, #390, pp. 381-383.

34. Zwingli, Über Doctor Balthazars Touffbüchlein, wahrhafte gründliche Antwort durch Huldrychen Zwinglin, op. cit., Vol. XCI, Bd. IV, pp. 577-642.

35. Ibid., p. 580.

that baptism for Christians carries the same general meaning as circumcision for the Jews. Baptism is a demonstration, a sign, an initiation, a Pflichtzeichen. He thinks only in terms of God's covenant with the Church, and the Church and State are inextricably woven together. Whether or not children have a personal faith is unimportant.

Zwingli objects to Hübmaier's differentiation between the baptisms of John and Christ. They were identical, and John preached no less a Gospel. Zwingli accuses Hübmaier of making water baptism necessary to salvation which Hübmaier never does. Hübmaier continually stresses faith as the deciding factor.

Zwingli's ability to assure parents of their child's salvation is much more comforting than any advice his opponent can offer. They are saved on the strength of their membership in Christ's covenant. Zwingli does not mention the fate of children who do not have believing parents.

Zwingli writhes under Hübmaier's incessant appeal to the Scriptures. "Gschrift, Gschrift!" he cries, "soll ich nun wie du Gschrift, Gschrift schreien?" This he does, but his fury is unreasoned. He supports <sup>g</sup>pedobaptism as a Pflichtzeichen by a questionable interpretation of Colossians 2:11-15. This text is compared with Genesis 17:14. Other supporting comparisons are Gal. 3:8 and Deut. 31:12-13; Acts 8:13 and Deut. 24:16; Ez. 18:1-20 and Gen. 38:29-30 and Rom. 4:14. To make his point absolutely clear, Zwingli then prepares two indexes.

| "Abraham's Index"   | "Christ's Index"   |
|---|--|
| I God   | I God, all sufficing   |
| II Is Abraham's God   | II Is our God  |
| III Who shall walk righteously before him.                  | III Before whom we should walk righteously                       |
| IV He is also the God of Abraham's seed                     | IV He is also the God of our seed.                               |
| V Abraham called God his Savior                             | V God sent the Savior to us.                                     |
| VI Sign of the Covenant: circumcision of young and old      | VI Sign of the Covenant: Baptism of young and old.               |
| VII After which children are taught upon reaching maturity. | VII Children are instructed upon reaching age of responsibility. |

He ends these remarks with his underlying grievance and the main reason for his opposition to Anabaptism.

"Anabaptism causes separation in the Church and disruption in the order of magistracy. Infant baptism is a 'root of aspiration' and a clear, faithful sign of assurance that our children are surely God's in the power of the Covenant."<sup>36/</sup>

It was not within Hübmaier's nature to allow such a challenge to return empty to its originator. His answer illustrates what a facility he had for meeting the opposition with the appropriate weapon. This took the form of a discussion between Zwingli and himself, and is titled Ein Gespräch Balthasar Hübmers von Fridberg.<sup>37/</sup> Although very little original ground is covered, the tract is cleverly written and represents possibly Hübmaier's best literary style. It was finished on November 30th, but was not published until 1526, due to the tense situation at Waldshut which caused printers in the surrounding area to shun Hübmaier's writings.

The form of the writing is extremely simple. The author lifts sentences out of Zwingli's Antwort and treats

36. Ibid., p. 641.

37. Appendix #VIII.

them as if the latter had said them in discussion. The main idea or argument, if there is one, is difficult to expose. What Hübmaier tries to prove is that Zwingli is generally in error. The tract is addressed to the noble Lords Leonhart and Hans von Liechtenstainn, the introduction having been written at Nicolsburg nearly a year after the text was completed at Waldshut.

Hübmaier answers Zwingli with many of the same arguments he has given already in Von dem christenliche Tauf der Gläubigen. Therefore, a complete outline is unnecessary. It will suffice to review his objection to the Pflichtzeichen idea, and the relationship baptism has to circumcision.

He purposes to remove the obstruction which blocks the road to the true conception of baptism. Zwingli's book is that obstruction. He has been hindered in dealing this coup de grace by the "Devil's work with the publisher," martyrdom, and imprisonment, but now he is prepared to do battle. It is not out of revenge that this tractate has been prepared, but in a pious attempt to aid the Church.

In the ensuing discussion, Zwingli asserts that he has a clear proof that circumcision and baptism are related in the words of Colossians 2:10-13. Hübmaier retorts that the passage refers to the internal baptism of faith, and not the external baptism of water. He is willing to allow the Christian reader to decide if his exegesis is accurate.<sup>38/</sup>

After a few pages of digression, he returns to the point.

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38. Ibid., p. 18.

Zwingli says, "Baptism is a Pflichtzeichen through which one signifies that he wants to better his life, and follow after Christ." "Deo Gratias," remarks Balthasar, "the light of truth must finally dawn." Then follows:

"If baptism is a 'duty sign' one must have the duty before the sign is conferred. Before one carries out a duty he must be instructed in words or writing. If this is not done, it is a blind duty which amounts to nothing. He must willingly agree to it, or the sign is not placed upon him. Now tell us here, once and for all my Zwingli, where, when or how does the cradled infant accept such a duty? Do you say, the Father, Mother, or Godparents do it for the child? But did you not say first that baptism is a Pflichtzeichen, through which he who takes it signifies that he wants to better his life and is obligated to follow Christ? Mark well. You said, 'He who takes it,' that 'he' -- not someone else in his behalf."<sup>39/</sup>

The discussion now turns to Zwingli's proposal that <sup>by</sup>pedobaptism is a sign that the child has begun to grow spiritually. Hübmaier doubts this, because a child could just as easily grow up to be heathen. There is no guarantee that Christian parents will produce Christian children. Christ-likeness does not come through the flesh in physical birth, but through the Spirit in spiritual rebirth. Only after faith enters the picture can one confess Christ and promise to live after His commands. An infant has no desire to learn these commands. Zwingli uses Romans 6:4 as support for his ideas, but his opponent takes exception with the demand that no one may take the responsibility for another.<sup>40/</sup>

Zwingli then states that baptism is an imposed sign or ceremony similar to that performed upon youths when they enter

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39. Ibid., p. 29ff.

40. Ibid., p. 37ff.

a monastic order. The vows are placed upon them before they learn the laws and statutes. To this Hübmaier answers:

"Just exactly as a child is shoved into a cloister, and is henceforth a monk or a nun, is infant baptism a baptism, and the child, an initiated Christian, lacking knowledge of the Law and bereft of faith. A good example. It well suits you."<sup>41/</sup>

The only thing that circumcision and baptism have in common, according to Hübmaier, is their origin. Both were commanded by God. The Jews were required to circumcise on the eighth day. The Christian must honor God's command and baptize the individual as soon as he confesses his faith. God waits only eight days for the Jewish payment of guilt, but for Christians He waits much longer.<sup>42/</sup>

Before the presentation of his final six theses, he enlarges upon his former attitude toward unbaptized children. He urges that we cannot know if infants possess the Holy Spirit, or if by some intrinsic merit they are the property of God. By nature they are children of wrath, but this is not to despair. One must place his hope for their salvation in God's hands. One thing is certain. A person is not a child of God through physical birth or superimposed ceremonies.<sup>43/</sup>

The magnanimity of Hübmaier's final words is surprising when one considers what pain and humiliation preceded their writing. This will be clear at the end of the chapter.

"Dear Zwingli, you see that I have quoted your words as they appeared in print. By this I have done you no injustice. If it be your desire to answer in writing, please do so through the help of God and an honest appeal

41. Ibid., p. 31.  
43. Ibid., p. 50ff.

42. Ibid., p. 39ff.

to the Scriptures, for you know how you and your city of Zürich have handled the matter in these previous articles. It would not be a miracle if the stones themselves discussed the matter. But if you desire to dispute with me orally and publicly, I willingly accept the opportunity, and suggest that the debate be held in the ancient and imperial city of Regensburg in Bavaria (of course with the permission of the authorities) which is neutral territory. Please yourself and live well in Christ."<sup>44/</sup>

Whatever else may be said, these differing views of baptism and the constitution of the Church ultimately rest on the question of authority. Hübmaier found the authority for his conclusions in the Bible and in the practice of the New Testament Church. Zwingli tried to do this, but was compelled to return to tradition to save his view of a national Church. He did not believe that the Church and the State were too dissimilar to work as a unity. For twelve hundred years Christianity had been the approved religion of the State. The Reformation of the Church did not necessitate the breaking of this long and comfortable association. Therefore, the visible Church, for Zwingli, was an inseparable facet of the contemporary culture and liable to the same authority. Membership in such a Church was just as great a patriotic duty as the paying of taxes or the bearing of arms.

The time when a missionary zeal was necessary had passed. In the early days there was need for such an enterprise, because the Church had set itself in opposition to a heathen State. Now the State was Christian and every loyal citizen was similarly a Christian by virtue of his membership in the National Church. As Christian parents bore children,

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44. Ibid., p. 68.

the infants were accepted or initiated into the national Christian fellowship through baptism in the same way that the circumcised infants were received into the Hebrew State. Their faith was promised by the parents and the Pflichtzeichen was applied by the Church. By this process the State's Christianity and Christianity's State were assured in perpetuity.

Unquestionably this is a wholesome ideal, but it assumes an optimistic attitude toward the world which a survey of actual conditions may easily destroy. The "Christian" State of sixteenth century Europe was a poor example of Christian virtue. As far as Hübmaier and the Anabaptists were concerned, the ideal exploded at this point. The State and Society were not Christian. The world in its many departments was not infused with Christian Love. To parade its cruelty and moral depravity, its selfishness and spiritual blindness under the banner of pious Christianity was a mockery. Their perusal of existing situations made them pessimistic about the osmotic spread of Christ's Gospel through imposed signs and substituted faith. The Gospel could become meaningful and influential only if it were understood by men who devoted themselves to its extension. The world was no less heathen in 1525 than it was in Christ's own day and, consequently, the contemporary Church had to take its example from its primitive counterpart. Thus, the return to the Word of Scripture and the guidance of early Christian practice.

The Church was seen as existing separate from the world and autonomous within its own sphere, just as was the early Church. Hübmaier was willing to "render unto Caesar" as long as Caesar did not demand what a Christian could not

give. This Church was gathered around Christ and under His immediate leadership. Every member was one who had personally confessed his faith, as did the early Christians, and taken upon himself the duty of Christian witnessing. They were filled with the missionary spirit and optimistic that God could work through them to touch the lives of others.

They were gathered together through baptism after confession of faith. To the water itself Hübmaier attributes nothing supernatural. An individual's faith is the saving thing. Christ commanded to baptize in water after instruction and faith. They were following His commands as they understood them. Baptism served as a sign of recognition among them. No mention is made in Hübmaier's writings that sinlessness follows baptism. He stressed quite the opposite. In his Deutsche Messe u. ordnung Gottes diensts, from 1526 Luther expresses his own desire for a similar type of gathered Church. As he explains, his hopes to build such a fellowship are frustrated by the lack of interested people. His preoccupation with a united Protestantism acted as another deterrent. He writes:

"But the third and right way in which one should observe the evangelical ordinances is not through a service which is held in any public place, and open to all people in general, but through a closed service preferably in a private house, where those who are earnest Christians, and who testify to the Gospel with their hands and mouths may gather to pray, read, baptize, distribute the elements, and practice other Christian works. In this manner, one could examine, punish, better, exclude, and excommunicate after the rule of Christ in Matthew 18:15-17, all those who are not practicing their Christianity. In this way one could also gather a general alms fund, willingly given and distributed to the poor after the example of Paul in II Corinthians 9:1. Such a group must not begin with too many people. In the midst of such a group a man could clarify his ideas about baptism and the Supper, and order

practice through the Word, prayer and Love. Here one should have a good, short catechism, the Ten Commandments and the Lord's prayer. What it amounts to is this. If one had enough people who desired to be earnest Christians, this manner of doing things could be accomplished in no time. But I still cannot and may not establish such a fellowship or gathered group, because I still do not have the personnel; to be sure, I also do not see many who lean in that direction. . . . As long as this situation persists I will have to continue to hold public worship, exhort the youth, and seek to direct people into the faith by exhortation and preaching until they may be called Christian in the true sense of the word. The spiritual disposition of spiritual mutineers drives me out of my head. We Germans are a wild, raving and crude people. It is not easy to innovate with us. (Such innovation) causes only the greatest distress. Now then, ever forward in God's name."<sup>45/</sup>

The imperial authorities at Ensisheim did not admit defeat after their plot to capture Hübmaier failed. Another communication was passed to Innsbruck on February 1st, accusing the Waldshut preacher of burning pictures, throwing the font into the Rhein, distributing leavened bread to the communicants and allowing the people to dance in the church.<sup>46/</sup>

The government was not ignorant of the growing tension between Hübmaier and Zwingli. If the quasi alliance with Zürich were broken, the threat of active Swiss intervention would be removed as a deterrent to Austrian action. With the publication of Zwingli's Antwort the Ensisheim authorities saw the arrival of the long anticipated breach.

45. Luther, "Deutsche Messe u. ordnung Gottes diensts," in Weimar Ausgabe, Luther's Werke, Vol. 19, p. 72ff.

46. Bossert, Gustav, Blättern für Württembergische Kirchengeschichte, Vol. IV, p. 82.

C. Waldshut's Downfall, December 1525:

A milestone on the road to Waldshut's downfall was passed with the destruction of the Griessen peasants. This slaughter of five hundred people occurred on November 4th, almost simultaneous with Hübmaier's near capture. Two Waldshut citizens were spared death, but were punished by the forfeit of two fingers, and then directed toward home to display the price of insurrection before their pastor. On November 9th, Graf Rudolf von Sulz and Fuchs von Fuchsberg reported their victory to Ferdinand. To guarantee that the pastor of Griessen would misinterpret God's Word and preach heresy no longer, they had plucked out his eyes and removed his tongue. The severity of this action soon brought the sympathetic neighboring cities to their knees, leaving Waldshut without an effective ally.

Inside Waldshut the situation was no less disturbing. The citizens doubted that a repetition of their former stand could divert the current danger. While Hübmaier was preoccupied with his writing, the pro-Roman minority was agitating against him. Armbruster and his followers had returned to join forces with Junker Gutjahr who had never forgiven the public humiliation he suffered at Hübmaier's hands. With the possibility of imminent reinforcements, this group became daily more belligerent. They pointed to Griessen as an effective illustration of the imperial wrath.

At this critical moment Hübmaier fell ill and was confined to his bed. Deprived of their shepherd's guidance, the

flock became confused and frightened. Gutjahr successfully regained his former post, and the Romanist element ascended to the place of control. On December 5th, all citizens were called to the Rathaus to hear the latest Austrian proclamation. It threatened immediate military action unless the Mass was reinstated, the pictures returned, and Hübmaier surrendered. It was the decision of the Council to acquiesce. All those who refused could leave the city and shift for themselves. Hübmaier replied that he had been the city's spiritual leader for a long time, but he could not order that these demands be honored. Ill as he was, he would leave the city and seek refuge elsewhere. Shortly afterward he was warned that Gutjahr's party was plotting his immediate arrest. Without packing he fled to a neighbor who ferried him straightway across the Rhein. His wife, Elsbeth, only had time to tie a sack of money around his neck. His original intention was to make for Strassburg, but he amended this decision and took the road to Zürich. Elsbeth followed in a few weeks, leaving most of their property to the friendly disposition of Gutjahr and his followers.<sup>47/</sup>

On the day of Hübmaier's flight, Junker Fuchs and Graf Rudolf took possession of the city. They refused to leave until the heretics were banished and the city unequivocally pro-Austrian. With no hope left, sixty families quit the city.

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47. Heigerlein, Johannes, Ursach warumb der Wiedertäufer Patron unnd erster Anfenger Doctor Balthasar Hübmayr zu Wien verbrennt sey, Vienna, 1528, Note A. See also Elsbeth Hübmaier's testimony from the Zürich Täuferprozess" in Egli, Emil, Actensammlung zur Geschichte der Züricher Reformation in den Jahren 1519-1533, J. Shabelitz, Zürich, 1879, p. 429ff. and Note E, "aus dem Verhöre Balthasar Hübmaier's, Zürich, 5, März, 1526."

This done the government laid down the law.

Christoph Fuchs and Wolf von Honburg were to take possession of the keys and occupy the city with two hundred men. All citizens were stripped of their rights. Ringleaders were to be hunted down and given appropriate punishment. All forms of Roman worship were to be re-established forthwith.

The proud coat-of-arms, mentioned earlier, was discontinued and another substituted with a Cardinal's hat as the main emblem. Each year at Christmas two of the city's leading citizens were to journey to Laufenburg and Säckingen to thank the cities for their help in restoring the Roman faith. With the coming of each new year a crossbow or a hunting rifle had to be circulated from Waldshut through all the neighboring cities to Ensisheim in remembrance of Austria's swift and sure action. If this were not enough, every citizen was required to donate at least ten days work out of the year until the new fortress was completed. These measures soon cowed the people so effectively that a force of only sixty men was required to keep the peace. On December 17th, the general Vicar of Konstanz, Dr. Johann Heigerlein, held the traditional service in the city. Those evangelicals who had remained due to ill health or old age had to stand through the long service in an attitude of obeisance. Within the space of a few months the strong and promising free Church at Waldshut was shattered. The memory of this evangelical experiment was not encouraged and in a few years it was forgotten. It is only in our day that Hübmaier's name is heard again in the Black Forest city. In 1947 a small congregation of German Baptist refugees was resettled in Waldshut. The need for a place of worship was

met by Baptist friends from all over the world, and today a chapel in memory of Balthasar Hübmaier overlooks the scene of his early labor.

D. Hübmaier's last visit to Zürich, December, 1525 - May, 1526:

Hübmaier reached Zürich about the middle of December after spending a few days with friends at Grüningen. Heinrich Aberli, one of the Brethren, offered him hospitality and tried to render the ragged and weakened man what comfort he could. In a few days Hübmaier felt strong enough to renew his petition for an open debate with Zwingli. What he hoped to gain by this is difficult to fathom. He certainly had confidence in his position, but he must not have realized how firmly the Zwinglians were set against him. The news of Waldshut's capitulation caused dismay and no small degree of spiteful regret among the Swiss reformers. They blamed the city for its weak-kneed attitude, and Hübmaier for the alienation of the Swiss cities. His presence in Zürich provided an opportunity for the Zwinglians to work off their anger. They prepared to castigate him thoroughly for his stubborn baptism policy which had split the evangelical party.

In due course, Engelhard, Leo Jud, Myconius, Sebastian Hoffmeister, Megander and Zwingli accepted his offer of an open debate. The date was set for December 21st. It was a foregone conclusion that Hübmaier would lose. What ensued resembled an intelligent debate in no particular. Hübmaier began with Peter's words in Acts 2:38; "Repent and be baptized." Zwingli answered with I Corinthians 10:2; "all baptized into Moses in the cloud and sea." The children are likewise baptized even if

they are unaware of it. Frustrated by the fact that sensible discussion was out of the question, Hübmaier tried to make the best of it. Baptism was no longer a debatable question in Zürich, and deviation from the prescribed dogma could not hope for a sympathetic hearing. The debate only served to extract a promise from the schismatic that he would recant. He was bound over to house arrest and given some weeks to prepare a statement later to be read in the Grossmünster. During the first week in January of 1526, Hübmaier entered one of the Grossmünster's pulpits to read his statement. Zwingli occupied a pulpit on the other side of the chancel. The congregation was surprised and Zwingli wroth, when Hübmaier lifted his face towards heaven and said:

"Oh, what a battle I have waged with my conscience all night concerning these things. Now I must declare here that I can and will not recant!"<sup>48/</sup>

With this as a preface, he immediately launched into an anti-pedobaptist sermon. Zwingli lost no time in gaining his feet. He called Hübmaier a traitor and ordered his arrest while the people exchanged excited opinions as to who was in the right. Hübmaier was hustled out of the cathedral and into prison before there was time for partisanships to form. There he remained until April, being persuaded by torture, privation and infirmity to write his recantation. In the midst of this grim and friendless solitude his thoughts became introspective. As

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<sup>48.</sup> Loserth, Johann, Doctor Balthasar Hübmaier und die Anfänge der Wiedertäufer in Mähren, pp. 116-119.

he pondered and prayed, the twelve major tenets of his personal creed were established. Having been born out of physical and spiritual anguish rather than out of a desire for debate and dialectic argumentation, these articles are not theories, but rather his religious fundamentals. They were published at Nicolsburg in 1527, and bear the title Die Zwelf Artickel Christenlichs glaubens.<sup>49/</sup> The reverent tone of the writing can be appreciated only by reading it in its entirety. It is written in the form of a prayer of which the following is an abridged translation.

1. "Almighty God, Maker of heaven and earth has extended His Grace to men, who by Adam's disobedience lost their Sonship.
2. Jesus Christ our Lord and God's only begotten Son has made expiation for man's sin and made peace between man and God. Through His Holy Word He has given us the power to become children of God by faith.
3. Jesus Christ was conceived of the Holy Spirit and born of the ever Virgin Mary. The Son of the Living God became man in order that mankind might become children of God.
4. The Christ suffered, was crucified, dead and buried to redeem man from the eternal cross and pang of death. Therefore, be praise and thanks to Him forever.
5. The Christ descended into Hell to proclaim His glad tidings to those who were in bondage. On the third day He arose again for our sakes that we may have life everlasting.
6. After forty days on earth Jesus ascended to the right hand of the Father where He sitteth to help all believers who set their trust in Him. There is no other advocate but Christ Jesus.
7. Christ will return again to judge the quick and the dead on the day of the last judgment. May that day come soon, but in the meantime may we so direct our lives that they be worthy in God's sight.

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<sup>49.</sup> See appendix #IX. A Full translation can be found in Vedder, Henry, Balthasar Hübmaier, the Leader of the Anabaptists, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1905, pp. 130-36.

8. The Holy Spirit proceedeth from the Father and the Son to teach truth, increase Faith, and to kindle brotherly love in the hearts of believers.
9. The Holy, Catholic, Christian Church, the communion of the Saints and the brotherhood of believing men who confess one Lord, one God, one Faith and one Baptism is ruled on earth by the living Word. Jesus Christ is Her immediate head.
10. This Church has the power of the Keys to exclude persistent sinners and to admit the repentant. What she looses on earth will be loosed in heaven. What She binds on earth will be bound in heaven.
11. The flesh will be resurrected though it be eaten by worms, drowned, frozen or burned. The resurrection body will be incapable of suffering, clear and immortal.
12. Life eternal will be the reward of those who have kept the faith during this suffering life."

He concludes with these words:

"Oh Holy God, Oh Mighty God, Oh Immortal God, This is my faith which I confess with heart and mouth, and have testified to openly before the Church through water baptism. I beg you to preserve me in it through your Grace until my end. And if I should turn aside through human fear and terror, through tyranny, martyrdom, sword, fire, or water, call me again to Thee. Oh my compassionate Father, redirect me through the Grace of Thy Holy Spirit and let me not die without this faith. This I beg you from the bottom of my heart, through Jesus Christ Thine own dearly beloved Son, our Lord and Savior. I place all my hope in Thee, let me not be shamed in eternity. Amen."<sup>50/</sup>

Another purely devotional booklet may have been written during this Zürich imprisonment. The title is, Ein Kurtzes<sup>51/</sup>vater unser. Rather than being "a short Lord's Prayer" it is actually quite long. Hübmaier takes each sentence and enlarges upon its meaning in this fashion:

"'Our Father': O gracious father, I am not worthy to be called Thy son, or to call Thee

50. Ibid., p. 15.

51. Appendix #X.

father. I have not fulfilled Thy fatherly will, but the will of the father of liers. O, merciful father, pardon (my guilt) and make me a son in faith.

'Which art in heaven': O bountiful father, behold how we are in this miserable vale of tears. Yet the children are never (rejected) when they gather around their father who feeds, clothes, and protects them from all harm. O gracious father, take us, suffering children, to Thee in heaven."<sup>52/</sup>

Of particular interest is his reaction to the sentence, "Give us this day our daily bread." He pleads that man needs "the bread of Thy divine Word" to nourish his soul, much more than physical bread for his body's nourishment. He concludes with these words:

"Thou wilt give us whatever we ask in His (Christ's) name. Father, into Thy hands we commit our bodies, lives, possessions, soul and spirit, and everything we have received from Thee. We offer these up to Thee. Thou giveth and taketh, Thy name be praised. Amen."<sup>54/</sup>

In March Hübmaier was stretched upon the rack until he agreed to write his recantation. Zwingli attended the torture and reported the scene in a jocular tone. The recantation thus extracted, was to be read from the pulpits of the Grossmünster and the St. Peter's church on April 15th.

There was no good reason to hold Hübmaier after his retraction was written. A request was forwarded to Schaffhausen that certain of Hübmaier's possessions be sold. His legal

52. Ibid., p. 2.

53. Ibid., p. 6.

54. Ibid., p. 7.

55. Jackson, S. M., Huldreich Zwingli, the Reformer of German Switzerland, New York, 1903, chapter xii, p. 250.

56. Egli, Emil, Actensammlung #940, and Veddar, op. cit., pp. 138-140.

\* See Note F for Hübmaier's recantation of April 11th, 1526.

costs were to be paid from the proceeds before the money was given to him.<sup>57/</sup> He stayed in Zürich for a week after his release for fear that his Austrian enemies would be waiting for him outside the gates. Reassured that no danger immediately threatened, he and his wife left the city and traveled to friends in Konstanz. The flight was executed with caution, making their departure virtually unnoticed. From Konstanz he returned again to Augsburg. He did not enter the city this time as an honored spokesman of a powerful city and the favorite of his religious superiors, but as a hunted and disgraced fugitive from the anger of a cause he once had championed.

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57. Loserth, Johann, op. cit., p. 121.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE FLOURISHING AND THE WITHERING

#### A. Augsburg, The Summer of 1526:

Hübmaier's recuperation from the strain of the Waldshut and Zürich experiences was completed during a two month rest with friends at Augsburg. He was not alone, as many other Anabaptist refugees from Switzerland and the Black Forest had fled there after the collapse of the cause in their respective areas. An Augsburg chronicle for the years 1518 - 1533 reports that the indigenous Anabaptist element, as well as the large refugee group, soon united behind his teaching.<sup>1/</sup> The author, probably a Benedictine monk from the cloister of St. Ulrich, gives this passage for the year 1527:

"Augustae in tribus hortis domorum convenerunt viri ac mulieres, ultra 1100 divites, mediocres & pauperes, qui omnes rebaptizati sunt. Mulieres cum rebaptizabantur, induebant se bracis: alias totaliter nudae erant. In domibus etenim, vbi Baptisterium erat, ibidem semper multitudo bracciarum dependebat. Hi autem omnes tenebant infra scriptos articulos, quos doctor Balthasar in Moravia in vrbe Niciausburg, quae sub domino est dominorum de Liechtenstain, publice praedicavit:"<sup>2/</sup>

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1. "Historica relatio de orti & progressu haeresum in Germania, praesertim vero Augustae Vindellicorum. Ex antiquis Annalibus MSS. cuiusdam contemporanei fideliter descripta, & nunc publici juris facta." Schelhorn, Acta Historica Ecclesiastica, I, p. 286.

2. Ibid., p. 25. See Note G for description of Anabaptist theological tenets as recorded by the Roman authorities. If these articles genuinely describe the theology of the Augsburg Anabaptists, Hübmaier's influence must have been slight or completely submerged by the subsequent work of Hans Hut. There is nothing of Hübmaier in these articles.

Among the significant events of May and June were Hübmaier's meetings with Peter Gynordus and Hans Denck. Denck finally accepted Hübmaier's conception of baptism and placed himself among that fellowship of Christians with whom he felt at least a vague kinship. Shortly thereafter, Gynordus referred to him as the "High Priest of the Anabaptists." As Denck died of the plague less than a year later, this title must describe his deep spirituality rather than his active contribution to the movement.

During these months Hübmaier began a writing activity which was amazing even for a man of his enterprise and literary facility. Between June of 1526 and July of 1527 he wrote no less than thirteen major tractates. Had this work been done in surroundings conducive to study, it would have been a remarkable achievement, but as its author wrote from the midst of the Nicolsburg upheaval, it stands as a monument to his passion for truth and a hearing for his ideas. Only the salient points of each writing will be given, as they all may be examined more closely in the appendices.

The first writing in this series bears the title, Der Uralten unnd gar neuen Leeren Urteil/ das man die jungen khindlen nit tauffen solle, biss sy jm glauben unnderricht sind.<sup>3/</sup> It is fairly certain that Hübmaier did his research at Augsburg as the contents suggest that he had access to a large and well stocked library. It was published at Nicolsburg July 21st, 1526, and addressed to Lord Martin, "onetime Bishop of Nicolsburg, who is now Provost at Kanitz." A second and enlarged

edition followed the first by a few weeks. The two editions will be considered together.

Der Uralten unnd gar neuen Leeren Urtaill belongs among those of Hübmaier's writings which may be classified as propaganda for believers' baptism. In view of its length, the barest minimum of attention is given to instruction and argumentation.

In Hübmaier's literary campaign against Zwingli he sought to bring the testimony of Scripture to bear upon the problem of <sup>a</sup>pedobaptism, but in this work he sets out to discredit the practice by the testimony of individuals. In the first division he appeals to the conclusions of Church councils, Princes of the Church, and the patristic Fathers. In the second he calls upon certain utterances of his contemporary antagonists. Hübmaier is obviously seeking to undermine the idea that traditional practice has made right what he conceives to be wrong according to the Word of Scripture. If he can show that believers' baptism continued to be a practice of the Church for several hundreds of years after Apostolic times, and that certain great figures such as Tertullian, Origen, Augustine and Athanasius supported the idea that confession and repentance should precede baptism, he will have succeeded in his purpose. He says that children are being admitted to the communion table who have not been confirmed. In his opinion this bad habit has become common because the Church is admitting people to membership before a personal confession of Jesus has been made. If one should be confirmed before being admitted to the Supper, so should one believe before being baptized.

As in former writings, he criticizes the "affused" or "representative" faith of parents, godparents or the Church. Hübmaier argues that faith is something the Church cannot give away, loan, substitute or manipulate and, therefore, the faith of the Church is of no avail to the child. His explanation for this is that faith is not founded upon the Church, but the Church herself was founded upon faith (I Cor. 3:11). Supporting this thought with Mat. 16:18, Hübmaier states that Peter's faith and open confession were the foundations upon which the Church was built, and this expression of Peter's faith was personal and intelligent.<sup>4/</sup>

Returning to the inadequacy of parental substitution he remarks, "It would often be too bad for the children if their salvation depended upon the faith of fathers, mothers, and godparents."<sup>5/</sup>

Under the heading, "True testimonies and advice from the decretals and ancient Fathers," Hübmaier launches his first bolt against the walls of pedobaptism. He refers to selected words of Clement I, Donatus, Theophylact, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Athanasius, Hieronymus, Augustine, Eusebius, Cirillius, Pelagius, Ambrosius and various Popes from Siritius to Beatus Romanus.\* Unfortunately, he does not support his quotations with an adequate system of footnotes and, where a cursory reference is cited, it is generally wrong or too general to aid in tracing it back to the original. One is

4. Appendix #XI, p. 3.

5. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

\* No record can be found of a Pope named Beatus Romanus.

tempted to conclude that he depended upon hearsay rather than legitimate textual proof. ✓ If this is not the case, he must have used some source which does not agree with those we recognize as authoritative. Moreover, he often errs in placing a man in a century much too early for his true dates; i.e., Donatus 137 A. D., Theophylact 169 A. D. <sup>6/</sup>

Where his information is accurate, however, he succeeds with his purpose. A few of these are chapter three of Tertullian's De Corona militis, which advises that teaching, confession and renunciation of the Devil must precede baptism; Hieronymus' exegesis of Matthew 28:19 in which he states that the body may receive the Sacrament only if the soul has the right faith; and Augustine's "Agunt homines," which advises that people shall repent before baptism according to the words of Peter in Acts 2:38. <sup>7/</sup>

Hübmaier refers briefly to the controversy between Augustine and Boniface about godparentage, and he follows that with a few words concerning "Queris in verbo difficillimam." He means, however, the canon "Queris a me" (Corp. Jur. Can. De Consecr. Dist. IV, p. ccccliiii). This canon gives a list of articles which must be affirmed by the catechumen. Then follows the canon "Baptizandi" (Fourth council at Carthage -- Corp. Jur. Can. De Consecr. Dist. IV, p. ccccliiii), which

6. Appendix #XII, pp. 6-7.

\* See Hieronymus, in Zycha, Joseph, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, Vol. XXVI (Bibliopola Academiae Litterarum Caesarea Vindobonensis MDCCCLXXI), E. Tempisky, Pragae, p. 218.

7. Appendix XII, pp. 7-8 and Augustine, "Agunt homines" in Corpus Juris Canonici, 3 Vols. De Consecra, Distinctio IV, B. Rembolt, Paris, 1518, p. ccccli.

orders fasting before baptism, and then two canons of Rabanus Metz, having to do with instruction and confession prior to baptism (Canon "Ante baptismum," Corp. Jur. Can. De Consecr. <sup>8/</sup> Dist. IV, p. cccxlviiii).

Turning to the conclusions of Church councils, Hübmaier says, "The councils and decrees of the 'ancients' concerning baptism prove that the current Lutheran practice is in error." He finds that the fourth council at Carthage decided that everyone had to be baptized who did not know for a certainty that he had been baptized already. This was actually a conclusion of the fifth council in 401 A. D. Various references to the re-baptism of heretics ordered by councils at Arles and Nicea follow in due course and Carthage is mentioned twice more. The fact that Laodicea (343 A. D. and 381 A. D.) ordered the examination of catechumens on Green Thursday adds weight to his argument that intelligent understanding of the Gospel was encouraged by the early Church before baptism was given (Corp. Jur. Can. De Consecr. <sup>9/</sup> Dist. IV, p. ccccli).

The seventh council mentioned is Gerundiense. Hübmaier errs again as to its date. He gives 700 A. D., but it was held in 517 A. D. This council stated that only those who feared death and were students in the faith were to be baptized at Easter and Pentecost (Corp. Jur. Can. De Consecr. Dist. IV, p. ccccl).

His last reference is to Bracarense II. Here it was agreed that a twenty day instruction period must precede

8. Appendix XII, p. 12ff.

9. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

baptism (Bracarense II (572 A. D.) Corp. Jur. Can. De Consecr. Dist. IV, p. cccxi). To this council Hübmaier also attributes the advice that the baptism of a pregnant woman has no significance for her unborn child. Each person must make his own confession. Sachsse says that this conclusion was not reached at Braga, but is to be found in Archbishop Martin of Braga's collection of ancient Greek council conclusions. <sup>10/</sup>

In the third major division of the work Hübmaier presents the judgments of his contemporaries. Erasmus leads the procession with portions of his paraphrases from Matthew and Acts. The crux is that teaching must go before baptism. <sup>11/</sup> Luther's statements from Ein Sermon von dem Neuen Testament/ das ist von der heiligen Messe (Art. 17), are given, and Oecolampadius' suggestion that <sup>12/</sup>pedobaptism is nowhere commanded in the Bible, is also reviewed.

The passages quoted earlier from Zwingli's Usslegen und Gründ der schlussreden (Art. 18) "Von der Firmung," and

10. Mansi, S. Coll. Concil., Vol. IX Canon LIX, p. 846, also Hefele, Conciliengeschichte III, p. 30 and Corp. Jur. Can. De Consecr. Dist. IV, p. cxvi. Sachsse, Carl, D. Balthasar Hübmaier als Theologe, (Neue Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche No. 20), Trowitsch & Sohn, Berlin, 1914, p. 33ff.

11. Erasmus, D. Thesaurum haudcuqz uulgorem tibi lector exhibemus hoc uolumine. Paraphrasin in Euangelium Matthaei nunc primum natam & editam per D. Erasmum Roterodanum: Apud Inclitum Basileam per Ioannem Frobenium Mense Martio, Anno MDXII, Caput. XXVIII p. 174ff. and Paraphraeseon Deserasmi Roterodami in Novvm Testamentum, videlicet in quatuor Euangelia & Acta Apostolorum, Basilae ex officina Frobeniana an MDXLI, Caput XIX, p. 730ff.

12. See Briefe und Akten zum Leben Cekolampads I, Leipzig, 1827, pp. 341-343.

Welche Ursach gebind ze Ufrüren receive full attention.<sup>13/</sup>

Subsequently, Hübmaier mentions the private opinions of Leo Jud, Sebastian Hoffmeister, the preachers at Strassburg, Christophorus Hegendorf, Ludovicus Hätzer and Cellarius. These cannot be checked, but naturally his account of their beliefs places all of them on his side of the question.<sup>14/</sup>

In conclusion the author puts forward his own opinion. This is largely taken from the most important parts of former writings. Hübmaier presents an interesting picture of the Last Judgment in this section. He believes that the Master will call the great company to order. He will then outline His commands to teach and baptize as given in Matthew 28 and Mark 16. Thereafter, Jesus will call upon the assembled individuals to defend their baptism. The following is the way Hübmaier anticipates that the Ethiopian eunuch will testify.

"Philip instructed me in the faith while we were driving along in my chariot. After hearing him out, I desired to be baptized in water after Christ's command, but Philip would not baptize me until I gave an open avowal of my faith. Not until I confessed that Jesus Christ is the Son of the Living God did Philip ask that the chariot be stopped. He then baptized me in water."<sup>15/</sup>

The writing ends with a plea to institute the correct baptism in the Church on the basis of the scriptural injunctions, and the testimonies of these learned men and councils.

In the latter part of his visit to Augsburg, Hübmaier completed two more works which were not published until 1527.

13. This work, p. 124ff.

14. Appendix #XII, pp. 17-20.

15. Ibid., p. 22.

The first, Grund und Ursach/ das einn yedlicher mensch, der gleich in seiner khindthait getaufft ist, schuldig sey, sich recht nach der Ordnung Christi, ze tauffen lassenn, ob er schon hundert jar alit were, is only a somewhat enlarged version of part five of his Taufbüchlein.<sup>16/</sup> Three new contributions are made. In his eleventh point he says that Cyprian declared heretic<sup>d</sup> baptism invalid. If then the reformers hold that the Romanists are heretics, how can they conceive that baptism received from them is valid? Secondly he observes that even though John was commissioned by God to baptize, he directed his followers to Christ for re-baptism. Lastly, Hübmaier urges that water baptism is no ipso facto guarantee of salvation. Rather, it is the only way into the Church, outside of which there is no salvation.<sup>17/</sup>

The second of these two writings carries the title, Von dem khindertauff and purposes to refute Oecolampadius' Ain Gespräch etlicher predicanten zu Basel gehalten mit etlicher bekennern des Wydertauffs, dated September 1st, 1525. Hübmaier's Von dem khindertauff is the, "antwort auf das spotlich Gespräch etlicher Predicanten/ zu Basel gehalten," which he promised in the introduction of his Gesprech.<sup>18/</sup> The form follows that of the Gesprech, being a discussion among Hübmaier, Oecolampadius, Thomas Augustinianer, Jacob Immelen and other learned citizens of Basel.

Much of part one is repetitious. Hübmaier asks his

16. Appendix #XIII.

17. Ibid., pp. 12 - 15.

18. Appendix #VIII, p. 7.

adversaries to discard the idea that Anabaptist teaching is something "new". The same charge was brought against Christ's teaching and is equally unfounded when applied to Anabaptism. The Anabaptists have not innovated. Neither have they caused more disturbance than did Christ Himself.<sup>19/</sup> The second objection is that believers' baptism is incompatible with the ideal of true Love. Hübmaier disagrees because Love and Truth go hand in hand, and his teaching is unquestionably true.

From this point the discussion moves again into the historical area. Oecolampadius argues that <sup>a</sup>pedobaptism is right because it has not been forbidden since the time of the Apostles. Hübmaier does not see that this is an undeniable proof and refers the discussion back to the Scriptural sources. He delights in taunting his opponents by asking why no one has printed a book on the subject, "Christ ordained Pedobaptism."<sup>20/</sup> He has waited seven years for its appearance, but in vain.

The most interesting portion of the second major division is Oecolampadius' attempt to support pedobaptism by recourse to the unity between the Old and New Testaments. Hübmaier cannot fathom any such unity. He asks how there can be such a relationship between an old physical covenant and the new spiritual covenant? Paul's references are to an inward circumcision of the soul, not to a visible and external ceremony. What is more, the baptism of Christ is exclusively a New Testament ceremony. One's acceptance into the general spiritual fellowship of Christ is vastly different from a particular gathering

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19. Appendix #XIV, p. 3.

20. Ibid., pp. 4-6.

into a socio-religious community.<sup>21/</sup> It is to be regretted that Hübmaier fails to enlarge upon this point. From other writings it is clear that he sees New Testament baptism as something unique. It has no counterpart or previous example, because its Originator was unique and without counterpart. Christ came to "disperse the shadows of the Old Testament," of which circumcision is one, and to bring a New Covenant. To unite circumcision to Christian baptism according to Hübmaier, is to devalue Christ's gift.

B. Nicolsburg, July to December, 1526:

Refreshed after two pleasant months in Augsburg, Hübmaier and his wife decided to leave the city and travel to Moravia where a unique experiment in universal religious toleration was in progress. Under the protection and patronage of the noble lords Hans and Leonhard von Liechtenstein, several Protestant groups were existing side by side in an attitude of mutual respect. Hübmaier could not resist such an attraction. He and his wife arrived at Nicolsburg during July of 1526, having traveled by way of Ingolstadt and Regensburg.

Among the first of Hübmaier's contacts were the Lutheran preachers, Hans Spitalmaier and Oswald Glaidt. These men had won the Liechtenstein brothers to the Protestant cause. They were both Bavarian which was an aid to their early friendship with Hübmaier.

Concurrent with Hübmaier's appearance at Nicolsburg was the arrival of Martin Göschel. This man had been a sub-

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21. Ibid., pp. 12-14.

bishop of Olmütz and later the Provost of a convent at Kanitz. He swung to the theological left through the teaching of Paul Speratus. After renouncing his former allegiance, he left the convent, taking one of the nuns as his wife. Once in Nicolsburg he assumed the tasks of Patronat at St. Wenzel's church and was in a position of considerable influence. Hübmaier hoped to win him to Anabaptism. This helps to explain the dedication of Der Uralten und gar neuen Leeren Urteil. No doubt Hübmaier realized that a man of his stature could be very helpful in his own re-establishment.

Throughout 1526, Anabaptists continued to arrive in the city. Many of Hübmaier's friends were numbered among the Swiss portion of the migration. One of the most important of these was Simprecht Sorg, surnamed Froschauer, who arrived with a complete printing press and the anticipation of a thriving business to be built upon the publishing of religious tracts.

One authority reports that twelve thousand Anabaptists moved into the city, and another mentions that six thousand re-baptisms were administered before the end of the year. <sup>22/</sup> On the surface, this mass movement of people seemed to be what Anabaptism needed. As small and isolated groups, there was little hope of surviving the might of Austria and the united Swiss kantons. With the strength of numbers their survival appeared more secure. It requires more than numerical strength, however, to succeed with a cause. There must be some unifying

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22. Mitterdorfer, Et sua pestifera doctrina fere totam Moraviam ac magnam Austriae partem infecit, and Kessler, Johann, Zürich Chronik, quoted by Loserth, Dr. Balthasar Hübmaier und die Anfänge der Wiedertäufer in Mähren, pp. 127-128.

principle and a common goal to which all members of the group are devoted and toward which all are striving. Such a unity was lacking among the various wings of Anabaptism that sought a new home in Moravia. A general invitation had been made to all persecuted groups, and among those who accepted could be seen every faction which was listed under the "Anabaptist" classification.

Three other outstanding figures were drawn into Moravia. These were Leonhard Schiemer, later known as "the first Anabaptist Bishop in Austria," Hans Schlaffer, one of the well-loved preachers of the evangelical aspiration and Hans Hut, the anarchist and disciple of Thomas M $\ddot{u}$ nzer.

Hut was the kind of an individual, like Jan of Leyden and Thomas M $\ddot{u}$ nzer, whose character does not improve with the passing of years or the dimming of memory. He was cruel, bigoted and ruled by an all consuming passion for self-aggrandizement. It is largely because of him and men of his stripe that Anabaptism gained the nauseous reputation it has carried down through the centuries.

Hans Hut was born at Hain near Grimmenthal in Franconia. He began his professional career as a book-binder, but became an itinerant book-salesman later in life. In this capacity he traveled extensively throughout W $\ddot{u}$ rtemberg and Bavaria, meeting important religious figures such as Denck, M $\ddot{u}$ nzer and Hetzer, and offering to handle the sale and distribution of their writings. Frequenting the roads so much he often met other travelers with whom he enjoyed discussing current topics of the day. Because of one of these chance meetings, he was won to the anti-pedobaptist idea. It was Thomas M $\ddot{u}$ nzer who finally

gave direction to Hut's desire for recognition. Near Frankenhäusen in 1524, Hut accidentally involved himself in a sporadic peasant revolt. He was robbed, and would have been killed had not Münzer intervened at the right moment. Hut showed his gratitude by adopting Münzer's millenarianism. The purification of the world by the forceful overthrow of magistracy was the principal tenet of this persuasion. On Pentecost Sunday of 1525, Hut told the congregation of Jorg Haug at Bibra that the hour had come for the oppressed to slay all magistrates with the sword. God had commissioned them to this work.<sup>23/</sup> Hut was convinced that God had chosen him for a particular ministry. His success was astonishing. Before many months passed he was proclaimed the leading diviner of prophetic signs. The imminent Second Coming of Christ was the beginning and end of his thought. The expected Turkish invasion was to be the final sign at which all Christians were to flee to the forests and await the dawning of the new age. In the meantime Christ's people could prepare the way by striking the death blow to this world's rulers. Toward the end of December of 1526, he preached this Gospel at Nicolsburg, and not without effect. In the one area where the Anabaptists were free to follow their conscience, Hut proposed that they should revolt and slay their noble patrons. This madness brought Hut against Hübmaier, who appreciated the security of Moravia and the protection of powerful nobility.

Prior to Hut's arrival, Hübmaier was active consolidating his position and seeking to bring unanimity out of the

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23. Loserth, op. cit., p. 131.

vastly divergent Anabaptist group. This was no small task as the temperaments of all parties had to be taken into consideration. As a moderate, he had more hope of success than a strong advocate of either extremist group, but his moderating influence could not be exerted unless he was recognized as the undisputed leader. As so often happens, Hübmaier's success was another's failure. The struggle for supremacy alienated the affections of several important people such as Spitalmaier and Glaidt. The growth of factions and the numerical improvement of Hut's opposition party were the unfortunate later results.

When Hübmaier arrived in Moravia he found a large Protestant party, but only a few Anabaptists. The latter group knew the true story of his life and work in Waldshut, but the majority knew him only through the slanderous attacks of his enemies. The lies had to be refuted before his work could begin. With this in mind he wrote Ein kurtze Entschuldigung D. Balthasar Huebmors von fridberg an alle Christglaubig<sup>24/</sup> menschen. It was finished toward the close of July or the beginning of August, 1526.

In this tract he lists some of the "ludicrous fables" which have been circulated about him; i. e., that he is possessed by devils, has burning crosses on his heels and goat's feet. He then goes on to deny the various accusations.

- "1. He preaches Christ, not a new teaching.
2. Mary was a Virgin, before and after Christ's birth.
3. The Saints are to be honored as God's tools, but not as objects of petition.
4. Pray without ceasing, but do not mumble.

5. Fasting means temperance. There are no such things as forbidden foods.
6. To hold the Sabbath is to condescend your sin.
7. Confession is good, but only to God.
8. To be valid, the teaching of the Fathers has to agree with Scripture.
9. One will be busy enough living up to his baptismal vows. Monastic vows are unnecessary.
10. Sing and read in church if you so desire, but make sure that your utterances come from the heart.
11. Extreme unction is idolatrous. What one truly needs is the spiritual unction of Luke 10:34 and James 5:14.
12. There are three baptisms. Spirit (inward in Faith) Water (outward in confession) Blood (martyrdom or death). These are the three signs of I John 5:7; James 5:4.
13. The true baptism has been obscured by pedobaptism.
14. The altars on which Christ is daily crucified should be broken up, and the memorial Supper instituted.
15. The Mass is the idol of Daniel 11:38.
16. Christ himself was called a rebel and a prophet simultaneously. No preacher has devoted himself to Scriptural preaching more than Hübmaier and no one maintained with greater vigor that magistracy is of God and should be obeyed. On the other hand, he has preached that magistracy should rule after God's Will. He has tithed 1/3 and not just 1/10 of his income.
17. The governmental councils at Schaffhausen and Zürich did not want to hear the Gospel. His petitions of 1524 received no clear renunciation. He left Ingolstadt and Regensburg honorably and without coercion.
18. He is not a Lutheran heretic because he has constantly been open to further instruction and enlightenment. Only one person has accused him of false opinions and that is Zwingli who prefers to teach his faith with the aid of the executioner.
19. The magistracy should not use its Sword against the innocent, or it will be turned against them. Magistracy should listen, as did God, to hear if Sodom and Gomorrah deserved to be destroyed.
20. Articles of Faith and disputations should be judged according to the Scriptures."

This tract was soon followed by another entitled,

Ein ainfeltige underricht/ auff die Wort/ Das ist der Leib mein/

in dem Nachtmal Christi.<sup>25/</sup> The introductory eulogy of the Liechtenstein brothers and their city of Nicolsburg seems, at first glance, to be extravagant and artificial. Hübmaier compares Leonhart to Samson and Nicolsburg to Emmaus. He writes, "As the original disciples spread the Gospel from Emmaus, let this new Emmaus be the center from which the quickened Gospel will spread over all the world."<sup>26/</sup> It should be remembered that Hübmaier had not known such noble patronage before. He looked upon Nicolsburg as a city of refuge and was grateful for the security it offered.

In the body of the work Hübmaier joins hands with the other reformers in the general battle against Rome. If the Roman conception of the Mass were to be made obnoxious in the minds of the people, an attack had to be made upon the idea of transubstantiation. Hübmaier contributes nothing new to the destruction of this dogma. He only declares himself as a member of the winning team. Consequently, we fail to encounter the same incisive thought in this writing as that permeating his original ideas of baptism. This is not to say that he approves of Luther's consubstantiation theory. Hübmaier sees the Supper as a memorial of Christ's sacrificial act. Whatever Grace comes through the ordinance is a result of the communicants attitude. The person who is joined to his neighbor in brotherly love receives a spiritual blessing.

Hübmaier begins by reviewing the great number of Eucharistic ideas which have found their way into Roman thought

25. Appendix #XVI.

26. Ibid., p. 5.

and debate. This is done to combat the Roman Catholic argument that reformed thought has too many points of view to be of any value.<sup>27/</sup> He encourages his readers to go to the Bible for their answers. The truth cannot be uncovered in any other way. At this point, however, the Bible passages cited (Matthew 26:26-29 and Mark 14:22-25) are not self-explanatory. Clarification must be found in Luke 22:19-20 and I Corinthians 11:23-26.

"This is my body" cannot be understood without Paul's explanation to the Corinthians, "Do this in remembrance of me."

Hübmaier follows his training by resorting to the familiar rule, talía sunt subiecta qualia permittuntur ab eorum predicatis, which he translates as, "The preceding words shall be made understandable by those that follow."<sup>28/</sup> Therefore, when the words, "This is my body" are spoken they rekindle the memory of Christ's act in the mind of the faithful communicant. In other words, "This is my body," ". . . in remembrance of me." If one partakes in faith, he expresses gratitude for his salvation. Nothing changes the nature of the elements. The change occurs in the soul.<sup>29/</sup>

Hübmaier now gives his answers to several eucharistic theories. Against transubstantiation he says, "If one maintains that the bread is literally the body of Christ, then the partaker must admit the gruesome prospect of actually taking Christ's physical body in his hands, tearing it in pieces, distributing it and chewing it with his teeth." Consubstantiation does not seem to be a better answer to the problem. Hübmaier

27. Ibid., pp. 7-9.

28. Ibid., p. 12.

29. Ibid., p. 13.

fails to find a New Testament suggestion that the figure or form of Christ's body is hidden under the element. He writes, "Christ did not say, 'My body is under the form of this Bread.' If he had said this, the ordinance could not be performed today because the word 'Hoc' would not then have been used with reference to the bread, but to the figure. The bread would have vanished with His utterance. Consequently, the physical body of Christ must be present before the priest can say one word." <sup>30/</sup> In Hübmaier's estimation consubstantiation only confuses a simple matter. The theory is too philosophical.

He next meets the argument that the literal words of Christ are true. Christ said, "This is my body," so the bread must be His body. Hübmaier answers from a negative point of view. He argues that Christ also said that no one could be His disciple who did not hate his father and mother. "But," says his fictitious opponent, "the following words, 'for the sake of the Gospel' clarify that statement." Hübmaier assents, but adds that in a similar manner the words, "In remembrance of me," clarify, "This is my body." He then gathers a host of examples to illustrate that the truth of an issue can be reached only by comparing several texts. <sup>31/</sup>

Hübmaier draws eight conclusions about the Supper from Matthew 26:26-29. These are:

- "1. One cannot celebrate the Supper alone. There must be others in attendance.
2. Christ took, broke, and distributed common bread, not the Figure of it.
3. The elements need not be consecrated. The giving of thanks suffices.

30. Ibid., p. 14.

31. Ibid., p. 15.

4. Christ offered Himself to His disciples in remembrance. The disciples did not offer Him. He did not say, 'Sacrifice me,' but 'take from me.' Therefore, the Mass is no sacrifice.
5. Christ commanded us to 'eat.' He did not command us to demonstrate with the elements, elevate them three times, or to walk around with them.
6. Christ intended that the bread should be a present remembrance of Him. Both Luke and Paul testify to this.
7. Christ commands us all to drink from the chalice. 'Drink ye all, of it.'
8. Similarly, the wine is the present remembrance of Christ's shed blood. It always remains wine.<sup>32/</sup>

Hübmaier lays great stress on his last point. "It is the duty of each individual," he says, "to decide for himself if he has a genuine desire to partake of the elements. This must not be done in a casual fashion." Since the Supper is the culmination of true discipleship, each participant must understand the Gospel commands and be at one with his neighbor in brotherly love.

He closes with this thought: "Christ will return in body in the same manner in which He left. Therefore, it is our duty to await His return with patience and not to search for Him in the bread and wine."<sup>33/</sup>

Soon after the publication of this tract, Leonhard and Hans von Liechtenstein decided in favor of Anabaptism. Convinced that Hübmaier's teaching was true, they submitted to baptism after publicly confessing their faith.<sup>34/</sup> Hübmaier's reputation grew immensely after their conversions and his

32. Ibid., pp. 18-20.

33. Ibid., p. 25.

34. Beck, Josef II, Die Geschichts-Bücher der Wieder-täufer in Oesterreich-Ungarn, Bd. XLIII, "Fontes Rerum Austriacarum" (Hist. Comm. Kaiserl. Akad. der Wiss. in Wien), Carl Gerold's Sohn, Wien, 1883, p. 48.

church organization went forward unhindered. In a general sense, all factions were united behind his leadership and working towards a common objective.

On December 21st, Hübmaier sent another writing to Froschauer. It closely resembles several of his former tracts and deals with baptism and the Supper. He exploits his latest triumph by presenting the material as a discussion between the Liechtenstein brothers. The title is Ein Christennliche Leertafel/ die ein Yedlicher mensch ee und er im Wasser getaufft wirdt/ vor wissenn solle.<sup>35/</sup>

Another glimpse into the Roman theological education of sixteenth century Europe is provided by his introductory words. One of Hübmaier's duties at Ingolstadt was the examination of candidates for the cowl and cloth. He found that most of these were ignorant of Christianity's basic doctrines. It will be remembered that he earlier confessed his own deficiency in this regard. He writes:

"Wan wir haben ye, als Examinatores, verhörer vnnnd beysitzer etlich vil Pfaffen vn Mönch gmacht. Wöihe all vber einen hauffen, nit gewisst die wenigsten Epistel Paulij, zäuer-teutschen. Ja nit recht lesen. . . Darmit ich aber solhe mein vnnwissenhayt mit meiner aigne schamrütte bezeüge so sag ich vnuer-holen, vn Got waise das ich nit leüß, das ich also zu eine Doctor in der heiligen Schrift (wie man den die Sophisterey genent hat) worden bin, vn hab doch dise Christeliche Articklen so hierin in dem klainen Biechlen begriffen, nit verstande. Ja auch dantzmal nye kaine Euangelisten, noch Epistelen Pauli vom Anfang biss an das end gelesen, was mücht ich den für ein heilig wort ander geleert oder jnen gepredigt haben."<sup>36/</sup>

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35. Appendix XVII.

36. Ibid., pp. 6-9.

For this reason Hübmaier believes that the instruction of the youth prior to their baptism may also serve to enlighten an ignorant clergy. He attributes the universal lack of knowledge to the Roman manner of Christianizing. "The Germans were led away from the living fountain to the stagnant cisterns by monks and priests from Rome, Scotland and England."<sup>37/</sup>

The difference between God's promise and the Gospel is the only topic of the first section which is original with Hübmaier. He sees God's promise as the Messianic Hope of mankind, and the Gospel as its realization. But the Gospel must be heard and understood before the soul can benefit. Faith in God's compassion must be intelligent and alive. Hübmaier does not condone spiritual passivity. How vital one's faith is can be determined by the abundance of spiritual fruit it produces. If it is necessary to define the beliefs which comprise a genuine faith, Hübmaier urges that no more complete list can be found than that contained in the Apostles' Creed.<sup>38/</sup>

He turns next to some thoughts concerning the Church. These are rather disjointed, but out of the discussion we learn four things. In the first place, there is only one Church of Christ, but one part of it is general and the other is particular. The universal Church as a unit, recognizes one Lord, one faith and one baptism. There is no salvation outside of the Church.<sup>39/</sup> Secondly, Hübmaier agrees that one is made righteous by his inward faith, but if his salvation is to be complete, he must confess his faith publicly.<sup>40/</sup> For this reason, the preaching of

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37. Ibid., pp. 10-11.

39. Ibid., p. 30.

38. Ibid., pp. 15-25.

40. Ibid., pp. 31-34.

God's Word is fundamental to a wholesome Christianity. It must strive not only to effect an inward transformation, but also to encourage a public stand for Christ. And fourthly, God's Love must be the source of preaching, and evangelism must be its aim.<sup>41/</sup>

Hübmaier shares some thoughts on free will during the remainder of his discussion, but these are yet half-formed. He later devotes two major tracts to the problem which will be examined in due course.

The writing closes with answers to two questions:<sup>42/</sup> "What is eternal life?" and "Who will receive it?" He writes:

"Es ist ein ewige, sichere vn freudenreiche anschawung des Götliche angsichts, wölchs von anfang der Welt berayttet ist allen Christgläubigen die erfüllet haben die werck der barmhertzighayt an irem nechsten, unnd da ist den wun, freud, frid, rüw vnd, alle sicherhait in die ewigkait."

Eternal life is prepared for such Christian people as Christ characterizes in the Beatitudes.

### C. The Progress of Hübmaier's Church Organization:

In order to guard against the growth of schisms, Hübmaier devoted the last weeks of December, and the first few days of January to the writing of four tracts. These were of special importance to his church organization. If the congregation were united behind his ideas of the Supper, church discipline, excommunication and baptism, the disrupting influence of certain fanatics could be checked, if not completely

41. Ibid., pp. 49-51.

42. Ibid., pp. 67-70.

thwarted. That he lost no time in preparing the writings suggests that Hut, having recently arrived in Nicolsburg, had joined forces with the unstable and reactionary element and begun his subversive activity. Hut was a formidable adversary whose influence could be disastrous.

In order of their writing these four tracts left Hübmaier's hands: Ein Form des Nachtmals Christi, Von der Briederlichen straff, Von dem Christenlichen Bann, and Ein Form ze Tauffen im wasser die unnderrichten im glauben.

Already a remarkably high level of church organization had been achieved at Nicolsburg. This fact speaks well for Hübmaier's ability to deal with people who were proud of their religious independence. The Nicolsburg church was organized in the following manner. Hübmaier occupied the position of "preacher" or Diener des Evangeliums. As the spiritual leader, his first task was to interpret the absolute authority of Scripture to the flock. After the dissolution of the Nicolsburg congregation the preachers were selected from the group as a whole and ordained by the chosen elders.

Immediately under Hübmaier in the scale of authority was the bishop. His duties were to help the preacher in the Communion service and to perform other simple duties in connection with baptism. The office was honorary and bestowed upon the noble Patron of the church.

There were three offices in the third ecclesiastical grade. Missionary work was done by "apostles", sub-preachers substituted for the pastor when he was absent, and "helpers" did the work of functionaries. Economic stress among the members was alleviated by a group of social workers. The church,

as a whole, decided major issues and had the final word in the ordering of practice.

The worship services were extremely simple. Preaching held the central position, but it was closely followed by common prayer, exhortation and thanksgiving. The Supper was never celebrated unless a sermon had preceded it. The services began with a hymn and ended with prayer. The exact order of events will be given during the discussion of Ein Form des Nachtmals Christi. Baptism and Communion were the major ordinances, although marriage and ordination were later raised to positions of greater spiritual importance.<sup>43/</sup> With slight local variation this church polity was retained by mainstream Anabaptism.

Returning to the first in this latest series of tracts, Ein Form des Nachtmals Christi, we find that Hübmaier has left behind his dogmatic reasons for the celebration of the Supper.<sup>44/</sup> He feels that these have been adequately covered in Ein ainfeltiger Unterricht. Now he wants to present a guide for the church to follow in its Communion service. There are ten steps:

- "1. Where and when the ordinance will be observed is to be announced early enough to allow members to be informed. All necessary arrangements are to be made before hand.
2. The service should begin with a general confession of sin, whereby the priest and the congregation kneel and ask for God's forgiveness and Grace. Their prayers should follow this form:  
 'Father, we have sinned in the sight of heaven and are unworthy to be called Thy children. But if Thou wilt give us one word of assurance

43. Beck, op. cit., "Introduction."

44. Appendix #XVIII.

our souls will be cleansed. God is gracious to sinners. The Almighty, eternal and merciful God will have compassion upon our sin, release us through His Grace and purge us from all sorrow and uncleanness. He will lead us into eternal life through Jesus Christ, our Lord and Redeemer. Amen.<sup>45/</sup>

3. Now the priest seats himself among the congregation, exposes the Scriptures and admonishes his flock to be resolute and earnest in the faith.
4. Thereafter, the men may ask questions about any parts of the exposition which they do not understand. The women of the congregation are to remain silent, but if they should desire to learn something, let them ask their husbands in the privacy of their own homes, in order that all things may be ordered after the command of I Corinthians 11:14.<sup>46/</sup>
5. The words of installation cover four main aspects of the Christian life.
  - (a) Belief in Christ's redeeming death;
  - (b) A sincere longing after the heavenly bread by which one expects a spiritual betterment;
  - (c) The duty to minister to others as Christ ministered to us;
  - (d) To stimulate brotherly love among the brethren.

The breaking of bread does not make the fellowship, but where the fellowship is felt in the souls of the people, there is the bread broken. Just as water baptism is a public testimony of Christian faith, so is the Supper a public testimony of Christian Love.<sup>47/</sup>

6. When this affirmation is made any one may participate in the Supper who can say that God has made him master of his flesh in the constant attempt to destroy sin. A true Christian can say this, but not one who still lives in the Old Adam. God can give man the desire to conquer temptation and do good to his fellow men. God will forgive the inevitable incompleteness.<sup>48/</sup>
7. A prayer for the strengthening of Faith and Love is followed by a silent contemplation of Christ's suffering. The silence is broken by the unison repeating of the Lord's Prayer.

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45. Ibid., pp. 2-3.  
 46. Ibid., p. 4.  
 47. Ibid., pp. 5-11.  
 48. Ibid., pp. 11-14.

8. The priest then explains that the bread and wine are not actually Christ's body and blood, as people have believed for so long."

This is followed by a form of litany in which the communicants assent to four propositions of the Christian Faith. These are: (1) love to God; (2) love to one's neighbor; (3) submission to church discipline, and (4) desire to participate in the Supper. This litany is called Die Liebeflicht and the first section is as follows:

"Ir bruder und schwestern, wollent ir Got in der kraft seins heiligen und lebendigen worta, vor in und ob allen dingen liebhaben, in allain diene, eeren, anbette, vnd seinen name furan heiligen, auch euren fleischliche und sundigen willien seinem gotlichen willien den er durch sein lebendig wort in euch gewirckt hat, underwurflich machen zum leben und tod. So sag ein yedlicher in sonderhayt, ICH WILL."<sup>49/</sup>

- "9. After the Liebeflicht is pronounced, the Bishop takes the bread, lifts his eyes to heaven and gives thanks. After this the priest takes the bread, breaks it and gives the words of installation. The bread is then distributed. In like manner the cup is given to the congregation. When all have partaken, the priest says, 'As often as you eat this bread, and drink of this cup, you do show forth the Lord's death till He come.'<sup>50/</sup>
10. The priest concludes by admonishing all the participants to exemplify Christ in their actions and to encourage brotherly love among themselves. One facet of this love is to warn an erring brother of his sin."<sup>\*</sup>

This work was dedicated to Bureano von Cornitz, another of the influential Moravian noblemen.

The second tract in this series of practical guides is

49. Ibid., pp. 15-17.

50. Ibid., pp. 17-18.

\* Neither a literal, nor a complete translation.

Von der Briederlichen Straff<sup>51/</sup>Hübmaier begins <sup>with</sup> upon the premise that there can be no church where brotherly discipline is wanting, even if the Supper and baptism are properly held. He explains this by reiterating that the baptism of an individual carries with it the resolution to live a new life in the company of other believers. The local congregation represents a "particular" segment of the "general" Church to whose Will all members are obliged to conform. An honest survey forces one to admit that people are weak and remain sinners after baptism. For this reason there must be some spiritual purgative operating within the Church to rid it of the corruption caused by human inadequacies. This purgative is brotherly discipline.<sup>52/</sup> The best reason for its use, according to Hübmaier is man's tendency to defend himself with convenient half-truths. Two of these are, "Faith alone justifies," and "The human will is not free to do good," Hübmaier argues that these words were never intended as proof texts under which the persistent sinner can take shelter. The Gospel injunctions are not parts of an expedient ethic.<sup>53/</sup>

He now discards any lists of sins against which one may check his own, and draws a general difference between "open" and "hidden" sin. Sin perpetrated publicly to the detriment of the church should be publicly combated after the examples of Jesus and Paul. Hidden sin should be dealt with in secret; first by the two parties concerned, then by two or

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51. Appendix #XIX.  
 52. Ibid., pp. 2-5.  
 53. Ibid., p. 5.

three witnesses if the first effort fails, and finally by the church in general. The witnesses are necessary because the offended party is a guilty sinner himself and may require the removal of a beam from his own eye.<sup>54/</sup> If the matter comes before the whole church, the erring sinner should be reminded of his baptismal vows and given opportunity to repent. If he accepts this opportunity, appropriate punishment may be set. If he refuses, he should be excluded from the fellowship.

Hübmaier is convinced that infant baptism is a detriment for those who might be saved by Christian chastisement. One who was baptized as an infant can claim ignorance of the vows done for him, and immunity from punishment.<sup>55/</sup>

In conclusion, Hübmaier returns to the main theme. "Some," he says, "argue that baptism and the Supper are only outward signs, so why quarrel about them?<sup>?</sup> The fact is that Christ established them for the foundations of His Church, the improving of faith and love, and the overthrow of sinners through brotherly discipline. Where the baptismal vow is lacking there can be no punishment, and thereby, no Church. There would be no way of determining who is, or who is not a member in good standing."<sup>56/</sup>

Hübmaier's next writing, Von dem Christenlichen Bann,<sup>57/</sup> begins where the former finished. He purposes to give the meaning of the ban, an explanation of the Church's right to use it, and the form of its exercise.

54. Ibid., pp. 7-9.

55. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

56. Ibid., pp. 10-16.

57. Appendix #XX.

"It is to notice that the ban is the public exclusion of the persistent sinner from the fellowship of the Christian Church, according to the command of Christ. The purpose of the ban is to preserve the good name of the Church, and to insure that weaker members will not be led astray by another's sin. It also serves to compel the sinner to better himself."<sup>58/</sup>

He goes on to explain that Christ gave the power of the Keys to His disciples before He ascended into heaven (Matthew 16:19; 18:18). This power was given to the believing fellowship as a whole and not to a specific segment of that fellowship.<sup>59/</sup> The first Key unlocks the portals of the Church for those who have found forgiveness and have been baptized upon their confession of faith. Before His ascension no one possessed this key but the Master. Consequently, John had to direct those he baptized to Jesus. Afterward, this key was given to the Church to preserve until Christ's return. If one is adamant that Christ is bodily in the Supper, he deprives the Church of this power.<sup>60/</sup> The second key provides the Church with the power to exclude.

In the beginning God held absolute right to both Keys, but this right was transferred to Jesus, who in turn loaned it to His disciples until the Parousia.<sup>61/</sup>

Hübmaier follows this introductory word with a suggested form for the ceremony of excommunication. The priest first advises the sinner that he has one last chance to remember his vows, and a final opportunity to renounce the Devil

58. Ibid., p. 2.

59. Ibid., p. 3.

60. Ibid., p. 6.

61. Ibid., p. 8.

and the Flesh. Parts of the speech are as follows:

"Brother \_\_\_\_\_, It is my duty to remind you of your vows and your pledge of love. You publicly gave the former at your baptism, and the latter you have given in the breaking of bread before God, the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. You willingly pledged to honor the Christian fellowship. You confessed your faith in Almighty God and our Lord Jesus Christ; affirmed your desire to extend brotherly love to your neighbor, and allowed God's Will to reign in your life. As you have not fulfilled these pledges, you are hereby given over to brotherly discipline according to Christ's command in Mat. 18:18 . . . Because of your disobedience, and in order that we may not be made participants in your sins to our eternal damnation and punishment, WE EXCLUDE YOU from our fellowship and recommend you to the Devil for the destruction of the flesh that the Spirit may be saved at the Last Day."<sup>62/</sup>

The fate of a person thus excommunicated was not pleasant. The membership could have nothing to do with him, but neither could they do him bodily harm. He could be comforted in time of deep sorrow, but all normal acts of friendliness were to cease.<sup>63/</sup>

To guard against a tyrannical use of the ban, Hübmaier cites various justifiable offenses. They all deal with blasphemy or trespass against the ordinances for which the offender is not prepared to make amends. The name of the excluded person was to be circulated to other fellowships.<sup>64/</sup> The loose way in which Rome used excommunication<sup>was</sup> is revolting to Hübmaier. Failing to pay a tithe to the value of three shillings' worth of hazelnuts is not sufficient grounds as far as he is concerned.

62. Ibid., pp. 9-11.

63. Ibid., pp. 11-16.

64. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

He concludes with an appeal to the nobles to encourage the institution of church discipline. Without it there is no possibility for life under the rule of Christ.<sup>65/</sup> The manger scene analogy at the end suggests that the work was completed during Christmas week of 1526.

The final instructive pamphlet in this series is Ein Form ze Tauffen im wasser die vnderrichten im glouben.<sup>66/</sup> His purpose again is to provide a procedural plan for this important church ordinance. The writing is addressed to the nobleman Jan von Dubschanskij and requests that he examine this description of the Nicolsburg practice to see if it agrees with the Scriptures.

Four procedural steps must be followed by one who desires baptism.

The candidate must first present himself to the bishop for examination in the basic articles of the Christian faith. If he proves to be knowledgeable and sincere, the bishop will present him to the church and ask that intercessory prayer be made for him. After a short vocal prayer is given, the bishop will recite the Apostles' Creed and ask the candidate to affirm each article. He must then denounce the Devil, state that, with God's help, he will change his manner of living, and agree to suffer punishment at the hands of the church if he transgresses his vows. When he requests baptism again, he is baptized by affusion in the name of the Trinity to the forgiveness of sin. Reception into the church is completed when

65. Ibid., p. 19.  
66. Appendix #XXI.

the bishop places his hands on the candidate's head and asks  
 for another intercessory prayer from the membership. <sup>67/</sup>

Hübmaier believes that this form of baptism reveals three grave errors in the practice of baptism current among other groups. Firstly, "Most of Europe is being deceived by the baptism of infants who are not capable of receiving it." Secondly, "The Supper is being celebrated by people who have never been baptized, in spite of Acts 2:42." Hübmaier enlarges upon this point by saying that some consideration should be given to weak people when they err in unimportant things such as the celebration of Roman festivals and the observance of food restrictions. They should be allowed to follow their habits until proper instruction can be given. But this is not the case when the important commands of Christ are being ignored or misconstrued. No toleration may be given to those who err in their observance of Baptism and the Supper. These ordinances are the foundations of the church.

Thirdly, Hübmaier observes that some groups are committing a grave error by attributing a sacramental significance to the baptismal water. This is false and idolatrous. The true Sacrament is found in the baptismal vow, and the love oath sworn by the brethren. Thus, the Sacrament occurs only once and is sufficient for all eternity. Therefore, he who receives baptism after giving his oath, is not receiving a re-baptism, <sup>68/</sup> but the true baptism.

Our review of these four instructive pamphlets may seem

67. Ibid., pp. 3-5.

68. Ibid., pp. 5-7.

overly simplified in view of the important subjects they discuss, but that has not been the intent. It will be remembered that Hübmaier was addressing his thoughts to simple people who required a straight forward presentation of the issues at stake. If he were going to make his ideas understandable, they had to be presented without embellishment. Where we would appreciate further comment, Hübmaier often fails to give it. Consequently, as the remaining tracts, books and pamphlets come under our investigation, only their contents will be given. A summation of Hübmaier's thought will be given in the final chapter.

#### D. Discord and Strife (Spring of 1527):

Hübmaier's suspicion of Hans Hut was justified early in 1527 when the latter's sensational preaching made millennial prophecy the major topic of discussion among the Anabaptists. Hübmaier's forms for ecclesiastical practice seemed dull and uninteresting when visions of Christ's final coming, the culmination of all things, and the vindication of the persecuted remnant, were suddenly open for investigation. If the end of the world were to come in the near future, the visible church needed no organization. Soon it was noised about that Hut had given the people more valuable instruction during a few weeks than had Hübmaier during his six months' ministry.

At this inopportune moment the Anabaptist community was shocked by the promulgation of a national war tax to aid in the impending war with the Ottoman Empire. The law of the land required that everyone must pay, but many of the Anabaptists were pacifists with scruples against the shedding of blood. These were balanced by the militant group which cared little

which side would triumph in the coming struggle. The destruction of this world's rulers was all that mattered to them. If their own magistrates could be forced to lead the procession, Christ might appear all the sooner.

Hübmaier was neatly trapped by this turn of events. On the one hand he longed to preserve the unity he had built among the Anabaptists, and on the other hand he could not afford to alienate the affections of the Nicolsburg magistracy in whose hands resided the key to this religious sanctuary. Because of his own characteristics, he was the only leader who could compromise the situation. Had the others placed their confidence in him, a solution might have been found, but unfortunately, this did not happen. The preachers, Augustin and Bastian, Bishop Göschel's chaplain Niklas, Spitalmeier and Glaidt deserted him and joined the reactionaries, Wiedemann, Jäger, Adam Schlegel, Burkhard von Ofen and Leonhard Schiemer. This group then asked Hut to be their leader and spokesman. Hübmaier could see only one thing to do. He placed his familiar confidence in a public disputation and proposed that the pros and cons of war-taxation be given a thorough airing. He asked first that the debate be held at Bergen, but when this was not accepted, he arranged for a discussion in the castle of the Liechtenstein brothers. It is uncertain when this occurred, but it must have been during January or February. By March of 1527 Hut had returned to Augsburg.

The major topic of the disputation was stated as, "Concerning the Sword/ whether or not one should use it/ and if one should pay taxes for war purposes." According to Hans Nadler of Erlangen, seven other points were discussed; to wit: baptism,

the Supper, the Righteousness of God, God's Judgment, the end of the world, the new Kingdom and the future coming of Christ. <sup>69/</sup>

Little remains as a record of the debate, but it is obvious from succeeding events that Hut so thoroughly exasperated the Liechtenstein brothers that they tried to detain him in the castle. He no doubt put forward ideas such as those contained in the Acht Artickel des predigers zu Nickelspurg. These are: (1) the Gospel should not be preached publicly in the church, but secretly in houses; (2) Christ was tainted by original sin; (3) the Virgin was not the mother of God, but only the mother of Christ; (4) Christ is not God, but only a prophet to whom the word of God was given; (5) Christ's death was not sufficient efficacy for the world's salvation; (6) no magistrate may be a Christian; and (8) the angel of God was bound in the flesh with Christ. <sup>70/</sup> These articles were later attributed to Hübmaier, but this has no foundation in fact.

During the first night of his imprisonment, Hut was rescued by a sympathizer who lowered him over the fortress wall in a rabbit net. The next day he raised a cry of protest and may well have drawn a comparison between his experience and one of St. Paul's at Damascus. Perhaps his hearers agreed that the Liechtenstein action had been high-handed, but none were willing to follow Hut's plan for storming the castle. Shortly thereafter, he judiciously left Nicolsburg.

The disputation was widely discussed in Moravia, but because of conflicting testimonies, much of Hut's heresy was

69. Loserth, op. cit., p. 133.

70. Ibid., Appendix A. a.

attributed to Hübmaier. It was said that he was the author of the eight Nicolsburg articles. Some of the charges of heresy and treason brought against him at Vienna may be attributed to this confusion.

Hut visited Vienna before returning to Augsburg where he was finally captured and imprisoned. He accidentally set fire to his straw bed and died of his burns a few days later.

Hübmaier worked from March until June trying to repair the damage, but this task was made more difficult by the estrangement of his former friends and the understandable doubts of the Liechtensteins. The noblemen never lost confidence in Hübmaier, but they were suspicious of the Anabaptists as a whole.

Two dogmatic studies concerning the freedom of man's will appeared under Hübmaier's name during this period. Von der Freyhait des Willen, was finished on April 1st, and Das Ander Biechlein von der Freywilligkeit des menschens left his hands on May 20th.

It is reasonable to think that Hübmaier's magnum opus on magistracy, Von dem Schwert, should have appeared prior to these. Von dem Schwert was not published until June 24th. Certainly, Hübmaier must have applied himself to a justification of his stand as soon as possible after Hut fled the city. Perhaps the books on free will were written before the disruption, and their publication delayed because of it.

The first of these tracts, Von der Freyhait des Willens, is addressed to Prince George, Count of Brandenburg and the

nobles of Stettin, Pomerania, Nürnberg, and Rügen.<sup>71/</sup>

The book begins with a complaint. Hübmaier says that the Gospel has been preached sincerely for several years, but a large number of people have grasped only two things, and these are only half-truths. They know that justification is by faith alone, and that they are incapable of doing good, because their wills are in bondage. In his estimation these half-truths are worse than positive lies, because they masquerade as complete truths and are accepted at face value by unthinking people. It is futile to admonish such people to improve their lives, because they answer, "We cannot improve; all things occur according to God's predestined plan." Hübmaier adds, "If you threaten them with the advice that evil-doers will be thrown into Hell, they weave a protecting cloak out of fig leaves and say, 'faith alone saves us and not our works.'" Hübmaier is determined to destroy this false doctrine and to explain just what one is capable of doing through the inward and outward Grace of God.<sup>72/</sup>

In the following five pages he gives his conception of man's three-fold nature using Gen. 2:7 as his text, and many other passages for support. He emphasizes that man is a corporal and reasonable creature. Out of the following discussion we learn that man consists of three things: body (made by God out of dust or ashes); spirit (the life-giving, resuscitat-

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71. Appendix #XXII, p. 2. If a recommendation 429 years old is of any value, attention should be given to the message penned at the top of the title page. Tobias Giayt writes that this book pleased him. He has made one or two other marginal comments in the body of the work.

72. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

ing breath); and soul (life itself). Each of these has its own will and all three wills were affected differently through the Fall of Adam. The will of man's Flesh does not want to suffer. The will of the Soul would like to suffer, but it must accede to the will of the Flesh. The Spirit's will is eager and able to suffer.<sup>73/</sup>

Before the Fall each will had the power of determinative action. Each could choose freely between good and evil, life and death, heaven and hell. After the Fall this power was destroyed or severely curtailed. The Flesh lost its freedom forever to choose what is right. It can only sin and return again to whence it came (Romans 7:8, I Cor. 15:).<sup>74/</sup> The Spirit remains as it was formerly, because it is a spark of the Divine. It has no guilt of its own, but it must participate as a prisoner in the actions of the Flesh (I Thess. 5:23).<sup>75/</sup> The Soul is grievously wounded; so weak that it cannot begin or finish any good action. The tool of its labor, the Flesh, is broken and useless. Nevertheless, there is hope for the Soul's recovery through the power of God's Word. Hübmaier reaches this conclusion by recourse to one of his favorite analogies. He says that Adam (the figure of the Soul) did not want to eat the forbidden fruit, but Eve (the figure of the Flesh) did. Because the Soul was obedient to the Flesh, man lost the ability to choose anything except that which pleased his Flesh. The Soul still retains the desire for the "good", but it does not know how to find it.<sup>76/</sup>

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73. Ibid., pp. 5-9.  
75. Ibid., pp. 11-12.

74. Ibid., pp. 10-11.  
76. Ibid., pp. 12-18.

The Gospel of Christ solves this dilemma. A faithful hearing of it causes drastic changes in the will of the Soul and this is the deciding factor. The Flesh remains in its corruption and the Spirit is still divine, but the Soul finds healing and is restored to its original free state. Because the Soul stands between the Flesh and the Spirit as Adam stood between Eve and God, it can now decide for either alternative. Whether a man is saved or damned depends upon the decision of his Soul. Christ brings this second chance to man and aids him in making the right choice.<sup>77/</sup> If man is sincere in his desire, he will be granted a spiritual rebirth. "What Adam lost for mankind is recovered by Christ, and, therefore, no one may pardon his actions by claiming that he lacks the freedom of determinative action."<sup>78/</sup>

The second booklet, Das Ander Biechlen von der Freywilligkeit des menschengs, is Hübmaier's final word on the subject.<sup>79/</sup> His purpose is to enlarge on the fact that man is free to choose the good or the evil.

Addressing his introductory remarks to the Lower Silesian prince, Fredrick of Lignitz, Hübmaier presents first a few thoughts concerning temptation. He sees all men as subject to it just as Christ was. Satan is constant in his attempt to interfere with God's Will by leading men into sin. Man occupies a free orbit between God and the Devil and his oscillations may place him in the hands of either. Hübmaier reasons that if man is not free but predestined to one or the

77. Ibid., pp. 18-25.  
79. Appendix #XXIII.

78. Ibid., pp. 25-32.

other destination, he can neither be punished for his guilt nor praised for his salvation. Only one who has a false conception of God can say that He damns people who are not guilty of their own sin.<sup>80/</sup>

For those who have not read Von der Freyhait des Willens, he recapitulates the major points, laying particular emphasis upon the affect of Christ's "widerbrachten fal" upon man's will. Man is free to choose. The sterility of his Flesh makes no difference to his salvation or damnation. A host of texts are used to support this claim, and strangely enough, many come from the Old Testament! Some of these are Gen. 4:6ff; Deut. 11:26ff., 30:11ff.; Jer. 1:11ff., 8:31ff.; Isa. 1:19; Mat. 23:37; Luke 2:14; Phil. 2:13; John 11:11ff., 8:31ff.<sup>81/</sup> All together 313 texts are cited in this writing and at least 125 of these are different. Hübmaier never lacked a text to prove or support a contention.

He carries his love for disputing into yet another tract. Fifty-eight topics are given a cursory treatment in the second major section. Of these the twenty-five listed below are worthy of mention.

- "1. If one doubts that man cannot accomplish the good works God commands, he misunderstands the power of God.
2. Through His Word, God returns to man his lost freedom.
6. He who has experienced rebirth will not deny freedom.
7. Christ does not command something without giving man the capacity to honor the command.
8. The Flesh must do the will of the Soul.
9. Only a spiteful lord would command his people to run a race if they were chained down at the starting line.

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80. Ibid., p. 3.

81. Ibid., pp. 5-17.

10. God will punish the lie that we are not subject to sin.
11. God maligns Himself if He invites men but actually does not want them to come.
14. God commands nothing impossible.
21. If man refuses to do good as God desires, he will be punished by being capable of choosing only the evil.
24. Sin is not sin to those who receive it as a punishment to be borne with a good heart in order that it may not be laid to their charge at the Judgment.
25. We do not know who God has elected.
26. It is only certain that Christ desires the salvation of all men.
27. We should listen to Christ and not grieve ourselves with the secret thoughts of God.
28. It is folly to explore God's private Will.
31. When we know what Faith and Love mean, we understand God's revealed Will.
34. The amount of God's Love in us is in proportion to the death of our Flesh.
39. Herod sinned by following his innate disposition to sin. Peter was not similarly guilty, because he refused to follow that disposition.
42. God does not will Sin.
43. Because He does not will it, we sin out of disobedience.
50. If God gave us Paradise today, we could not retain it longer than did Adam.
51. Who, therefore, accuses Adam, accuses himself.
54. God's Mercy can be seen more clearly in the Fallen Adam, than in the Adam before the Fall.
55. This is not to say that one should sin in order that God's Mercy can be seen more clearly.
57. If one denies that God's Word brings freedom, he denies the truth of the Bible.<sup>82/</sup>

The third division of the writing contains Hübmaier's reaction to sixteen biblical texts. Evidently, each one of these has been used to defend double predestination or the idea that man can do no good works. His answers reflect how heavily he relies upon the difference between God's "revealed" and "concealed" Wills, although he is quick to explain that this differentiation is made solely to clarify the issue. God has

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82. Ibid., pp. 17-25.

only one Will, but part of it is unfathomable to man. The sixteen texts are as follows:

Romans 9:18. "So then he has mercy upon whomever he wills, and he hardens the heart of whomever he wills." (RSV). Hübmaier sees this passage as a reference to God's hidden Will. This cannot be examined with a common rule. What is not revealed to us is none of our concern. We should meditate only on Christ's revelation of free pardon to all men.<sup>83/</sup>

I Timothy 2:4. "Who desires all men to be saved and come to the knowledge of truth." (RSV) and Romans 9:19. "For who can resist his will" (RSV). God's revealed Will may be seen in the first text. He invites us to come to Him and receive His Grace. His concealed Will is illustrated by the second passage. If one ignores His open invitation, he may expect to be ignored and spiritually blinded.<sup>84/</sup>

Romans 9:17. "For the scripture says to Pharaoh, 'I have raised you up for the very purpose of showing my power in you, so that my name be proclaimed in all the earth.'" (RSV) The objection arising out of this passage is that God used Pharaoh without considering Pharaoh's free will. Pharaoh had to sin, and the Israelites had to follow his example. Pharaoh was not free to do good. Hübmaier explains that since Pharaoh had sinned terribly, God could have dispatched him in a moment, but He desisted in order that Pharaoh's ultimate downfall would be the greater, and God's example the more terrifying.<sup>85/</sup>

Malachi 1:3. "And I hated Esau" (KJ). Romans 9:13,

83. Ibid., pp. 26-29.

84. Ibid., pp. 29-32.

85. Ibid., pp. 32-35.

"As it is written, 'Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated.'" (RSV) Here seems to be undeniable proof that freedom of the will is only wishful thinking. Not so, however, according to Hübmaier. God's foreknowledge is the concern of these texts. God knew before time began that Esau would sin, but Esau was not pushed in that direction. Through words such as these, God dampens the Jewish presumption that salvation is dependent upon membership in Judaism. Even a son of Abraham can be damned.

At this point, Hübmaier inserts an afterthought concerning Romans 9:17. He says that one might gather from this text that Pharoah and Pilate were without sin if the oppression of the Jews and the crucifixion of Christ were in the Will of God. Had these sinners acted as they did in order that God's Will could be fulfilled, perhaps they would have been guiltless. But because they were motivated by selfish interests,<sup>86/</sup> their deeds were sinful.

Romans 9:20. "But who are you, a man, to answer back to God? Will what is molded say to its molder, 'Why have you made me thus?'" (RSV) "Certainly," answers Hübmaier, "through His concealed Will God can do what He wishes with man. But through His Grace He has made the believer a vessel of honor. If this vessel proves to be unsound when it is brought to the test, it must bear the responsibility itself."<sup>87/</sup>

Romans 9:16. "So it depends not upon man's will or exertion, but upon God's mercy." (RSV) Hübmaier agrees that of himself no man can create goodness. But the position is

86. Ibid., pp. 35-39.

87. Ibid., pp. 39-40.

somewhat different for a believer upon whom God has shed His Mercy. Such a person can "exert" himself, because it is God who "exerts" in him.<sup>88/</sup>

II Corinthians 3:5. "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to claim anything as coming from us; our sufficiency is from God, etc." (RSV) Hübmaier simply affirms that man can do nothing through his own power.<sup>89/</sup>

Philippians 2:13. "For God is at work in you, both to will and to work for his good pleasure." (RSV) The answer to this is plain. Man's power to decide for the good is a gift of God's Grace.<sup>90/</sup>

Jeremiah 10:23. "O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in himself; it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps." (KJ) "A soul that has not been quickened and enlightened has no ability to direct itself aright. But Christ's salvation restores this lost capacity."<sup>91/</sup>

Proverbs 16:4. "The Lord hath made all things for Himself; yea, even the wicked for the day of evil." (KJ) Here Hübmaier takes issue with Solomon. God has created no "godless" people. Man has gone astray by his own volition, and God only reserves the judgment for the Last Day.<sup>92/</sup>

Proverbs 21:1, not 20: as is cited in the writing. "The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water; he turneth it withersoever he will." (KJ) "This is just Solomon's admonition to the king to have a mild and gentle

88. Ibid., pp. 40-41.

90. Ibid., pp. 42-43.

92. Ibid., pp. 43-44.

89. Ibid., pp. 41-42.

91. Ibid., p. 43.

temper."93/

From the texts John 15:5; I Corinthians 15:10 and Isaiah 63:17, Hübmaier concludes that the Grace of God is the crucial factor in the soul's rejuvenation. God hardened the heart of Israel because of its incessant denial and lack of response.<sup>94/</sup>

At this point the reformer must deal with the idea that God is the author of evil. Isaiah 45:7 reads: "I form the light, and create darkness; I make peace, and create evil; I, the Lord, do all these things." (KJ) Hübmaier begins on the premise that there is no evil in God, so He cannot be the author of it. In the last analysis his argument hinges on the time proven axiom that God created man, and man created evil. Man not only sins in the execution of an evil action, but he sins doubly by provoking God's righteousness. The latter sin carries the greater retribution.<sup>95/</sup>

He concludes this writing with an exposition of I Corinthians 12:6. "And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all." (KJ) Hübmaier urges caution when considering this text because it suggests that God is the originator of all man's deeds. To be sure, the whole Bible gives a confusing impression. In one place it suggests that God "works" all good things, and in another it intimates that man himself can do "good" things. To solve this problem it is necessary to draw a difference between two types of human actions. Those that are essential to the soul's

93. Ibid., p. 44.  
95. Ibid., pp. 47-48.

94. Ibid., pp. 45-46.

salvation may be attributed to the working of God's Grace, but those actions which hinder the soul's progress must be attributed to a defect in man.

96/

With these concluding words Hübmaier claims that he has exhausted the subject.

#### E. In Defense of Christian Magistracy:

Hübmaier did not realize that his work was nearly at an end as the sixth month of 1527 came to Nicolsburg. His church regained its lost stability after Hut's withdrawal, and the daily arrival of religious immigrants continued to swell its membership. Again Hübmaier was the focal point of a religious pilgrimage as people from far and wide came to participate in a miracle. They did not expect to receive a blessing from the "schöne Maria," but the benediction of religious toleration. For them the latter was a far greater miracle. They looked on Hübmaier as the symbol of the new attitude. He had often been frustrated by his enemies and harried from place to place but never defeated. Each narrow escape strengthened the meaning of his motto in the minds of the people, "The truth cannot be slain." He was considered an oracle, and an object of veneration. He knew how unworthy he was of such praise, but there was little he could do to discourage those who found comfort in it.

Austria, however, saw this oracle through different eyes. Heresy was rooted deeply and spreading rapidly in the Habsburg territory. All normal measures for its suppression

proved ineffectual. Lesser officials of the empire watched its spread from their several points of vantage, but could not decide how to cope with it. With Hut out of the way there was no doubt as to where the crushing weight of Austria had to be placed.

On June 24th, 1527, Hübmaier published his last book as a free man. It represents his appeal to the Christian to submit to temporal authority and to fulfill the requirements of citizenship. How ironical it is that shortly after defending the State, he was rewarded with death at its hands.

Von dem Schwert, Ein Christennliche erklerung der Schrifften, is addressed to the Moravian government, but it is actually directed to those Anabaptists who deny worldly authority. Henry C. Vedder appended a good translation of this writing to his Hübmaier study.

At the outset, the author pleads innocent to the charge of anarchy. At Waldshut he, more than any other preacher in the neighborhood, defended the rights of magistracy. That he also tried to indicate where magistracy was in error, is not sufficient reason to condemn him as a disturber of the peace.

97. Appendix #XXIV.

98. Vedder, H. C., Balthasar Hübmaier, the Leader of the Anabaptists, pp. 273-310. By comparing Vedder's translation with the original writing several mistakes in his arrangement may be seen. There is an obvious break in thought in the last sentence of p. 302. Here Vedder has lost a paragraph. It is paragraph 2, p. 33 of Appendix #XXIV. The thought may be resumed in the last paragraph on pages 306 and 307. Also the section translated by Vedder as, "The Last Passage a Sanction of Magistracy Among Christians" (303) does not belong after the thirteenth passage, but after the fifteenth. The last two paragraphs of the fifteenth passage actually belong at the end of the final passage.

99. Appendix #XXIV, pp. 2-4.

Eighteen biblical texts are examined in much the same way as were the sixteen contained in Das Ander Biechlein von der Freywilligkeit des menschengs. These are John 18:36; Mat. 26:53ff.; Luke 9:54ff.; Luke 12:13ff.; Mat. 5:40; I Cor. 6:1-8; Mat. 18:15-17; Mat. 5:38-39; Luke 6:29; Eph. 6:14ff.; II Cor. 10:4ff.; Mat. 5:43-48; Mat. 5:21; Luke 22:25ff.; Rom. 12:19; Eph. 1:22; Col. 1:18, and Rom. 13:1-7.

The first two arguments arising out of these texts are (1) the Christian's Kingdom is extra-worldly. Therefore, he owes no allegiance to temporal governments, and (2) Christ forbade His disciples to use the sword.

To the first, Hübmaier answers that only Christ could say, "My Kingdom is not of this world," because He was born without the blemish of sin. Even if all pious Christians look forward to citizenship in that heavenly Kingdom one day, they must admit that they are unholy as long as they live and, therefore, obliged to suffer under their present rulers.

In answer to the second argument he advises that Christ admonished Peter to put his sword in its sheath. He did not order him to throw it away. This means that the sword is forbidden to those who have not been elected to its use, or to those who have taken it to further their own ends. If pious and godly men have been chosen to bear the sword, they will do so for the protection of the innocent and the terror of the guilty.<sup>100/</sup>

The third through the sixth arguments deal with the question of law courts and the office of judge. That Christ

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100. Ibid., pp. 5-9.

refused to render a judgment (Luke 12:13-14) suggests that no Christian may do so. Hübmaier explains that Christ's mission was to bring salvation and not to judge petty disputes. He then takes the view that no person is better qualified to give a fair judgment than a pious Christian. Of course, one should not undertake that responsible task unless he feels called to it.

Hübmaier agrees that the believer must be long suffering and willing to go the second mile. He should endure much more injustice than an unbeliever would, but in certain cases legal action is unavoidable. How much better it is then to have a Christian magistrate decide or arbitrate the matter. If one sins and quarrels with another and then brings the issue before an unbelieving judge, his sin is doubly great.<sup>101/</sup>

The seventh question asks why Christian excommunication is necessary if magistracy is allowable. Hübmaier explains that the civil magistrate has no right or power to act against certain offenses. Civil courts have no jurisdiction over spiritual offenses. The Christian Church reserves the right to punish these.

One may see in these pages that Hübmaier's ideas concerning the separation of Church and State have come to maturity. He sees the Church as the element in society whose first concern is the moral and spiritual betterment of man. It appeals to man's better nature and acts as a guide. In order that this work may be carried on effectively, the Church should not be encumbered with extraneous responsibilities and

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101. Ibid., pp. 9-15.

interests of secondary importance. It must not be the political partner of the State, because such a partnership tends to divide the view and lessen the influence of both. The State gains just as much by this separation.

Hübmaier takes an honest look at man and decides that he is a sinner. Even after a spiritual rebirth has occurred, the Soul may succumb to demonic seduction and cause the Flesh to do physical, as well as spiritual harm to others. It is necessary, therefore, to have a temporal State whose duty it is to keep order and to regulate the functions upon which human society depends. If society is to survive, there must be an organizing body. The State should be autonomous in this sphere and outside the domination of the Church, because the Church has often placed its material welfare above the moral and spiritual betterment of its members. It is ridiculous to hold one's self aloof from the State upon the basis of peculiar piety. All men have participated in its building and it stands as a monument to what man is. Law, sword, fire, stocks and gallows would be superfluous if man were not sinful. His own disobedience might well be the reason for poor rulers. To illustrate this, Hübmaier points to evil kings of Judah and Israel who reigned at times when evil was rampant among the Hebrew people. At the end of this review he writes:

"Wie das volckh/ also ist auch der König."  
 "Ein stöck hert auff die frösch, die den  
 Esopischen vnd vnschedlichen blöcken nit  
 wolten für einen Khünig erkennen noch annemen."<sup>102/</sup>

The eighth argument deals with the difference between

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102. Ibid., p. 18.

the Old Testament injunction to demand "an eye for an eye," and Christ's command to "turn the other cheek." Here the author sees what great progress has been made since the coming of Christ. Originally an injured person had to take his grievance to a magistrate and demand satisfaction. But a higher standard is reached when no complaint is made, but the magistrate still punishes the evil. It is the Christian magistrate's duty to seek out and punish the offender, because God has appointed him to protect the innocent.

103/

The crux of the ninth, tenth and eleventh arguments is that the temporal sword serves to frighten those who will not heed the sword of the Gospel. No personal malice is connected with the use of the temporal sword. It falls from the hands of the magistrate as a natural consequence of transgressing God's law.

104/\*

Following this Hübmaier answers the question, "How can one kill when Christ has said, 'he who kills will be in danger of judgment'?" Hübmaier does this by exposing a long list of biblical contradictions. In each case one must call upon his reason to find the right answer. Hübmaier concludes that the killing Christ has forbidden is that which is committed because of human wrath, malice and abuse. The Christian magistrate is

103. Ibid., pp. 20-21.104. Ibid., pp. 21-27.

\* At this point attention should be directed to the marginal comment on page 25 of this appended writing (Appendix #XXIV). Hübmaier writes, "As no Christian should hate anyone, but should love every man, so should a Christian magistrate have no enemies, nor hate anyone." The marginal comment reads, "Yes indeed, no enemy, no hate. I have failed greatly." The tone and content of four other remarks suggest the author's identity. A guess will be made after all the remarks have been reviewed.

not motivated by such baseness, but by the divine command to punish the wicked and to protect the pious. He writes:

"He who does not protect the pious, kills him, and is guilty of his death just as if he had allowed a hungry (person) to starve."<sup>105/</sup>

106/\*

The thirteenth and fourteenth arguments are repetitious.

Under the fifteenth text, "Christ is our head, and we are his members," Hübmaier combats the idea that the Christian, like Christ, should neither strive nor fight, but go patiently to his death. He gives three points:

1. "In temporal affairs Christ is not our Head, and neither are we His members. When He is righteous and truthful, we are bad and deceitful. Christ is a child of Grace, we are children of wrath. Christ committed no sin; we are conceived and born in sin. Notice how you members compare to the Head."
2. "Our membership in Christ comes through Faith. We confess that we should be members, but are not because of our own guilt, and beg God to forgive us through Jesus Christ. If this is done sincerely, our sin is pardoned and we are members of Christ, but not in will and works, and that which comes out of our Flesh but in Faith."
3. "Now that we know that we are children of God and members of Christ only in Faith, so we must also know that we have not all the same office. Some teach, another protects, a third tills, a fourth makes clothing, but all these occupations emerge from Faith and should be carried on to the benefit of our neighbors. . . .so it is that magistracy has been ordained to fill a necessary function: not to misuse its power or to trespass upon that

105. Ibid., p. 32.

106. Ibid., p. 34.

\* Even if Hübmaier has repeated himself in this section, he has not failed to make an impression upon the author of the marginal comments. He writes that the unbeliever is covetous of the plaudits and esteem of men, "But a Christian, even if he is a magistrate, pays no attention to the likes of this. He does not desire that men should honor him with the title 'Junker.'" (Appendix #XIV, p. 34) The marginal comment reads, "I, dear Balthasar, I, I."

which concerns the Soul, but to protect widows, aid the pious, and loose those who are oppressed. . .therefore, God has hung a sword at the side of magistracy and not a fox tail."107/

In summation, Hübmaier says that Romans 13:1-6 is ample justification for magistracy and sufficient sanction for obedience to it. The magistrate is bound by his soul's salvation to deal justly after God's command, and likewise, man is bound to obey. If, however, one's ruler is childish, foolish, or unfit to rule, it is wiser to flee from him and choose another. \* God has often punished a whole nation because the ruler was wicked. But if this cannot be accomplished without resorting to violence and rebellion, the wicked ruler should be tolerated. God may well be chastising us through such a man.

He closes with this observation:

"If we desire to live peacefully under a heathen magistracy, why should we not desire to live in peace under a Christian government? Since we are under a Christian government, the ordinance of God should be taken to heart more seriously than under the government of the heathen. Where does that lead you, dear Brother?"108/

Where it led Hübmaier is told by the author of the marginal comments. He writes:

"Truly you have experienced it, dear Balthasar, because you are being imprisoned at Nicolsburg, and there-

107. Ibid., pp. 35-37.

\* The marginal comment reads, "Yes, throw it out." Appendix #XXIV, p. 39.

108. Ibid., pp. 37-42.

after, given over to the executioner."\*

### F. The Judgment of Austria:

Scarcely four weeks passed after Hübmaier's defense of magistracy appeared in print before he and his wife were under arrest and on their way to Vienna. Since the Moravian margraviate was a fief under the Austrian House, the Liechtenstein brothers were compelled to submit to the dictates of Ferdinand, whether they wanted to or not. Ferdinand could see no better way of dealing with the Anabaptist boil at Nicolsburg than to remove its core. This rebel, Hübmaier, had slipped out of his hands too often in the past, and at last the long standing grievance could be settled.

Sometime in June Ferdinand issued a decree to all Austrian officials. <sup>\*\*</sup> No efforts were to be spared in destroying the Anabaptist heresy once and for all. The Liechtenstein brothers received special instructions with their copy of this general ultimatum. They were ordered to travel to Vienna accompanied by their preachers. Upon their arrival, Balthasar

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\* The evidence is too slight to stand against the weight of severe criticism, but at least a guess can be made as to the identity of this marginal commentator. We can infer from his remarks that he is a Christian ruler who has failed in his duty by hating and having enemies (p. 25). He underlines Hübmaier's remark that free pardon may be had in Jesus Christ (p. 36). He is ashamed for feeling "puffed up" (p. 34). He regrets that he must obey an order from a government he does not respect (p.39). And he knows that Hübmaier is to be placed under arrest at Nicolsburg and transported to Vienna for trial and probable execution (p. 42). What is more, he speaks of Hübmaier in terms of genuine affection. As far as we know, only two men fit this picture. Either Hans or Leonhart von Liechtenstein.

\*\* See Note H for an earlier mandate concerning the Anabaptists.

and Elsbeth were locked in the city prison. On July 22nd, 1527, charges were brought against Hübmaier for his Waldshut activities. These were sent to Freiburg, and from there to Ensisheim with the request that additional evidence of Hübmaier's guilt be returned to Vienna. The letter reads:

"Quite some time ago, Dr. Balthasar was a priest in our city of Waldshut. Through his preaching of false doctrine there was a great increase of mischief, strife, ill-will and rebellion among the common folk in our border country. So much so that the city of Waldshut was nearly lost to us and our House. When Waldshut was conquered, he fled into our Margraviate of Moravia. Since then we have waited for an opportunity to affect his capture. Lately he has been brought to Vienna and is now confined in our royal prison. As yet he has been examined without torture on the enclosed list of questions. Now, because you were active in the peasant and Waldshut disturbances, you must be well aware of the Doctor's part in them. This affair must not be postponed. Therefore, we command you to examine the list of questions with all haste and without delay, and forward anything else you can learn by a thorough inquiry. Give us your counsel in this matter that in the future we may know how to cope with the uprooting of this evil. We want to punish appropriately in order that a good example may be made for others."<sup>109/</sup>

After several weeks in Vienna, Hübmaier was removed to Kreuzenstein castle, a political prison, some three miles out of the city. It was Ferdinand's hope to extract a complete recantation from him which could be displayed throughout the empire. If a man of his influence could be humbled, others might be persuaded to follow. Hübmaier, however, held aloof from this odious task for three months. He was by no means

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109. Loserth, op. cit., p. 173. Original in the Austrian State Archives at Innsbruck.

penitent, nor did he seem to fear that a final reckoning was close at hand. When Ferdinand was nearly out of patience, and his demands became more incessant, Hübmaier asked that his former friend Johannes Fabri (Heigerlein) be summoned to Kreuzenstein for a discussion. He never lost faith in the solving of problems by debate. Ferdinand acquiesced and Fabri was duly summoned to Vienna. He took Max Beckh, bishop in Austria, and Ambrosius Salzer, Rector of the University of Vienna with him to Kreuzenstein. The discussions between these three men and Hübmaier began during December of 1527. They lasted a week. These are some of the topics of conversation: (1) the exegesis and proper understanding of the Bible; (2) church tradition and infant baptism; (3) the Sacraments of the altar and the Mass; (4) the petition of Saints; (5) purgatory; (6) faith and good works; (7) Christian freedom; (8) the adoration and honoring of Mary; (9) eschatology; (10) confession and penance; (11) the papal power of the Keys; (12) fasting; (13) excommunication; (14) the Lutheran and Zwinglian heresies, and (15) the findings of Church councils.

At the conclusion of these discussions, Hübmaier agreed to write a retraction of his heretical beliefs. The manuscript was completed and sent to Ferdinand on January 3rd, 1528. It represents Hübmaier's last, extant writing and has remained in the manuscript form in which he wrote it. It was never given out for public consumption because, rather than a retraction, it is Hübmaier's justification. It is generally referred to as his Rechenschafft. The complete title is: An den Durch-

leuchtigistenn, vnnnd Grossmechtigistenn Herrn, Herrn Ferdinand, Chunigen zu Vnngern vn Behalmb, Ertzhertzogen in Osterreich etc., Seinen Allergenidigisten Herrn, Ein Rechenschaft des Glaubens, von Balthasaren Huebmor von Frydtberg in den Banden, auf XXVII Artigkel, gegeben an dem dritten tag des monats january anno etc. Im XXVIII den. 111/

Apart from the fact that the document is in Hübmaier's handwriting and, therefore, valuable as the only example of its kind, it contains little of original interest. This is not the kind of a writing in which one expects to find original thinking. He was more concerned with the removal of the charges against him than the creation of an unique contribution to the theology of his day. He is anxious to prove that he is not, nor ever has been, opposed to the basic doctrines of the Church. An abridged translation of the twenty-seven articles may be found in Vedder.<sup>112/</sup>

From the tone of the writing it is plain that the author was laboring under a misconception. He believes that he is being imprisoned solely upon religious grounds and that Hut's heresy has been linked to him. To remove this erroneous idea he denies complicity in the Nicolsburg Articles and refutes every heretical tenet of them. "The Virgin Mary is, and always was, chaste, pure, and undefiled." (Art. 9) "The Virgin is the Mother of God." (Art. 10) "Christ was truly God." (Art. 11) "Although Christ has given us many signs, no one knows when the Last Day will dawn except God."<sup>113/</sup> (Art. 14)

In the twenty-fifth and sixth articles he makes his

111. Appendix #XXV.

112. Vedder, op. cit., pp. 230-235.

113. Appendix #XXV, Art. 9, pp. 20-22; Art. 10, pp. 22-23; Art. 11, pp. 23-25; Art. 14, pp. 27-30.

unqualified opposition to Hut unmistakable. He writes:

"Most illustrious and mighty king, all gracious lord. Without equivocation I can say that I am against Hans Hut's interpretation of baptism and the Lord's Supper. I will combat his ideas in writing and by word of mouth as long as God gives me the power. I may say in clear conscience, and with the support of Scripture that he has grossly misconstrued the commands of Christ. I have no doubt that with the help of God I will soon overthrow his abuses. I can assure you that, as I must answer before God, I have taught nothing about baptism, save that it should be preceded by public confession of Christ and the renunciation of the Devil. . . The baptism I taught, and that of Hut are as far apart as heaven and hell, orient and occident, Christ and Baal. As regards baptism, I pray to God that I will not be held guilty of Hut's sin."<sup>114/</sup>

The optimistic note on which Hübmaier ends this writing leads one to think that Fabri must have assured him of his release if his retraction proved satisfactory. If he were resigned to death he would never have closed with this paragraph.

"With God's help, I resolve to conduct myself henceforth in such a way as to deserve your royal pleasure. With the greatest zeal and sincerity I will lead the people wherever I am to devotion and obedience. Your royal majesty need have no fear regarding this pledge; my 'Yea' will be as constant now, as it will be found at the Last Day, so help me God. His name be praised."<sup>115/</sup>

While Hübmaier was composing this retraction in the seclusion of his dungeon, the Anabaptist heresy was continuing its virulent course. Vienna itself was besieged by those who advocated the new aspiration and the state of affairs in the outlands worsened rather than improved. The king decreed that no defense, excuse or explanation would be tolerated. All

114. Ibid., pp. 48-49.

115. Ibid., pp. 56-57.

heretics were to suffer by fire, sword, or any other convenient means of death. Irrespective of their age or sex, they were to be tortured into revealing pass-words, hiding places, or anything else which would aid in the capture of others. For his part, he would provide a terrifying example in the person of Hübmaier.

It is questionable whether Ferdinand ever saw Hübmaier's Rechenschafft. Be that as it may, the first draft was marked unsatisfactory. His statements on baptism and the Supper were too ambiguous. Hübmaier sent the revised manuscript back to Ferdinand on the 29th of February, but this was rejected as well. \* The king needed an example.

Early in March he was returned to Vienna and tortured in the presence of the inquisitors. Failing to force a statement from him, the committee condemned him to be burned alive on March 10th. Elsbeth Hübmaier suffered the same treatment and showed as much fortitude as did her husband. She was condemned to death by drowning, and was hurled into the Danube on March 13th.

Thirty-nine years as an advocate of Rome brought Hübmaier to an awareness of his spiritual poverty. Four years as an advocate of a new evangelical aspiration brought him to the stake.

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\* Hübmaier's second retraction has been lost.

## CHAPTER SIX

### A SUMMATION OF HÜBMAIER'S THOUGHT

#### A. The Layman's Author:

Our review of Hübmaier's writings has made one point very clear. That is, the thoughts he shared by means of the press were directed, predominantly, towards the laity. Early in his reforming career he observed that the common people were bewildered by the religious transformations of the sixteenth century. The majority had never subjected their personal beliefs to a critical examination. They had accepted the idea that their salvation was assured within the framework of Roman Catholicism and had no idea that more was required of them than conformance to an age old religious practice. Within a very short period of time this complacent attitude suffered a severe shock. The layman was asked to discard a faith and practice which had become an integral part of his life, and to accept something utterly unfamiliar and confusing. A monk named Luther had started the religious upheaval with the phrase, "Justification by faith," but few of the laity knew what that meant. Others were saying that the Mass was no sacrifice; neither the Virgin nor the Saints were to be called upon for intercession; the Pope was not infallible, nor was there efficacy in the papal remission of sin; pilgrimages, holy relics, pictures and statues were idolatrous and "abominations before the Lord"; there was nothing to be gained by religious festivals and the observance of food restrictions.

Now the emphasis was being placed upon the divine authority of the Bible rather than upon the mundane authority of the Church. No Roman practice was sacred enough to escape the iconoclastic wave. The old religion was turned upside down.

The leaders of the new religious attitude had had time to contemplate the needs for, and the results of, a drastic reformation, but the greatest number of lay people had never given a thought to such matters. Their religion had been built upon practice, ritual and forms. "Faith" for them, was something nebulous and intangible. They were in serious need of instruction.

As a complementary aspect of the "new teaching," the layman was encouraged to read the Scriptures and to establish his faith upon them. But copies were not easily obtained. Those that were available were generally written in Latin, which the simple person could not read. Besides this deterrent was the fact that the Scriptures needed interpretation and even the leaders were inconsistent in their expositions. It was difficult to get a straight-forward answer to an apparently simple question, to say nothing of the confusing and involved questions. Too often the reforming leaders spoke and wrote in the language of the scholar, using philosophical and theological terminology which was incomprehensible to the laity. But the average Christian did gain the impression that his salvation was at stake. Should he stand by the old faith, or should he follow the new? If the reformers were right, eternal life might well be denied to the person who did not grasp the key to the new religious domain. Therefore, questions regarding a personal faith in Jesus Christ, free Grace, the significance of

the Sacraments, the authority of the Bible and the freedom or bondage of man's will were of tremendous interest and importance. The leaders were answering these questions to their own satisfaction, but very little illumination was filtering down to the people.

Recognizing the need for plain talk, Hübmaier decided to meet it by explaining, in the simplest possible language, what is necessary to salvation and the manner in which the Gospel can be applied to daily Christian living. Every other consideration had to be sacrificed that this need might be met first. Consequently, Hübmaier dealt with only those areas of Christian theology which the simple layman could grasp. More often than not his explanations were given in monosyllables. He always translated his Latin, Greek and Hebrew quotations. Only one of his pamphlets was published in Latin as well as German. The way in which he expressed his thoughts was intelligible to the masses. Only rarely was his argument difficult to follow.

Hübmaier capitalized on the coarse and sarcastic humor of the Swabian laboring man who had no appreciation for literary refinement. He held the attention of his readers with sentences such as these: "To demand chastity within the power of man is to attempt a flight over the sea without wings.<sup>1/</sup>"; "For Heaven's sake, Oecolampad, let's throw this worn out argument under the bench and handle the matter according to the clear word of Scripture!<sup>2/</sup>"; "Oh, god of child's play, water is

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1. Achtzehn Schlussreden. Appendix I, p. 7.  
 2. Von dem Kindertauff. Appendix XIV, p. 3.

not baptism or the whole Danube would be a font, and the fishermen and sailors would be baptized daily.<sup>3/</sup>; "And what does a baby answer to the question, 'Do you believe in God the Father, the Almighty Creator of heaven and earth?' so weynets/ oder aber es brintzlet die weyl inn die Windelen."<sup>4/</sup> It is clear that he strode over the boundaries of approved theological discussion. He often wrote as if he were speaking directly to his adversary. He never spoke about an antagonist without naming him, and he had no use for subtle innuendoes. Writing to Oecolampadius he said, "My dear Oecolampadi, put together your texts substantiating infant baptism as I have put together mine concerning believers' baptism. Then we will compare our collections and will soon be at one with each other. Do it -- don't forget it."<sup>5/</sup> And to Zwingli he wrote, "I've had enough of your philosophy which has not scriptural foundation, and, consequently, is not theology. It does no good to suck fingers."<sup>6/</sup>

For these reasons Hübmaier's writings were especially popular among the average people. He was readable and understandable, but what is more important, he was convinced that his own position was the right one. This confidence in himself inspired confidence in his readers.

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VII, p. 24. 3. Von dem Christenlichen Tauff der gläubigen, Appendix  
 4. Ibid., p. 56.  
 5. Von dem Kindertauff, Appendix XIV, p. 15.  
 6. Von dem Christenlichen Tauff der gläubigen, op. cit.,  
 p. 60.

## B. The Practical Theologian:

That Hübmaier left no systematic theology behind him is neither proof of his lack of interest in theological system nor evidence that he lacked ability in this field of study. Philosophical hair-splitting was the major interest of his undergraduate experience. He was trained to confound his debating opponents with the twists of reason and the turns of logic. He would not have retained the leadership of the "Pfauenburse" at Freiburg unless he had been adept at threading his way through elaborate philosophical and theological arguments. Hübmaier could have applied the same rules to a systematizing of his theology had he so desired. If he had taken this course, he might have lived longer and made a greater contribution to the doctrinal literature of the Reformation. Instead of this, he determined that plain language was the immediate need. After people understood the naked truths of a vital faith there would be time to lay on the clothes of a systematic theology. It is unfortunate that he was never given an opportunity to arrange his thoughts into an orderly body of doctrine.

Because Hübmaier was preoccupied with the practical side of Christianity, he often left gaps in his arguments which need to be filled in, at least as far as the theologian is concerned. As he drives towards his goal, he often leaps over, brushes past, or misses a germane theological issue altogether. We search in vain for answers to some deeply disconcerting questions which he himself poses and then ignores. He completely neglects some of the polemic issues which were debated long and earnestly by the other reformers. Two of these are, "Sin"

and "Atonement." He allied himself with no school of thought and admitted no other influence than the "word of God" as having been responsible for the change in his religious life. He did so not because he saw himself as free from human influence and an example of a self-made thinker, but for quite the opposite reason. He saw himself and most of the other reformers as products of too much human influence. The influences which had been exerted upon his thought for over thirty years had done nothing to clarify his thinking as far as the truths of Christianity were concerned. Human wisdom had only confused and complicated the Gospel which he later discovered finds its strength and compelling power in its simplicity. Therefore, he never writes, "Luther says," or "Zwingli says," or "Melancthon and Erasmus say!" Appeals to human agents would not have clarified an issue which was unintelligible to his readers. Rather, he invariably writes, "God says," "The Scriptures say," "Christ says" and "Paul says." He was so conscientious in directing the attention of his readers to the Bible that he sorely aggravated his reforming contemporaries. Zwingli's exclamation will be remembered in this connection. It may be said that Hübmaier went too far with proof texts rather than not far enough.

There is reason to think that very little of Hübmaier's private theology appears in his writings. Now and again a portion of it creeps into print during his discussion of various issues, but as if he realized that it was dividing his attention, he drops it and seeks to establish his conclusion on another basis. It gives us the impression that he was frightened of a theological point of view which he had retained from his pre-reforming experience. He was dubious of any theology which was

not founded upon the New Testament. With this in mind, he attempted to bring his private ideas in line with Scripture, and at times, he was not thoroughly successful. This has led some authors to the conclusion that Hübmaier was a careless thinker and that he began with no predetermined dogmatic system. The error of this conclusion is obvious if attention is directed to his biography. His educational background gave him a predetermined dogmatic system. He began with the scholastic theology of his colleague and teacher, Johann Eck, and the nominalistic philosophy of Ockham. The pattern of his thought was determined, moreover, by thirty-nine years as a Roman Catholic teacher, priest, apologist and crusader. He devoted his four reforming years to the expurgation of the old influences which had directed his thoughts into the wrong channel. It is neither remarkable nor a disgrace that he failed to purge every vestige of them.

Only four of Hübmaier's writings may be classified as totally theological and two of these are little more than confessions of faith. Die Zwelf Artickel Christenlichs glaubens is an enlarged version of the Apostles' Creed and Ein Christennliche Leertafel is a long catechism.

Nowhere does Hübmaier deviate from the orthodox fundamentals of the faith, as did Denck with his anti-trinitarian ideas and the revolutionaries with their denials of Mary's virginity and Christ's divine nature. He advocated no chiliastic eschatology and never displayed antinomian tendencies. He states without hesitation that the Apostles' Creed is the best

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 review of Christian doctrine. These are some examples of his doctrinal position:

"Almighty God is merciful to sinners. He, who made heaven and earth, can make me a son by His Grace."<sup>8/</sup> "Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, and became man in order that mankind might be saved. The Christ suffered, was crucified, dead and buried to redeem man from death. He descended into Hell and rose again on the third day. He ascended to the Father where He sitteth to help all believers who trust Him. There is no advocate but Christ Jesus. The Christ will return again to judge mankind."<sup>9/</sup>

Hübmaier accepts the doctrine of the Holy Spirit at face value. He defines it only once, but often makes reference to its action and influence.

"The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and with them is only one true God. It teaches truth, increases faith, and kindles brotherly love in the hearts of believers."<sup>10/</sup>

His beliefs about the resurrection of the body, eternal punishment for the wicked and eternal life for the righteous are similarly orthodox. He is not clear or consistent on the subjects of predestination and election, but neither were Luther and Zwingli. Calvin contributed the first thorough statement. Hübmaier stresses that Christ died for all men, that God desires the salvation of all men and that each individual is free to accept or to reject the gift of God's free Grace. So far his teaching is Arminian. But Hübmaier was not thoroughly

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7. Ein Christennliche Leertafel, Appendix XVII, p. 24.

8. Die Zweif Artickel Christenlichs glaubens, Appendix IX, p. 2.

9. Ibid., pp. 3-9.

10. Ibid., p. 10.

satisfied with this position. He wants to tighten it by urging that it is God who initiates the salvation of the individual sinner. Man needs the assistance of God in making the right decision. It is the Holy Spirit who inspires and God who "exerts" Himself in the soul of the believer. Hübmaier leaves it to man to provide a receptive and conducive atmosphere for the divine actions. Therefore, Hübmaier must be classified as a moderate Calvinist. He cannot reconcile the idea of double-predestination with his concept of a Just God.<sup>11/</sup> It is only in the areas of election and free will that he yields to allegory and philosophy. He was driven to extra-biblical interpretation because the Scriptures present a confused picture. He could not understand the reasons for biblical contradictions. He had very little grasp of the critical study of the Bible, and, therefore, he was driven to philosophy and reason. He believed that this was the only way in which he could clarify an obscure teaching of Scripture.

When Hübmaier refers to sin, he does not dwell on its definition, but on the fact that God has forgiven it through Christ. He explains briefly in the Leertafel that, "Every just against, or disobedience to the Will of God is sin."<sup>12/</sup> A person becomes aware of his sin as he learns what God's will is. To learn God's Will one must read the Bible or listen to biblical preaching.

Hübmaier made no contribution to doctrinal theology by offering a new interpretation of a basic Christian tenet or by

11. Das Ander Biechlein von der Freywillegheit des menschengs, Appendix XXIII, p. 18-19.

12. Ein Christennliche Leertafel, App. XVII, p. 16.

systematizing a corpus of reformed theology. But if he did not deviate from, or attempt to alter the great Christian doctrines, he may not be accused of being a recipient, repository or an advocate of heresy. In the terms of sixteenth century Germany, Hübmaier was a "heretic" only in respect to religious practice. His purpose was to simplify the difficult ideas and to offer an intelligible Gospel to the common people and also to those of his colleagues who would have benefited by simplicity. Practical issues connected with Christian life were his main concern, and for this reason, he should be classified as a practical theologian. His four years as a reformer were devoted to the application of divine truth to daily witnessing, and it is in this area that his greatest contribution was made. His emphases may be given under four broad headings: (1) the absolute authority of Scripture; (2) a personal faith, and the duties of true discipleship; (3) the Church as "gathered," "free" and "witnessing," and (4) a realistic attitude toward magistracy.

### C. The Absolute Authority of Scripture:

All of the reformers accepted the sola Scriptura but Hübmaier applied it to every aspect of his religious thought. This was a natural outcome of his rejection of all mundane authority in matters of religion. He discovered the power of simple biblical truth late in life and considered this discovery as the most important revelation of his religious experience. It provided solutions to two troublesome problems. It was a means to disentangle the complicated theological problems of the Reformation era, and it provided an infallible basis and

guide for the practical application of Christ's Gospel in contemporary society. Hübmaier literally venerated the Scriptures. He did not stop with the assertion that they were an aid to the Christian life. For him the Christian life could not be lived without the daily use of Scripture. The Christian did not have to go outside the Bible for guidance. Everything he needed to know was clearly written in black and white. Hübmaier claimed that the Bible is identical with the "word of God." He writes:

"One should inquire of the Scriptures and not of the Church. . . God looks more favorably upon obedience to His Word than upon all our sacrifices . . . He honors God the most, who holds fast to His Word and does not live according to our (human) laws and opinions."<sup>13/</sup>

Hübmaier advises that when a Christian is perplexed about a portion of his faith, he should examine what the Bible has to say at that point. We have seen that he did this himself and that his treatment of the text is frank and that his exegesis is almost always accurate. It would be remarkable if he never erred, but where he does, his error is honest and not premeditated. Many of his mistakes may be attributed to his use of the Vulgate. He had some knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, but he did not rely on the original languages, and, therefore, cannot be placed among Melancthon and Erasmus as a leading critical expositor. He was not interested in studied, textual criticism because he believed that there was no great need for it on the level of the average Christian. The simple truths of the Gospel were plain to see for those who made an effort to find them. It was Hübmaier's opinion that a text speaks more

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<sup>13.</sup> Ein Gespräch Balthasar Hübmaier von Fridberg,  
Appendix VIII, p. 15.

strongly when it is stripped of involved interpretations. Of course, he depended upon common sense as an aid to interpretation. He was not an unreasoning literalist.

The most explicit statement of Hübmaier's attitude toward Scripture is found in the Schlussreden against Eck. He says there that the Bible should be the only judge in controversial religious issues, because it alone contains the eternal and unchanging truths of God. Truth can be measured only against "the level of Scripture."<sup>14/</sup> When Hübmaier could find no scriptural support for a religious practice, he decided that the practice was not ordained by God and needed to be discarded. "What is not commanded in the Scriptures is forbidden in matters which concern the honor of God and the salvation of the soul."<sup>15/</sup> If the Bible then provides a rule for the proper orientation of the individual Christian life, it serves as well to orientate the life of the Church, or the corporate body of Christian individuals. It is the Church's weapon against heresy.<sup>16/</sup> It provides a guide for teaching, and a means by which the conclusions of the Fathers, councils and schools may be evaluated.<sup>17/</sup> Hübmaier believed that to depend upon Scripture for this guidance was in the best traditions of religion. The books of Moses are the law and guide for the Jews.<sup>18/</sup>

14. Schlussreden die Baldazar Fridberger, Appendix IV, Art. VIII, p. 4.

15. Achtzehn Schlussreden, App. I, p. 6, and Von dem Rhindertauff, App. XIV, p. 5.

16. Von ketzern und irren verbrennern, Appendix III, Art. 3, p. 2; Art. 21, p. 5.

17. Ein Kurtze entschuldigung, Appendix XV, p. 4.

18. Ein ernstliche Christenliche erbietung, Appendix II, pp. 4 - 5.

Hübmaier was not prepared to speculate upon questions which have no direct answer in the Bible. If he could find no specific advice, he suspected that the question was of no consequence. At times he relies heavily upon the difference between God's revealed and concealed wills when it is obvious to him that a question is important and not blessed with a plain biblical answer. He strains this method to the breaking point in his discussion of free will.<sup>19/</sup> As a rule, however, he depends upon the proposition that Scripture is the only legitimate interpreter of Scripture. Where the meaning of the one text is not clear, several related texts must be placed together. Hübmaier disapproved of any conclusion which was reached by taking the meaning of a passage out of its own context. He saw premeditated distortion of the Bible as an offense punishable by God.<sup>20/</sup> His opposition to the attempt to relate the New Testament ceremony of baptism to the Old Testament ceremony of circumcision is an illustration of this. Nevertheless, there are indications that he was vulnerable to this weakness himself, and at times fell victim to it. In the Rechenschaft he tries to prove that Mary was a virgin from the words of Gen. 3:15.<sup>21/</sup>

Hübmaier makes no sharp cleavage between the Bible as the "outward" revelation and the Holy Spirit as the "inward" revelation. His heavy emphasis upon the word of Scripture

19. Von der Freyhait des Willens, Appendix XXII and Das Ander Biechlein von der Freywilligkeit des menschengs, Appendix XXIII:

20. Von dem Christenlichen Tauf der gläubigen, Appendix VII, p. 57; Ein Gespräch, Appendix VIII, p. 66; Ein ainfeltige underricht, Appendix XVI, p. 10; Von der Freyhait des Willens, op. cit., p. 3ff.

21. Rechenschaft, Appendix XXV, p. 21.

excludes the possibility of extra dependence upon the mystical "inner light." God's word is the only basis of true faith; faith follows preaching and correct preaching proceeds out of the Bible. <sup>22/</sup> Hübmaier then has a circular theory of external revelation.

According to Hübmaier, God reveals Himself and draws men outwardly by the public proclamation of the Gospel. The inward "drawing" occurs when the soul is enlightened and <sup>23/</sup> equipped to accept the undeniable elements of divine truth. Hübmaier's ideas do not conflict with the general opinion of the other reformers; to wit: the Bible carries the power to convince (Überzeugungskraft). He believed that the sinner will remain in his spiritual ignorance until such a time as he is enlightened by the correct preaching of the Gospel. Consequently, the inward and the outward "drawings" of God go hand in hand. When a man gives the truth a faithful hearing, his soul cannot help but be touched. The reason why many people have heard the Gospel and have failed to experience a spiritual change is that they have set themselves in opposition to God. They do not want to be enlightened. <sup>24/</sup>

Hübmaier used allegory sparingly and only when he could not explain his thoughts in another way. Because his usual method was to prove each contention with text after text of Scripture, his infrequent use of allegorical interpretation is more noticeable. The best example of this occurs in the writings

22. Von dem Kindertauff, Appendix XIV, p. 7.

23. Ein Christennliche Leertafel, Appendix XVII, p. 61.

24. Ibid., p. 64.

on free will, Von der Freyhait des Willens and Das Ander  
 25/  
Biehlen von der Freywilligkeit des menscheng. He writes:

"Adam (the figure of the soul) stands between God (the figure of the spirit) and Eve (the figure of the flesh). Just as Adam was free to choose either alternative, so is (your) soul free to choose."<sup>26/</sup>

In other places he suggests that the seventy times seven is related to the seventy weeks of Dan. 9:24,<sup>27/</sup> and that the Sabbath was changed from Saturday to Sunday because of Jesus' victory over the grave which finds a related figure in Joshua's victory over the Amorites.<sup>28/</sup>

Regardless of Hübmaier's occasional lack of exegetical finesse, he made a sizable contribution with this area of his thought. He anticipated what has come to be called "New Testament theology" and provided those who followed his teaching with a practical and trustworthy guide for their religious lives. It was his conviction that the fine points of theology do not matter in the last analysis of a vital faith. If one is conscientious in his desire to follow the major truths, all peripheral matters will fall into place. He believed that the least educated person is capable of understanding the fundamentals of Christianity.

#### D. A Personal Faith and the Duties of True Discipleship:

The direction of Hübmaier's thought remains constant throughout his writings. He never swerves from his main point

25. Appendices XXII and XXIII.

26. Von der Freyhait des Willens, Appendix XXII, p. 20.

27. Von dem Christenlichen Bann, Appendix XX, p. 18.

28. Rechenschaft, Appendix XXV, Art. 20, p. 42.

although he attempts to support it from various angles. The theme, running through his writings, is that the rule of Christ must be applied to daily Christian living. Each Christian must have a spiritual rebirth through which he recognizes his personal debt to Christ and gladly assumes the duty of witnessing before other men. Hübmaier sees the path to Christian living as a threefold progression: (1) the admission of sin and the earnest desire to repent, (2) a rebirth in the faith, and (3) the resultant duty to extend brotherly love to all men in good works which have their origin in the Gospel.

Hübmaier believed that the regeneration of man is a co-operative effort between God and the individual. Man cannot initiate his soul's salvation by an independent striving after holiness, but he can prepare a receptive atmosphere for the work of the Holy Spirit. The conversion of each person is accomplished by the allied workings of the internal and external revelations. Both revelations must be operative in the soul, as neither one nor the other can accomplish the action independently. The external revelation is only brought to fruition by the complementary internal renewal. Hübmaier writes:

"The external drawing (revelation) occurs through the public proclamation of His (Christ's) holy Gospel, which Christ has commanded (us) to preach to all creatures in the world and which is now known everywhere. The internal drawing (revelation) takes place when God also enlightens the souls of men so that they understand the undeniable truth and are so thoroughly convinced by the Spirit and the 'preached' word, that their consciences must confess that these things cannot be otherwise than true."<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>. Ein Christennliche Leertafel, Appendix EVII, pp. 61 - 62.

True conversion is inextricably united to the external revelation of God's word in preaching. The fact remains, however, that many hear but few understand; at least many give no sign that new truth has been revealed to them. Such people have closed their hearts. Nothing will be revealed to them while they continue to be spiritually stubborn. This is the argument Hübmaier usually follows; but he is not consistent. At times he argues a strict Calvinism with emphasis upon the complete helplessness of the human spirit. God must initiate every action while man is passive and docile. God opens the heart quite independently of man's own desire. But Hübmaier does not want to suggest that God chooses who will and who will not be enlightened. What he wants to say, but cannot quite articulate is that man must be responsible for his own damnation, but God must have all the credit for his salvation. By examining the problem from the opposite side, we find that Hübmaier believes that man can defy God, set himself against the divine plan, and by so doing, seal his own doom. Conversely then, man does have the ability to open himself and to allow God to work in his life. It will be recalled that Hübmaier attributes the recovery of the soul's freedom of will to the faithful hearing of Christ's Gospel. Until the soul has grasped it and understood its implications, it remains in its bondage. It cannot place its weight on the side of the spirit and thus, overbalance the flesh. Therefore, the Gospel must be heard before the work of regeneration can begin. If the hearer is sincere and capable of understanding, his soul is freed and equipped for determinative action. At this point God's internal illumination comes to the individual and aids him in the next

important decision. The Gospel has the power to convince, but the Holy Spirit stimulates decision.

An individual is saved as soon as he can give an intelligent affirmation to the question, "Do you believe on the Lord Jesus Christ?"

In the writing Ain Sum ains ganzen Christlichen Lebens, or Von der ordnung einer Christenlichen frombmachung, as is its other title, Hübmaier outlines in five brief paragraphs how conversion takes place.<sup>30/</sup> What this outline lacks in theological subtlety, it gains in being understandable to the layman. By this time we should be familiar with Hübmaier's five steps: (1) God's word, (2) the hearing of it, (3) the confession of sin, (4) baptism, (5) works.

Firstly, the "word" convicts the individual of his utter sinfulness. He does everything that God forbids and nothing that He commands. With this realization, the sinner's pride is destroyed and doubt takes the place of his former self-assurance.<sup>31/</sup> When this state has been reached, the individual is prepared for Christ's redemptive action. As the "Samaritan of the soul," Christ brings spiritual medication to the wounded sinner, "the wine and oil of the Gospel." He tells the sinner:

"Believe in the Gospel because I testify that I have placed you upon my animal and have suffered death and martyrdom for your sake. Through my suffering, I have carried you into the inn, (the Christian Church) and have commanded the servants of the house (those who preach my Gospel) to give you the assurance of your sin's forgiveness. That is to say,

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30. Appendix VII a, p. 61ff.

31. Ibid., p. 63.

I am your physician and am come into the world to make sinners righteous. I have pardoned you and will intercede for you before God my Father. Therefore, he who believes in me will not be damned, but will have everlasting life."<sup>32/</sup>

Hübmaier believes that this inward revelation quickens the sinner, brings him to himself, removes his despondency and encourages him to give himself completely to Christ from that moment on. One begins the Christian life with the forgiveness of sin and the knowledge of God's pardon. With a single action the past is wiped away and the sinner is released from the stain of guilt. What he could not do for himself, Christ has done for him. He may now begin to live, develop, flower and bring forth the fruits of the Christian life. The sinner can say with Paul, "Yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God who loved me and gave Himself for me." (Gal. 2:20)<sup>33/</sup>

The natural result of the conversion experience is man's desire to testify publicly to his spiritual rebirth and to unite with people who have had a similar experience. In other words, to join the visible Christian Church by submitting to believers' baptism. Let Hübmaier explain in his own words what this baptism is.

"The outward baptism of water is the public testimony of faith. (This is to say that the candidate witnesses) to the faith which is given to him by a gracious, good and merciful God and Father through Jesus Christ with whom he is at peace. With the public acceptance of water baptism the individual testifies that he has already accepted the inward obligation to reorientate and better

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32. Ibid., pp. 63-64.

33. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

his life, and he (further) testifies to his willingness to suffer brotherly discipline if his sin gets the better of him."<sup>34/</sup>

It is plain from this and other of Hübmaier's references to baptism that the inward faith is the saving factor and not the outward ceremony. Believers' baptism then, is the mark or seal of the conversion experience. Hübmaier never questions the type of conversion experience this is. He is in closer agreement with Luther's idea that it is a Gerechtsprechung (a once and for all experience) than he is with the Roman Catholic idea of a Gerechtmachung (the beginning of a process whereby one becomes progressively justified). The only major difference between Luther's and Hübmaier's conceptions of conversion is that Luther emphasizes the death of Christ as the means by which forgiveness is extended to the converted sinner while Hübmaier sees the Incarnation (Menschenwerdung) as of equal importance.<sup>35/</sup>

This brings Hübmaier to a subsidiary point. The person who has experienced a rebirth in the Spirit must not assume that he is immune henceforth to sin and temptation. The Christian life is not passive. The believer must exert himself to combat sin, because he can easily slip back into his former state. Hübmaier did not believe in "eternal security."

Under the fifth point, Hübmaier presents the reasons for and the direction of the good works which are a natural result of the conversion experience. He says that they should

34. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

35. Von dem Christenlichen Bann, Appendix XX, p. 18; Die Zwelf Artickel, Appendix IX, p. 3, Rechenschafft, Appendix XXV, pp. 23-25.

not be done with a view to gaining merit. They are done out of gratitude to God for the gift of His Grace. He writes:

"Thereafter, He (God) directs us to our neighbors in order that we may do the physical and spiritual works of gratitude; to feed the hungry, to provide drink for the thirsty, to clothe the naked, to comfort the prisoner, and to cheer the sorrowing. Christ will accept these works of mercy as if they had been done for Him . . . Whoever is right-minded toward his neighbor is in the proper Fellowship of Christ, a member of His body, and at one with all godly people."<sup>36/37</sup>

Because Hübmaier dwelt so heavily upon a realized conversion experience, it was natural that he placed a complementary emphasis upon the actual "fruits" of such an experience. He feared that simple people might be misled by the phrase "justification by faith." They might not understand the implications of the statement and rest on their laurels after experiencing such a faith in Jesus. He urges that it is not enough to have a secret faith. This may work piety in a person, but it does not save his soul. It is crucial that one's faith be active and evangelical, and that its vitality may be shown in the exercise of those works which God has commanded.

Hübmaier doubted that a second-hand faith or, as he terms it, "an historical faith," is powerful enough to stimulate a zeal for evangelical witnessing which, in the final analysis, is a good way of measuring a person's conviction. In his opinion, faith must be shared the moment it is received.

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36. Von der Ordnung einer Christenlichen frombmachung, Appendix VII a, pp. 66-70.

37. Ein Form des Nachtmals Christi, Appendix XVIII, p. 6.

It was primarily for this reason that Hübmaier was an enemy of infant baptism, and not simply because he could not find a command for it in the Bible. He believed that vicarious faith cannot compel action to the same degree as can personal faith. Even if the Church is absolutely conscientious in the instruction of the child as he grows, impressing upon him that his faith was promised when he was an infant, and that he is obliged to assume his Christian duties upon reaching the age of responsibility, he will not have as vital a faith as the person who makes an intelligent confession of Christ at a mature age. He will not have a real consciousness of God's gift nor the compulsion to be an effective witness. And Hübmaier sees witnessing as conditional to salvation. He builds his doctrines of conversion and regeneration upon Christ's words in Matthew 10: 32, "Whoever therefore confesses me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven."

#### E. The Church as Gathered, Free and Witnessing:

A natural progression from one to another of Hübmaier's emphases may be seen again in his remarks concerning the Church. If the individual Christian life is to begin with personal confession, public testimony and the obligation to exhibit the newness of life in works of brotherly love, so the corporate Christian life, the Church, must encourage the individual's new resolve and provide direction for his activities.

Only in Die Zwelf Artickel, Ein Christennliche Leertafel, and Rechenschafft does Hübmaier state his views regarding the Church in a relatively consecutive manner. But these statements alone cannot be considered a connected teaching. Other references

scattered through his writings are important and must be taken into consideration. Everything Hübmaier wrote about baptism, for instance, is a significant part of his concept of the Church. One of the main reasons why he advocated believers' baptism was that it was fundamental to the correct establishment of the Church. An examination of all of his statements makes one point very clear: he agrees and disagrees with both the Anabaptists and the conservative reformers. His conception is unique in that it is an amalgamation of both radical and conservative ideas. He stands between the two extremes.

Hübmaier agrees with Zwingli by recognizing that the church must be defined in two ways. He speaks about the "general church" (allgemein kirche or the Einzelkirche) and the "particular church" (besondere, Kirchmenge, Pfarrvolckh, or the Gesamtkirche). He writes:

"The Church is sometimes considered to be all the people who are gathered together and purified in one God, one Lord, one faith and one baptism, and who confess these beliefs openly. This is the general Christian Church or the Fellowship of the Saints, which is gathered together in the Spirit of God. Then again, the Church is considered to be a particular and local gathering; the Kirchmenge or Pfarrvolckh, who belong under a shepherd or a bishop, and who come together bodily in teaching, baptism and the Supper. . . ."38/

And again:

"The Church is a general, holy and Christian fellowship of all Christian believers, wherever they are in the world."39/

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38. Ein Christennliche Leertafel, Appendix XVII, pp. 31-32.

39. Rechenschaft, Appendix XXV, p. 33.

Generally speaking, the main line of Anabaptism rarely drew a distinction between a "general" and a "particular" church. The "True Church" was the predominant emphasis, and this was a newly constituted body of believers which was unique and without parallel except in the New Testament. Franklin Littell gives a very clear explanation of the Anabaptist position. He suggests that the Anabaptists separated themselves from what they considered the "fallen" Church of which both the Reformed and the Roman groups were members. They then raised what Littell classifies as "The Church of the Restitution" or the "True Church."<sup>40/</sup> No one was admitted to membership except by personal and public repentance, confession and baptism. Hübmaier was willing to apply this rule to the "particular" or the Gesamtkirche, but as will be seen in the ensuing paragraphs, he was less ready to apply it to the Church in general.

It is Hübmaier's contention that the Church in "general" and in "particular" is founded upon the confession that Jesus is the Son of the living God.<sup>41/</sup> He writes: "Christ said, 'You are Petros (ein felser), and on the rock, (felsenn) which is to say, your confession', I will build my Church (Mat. 16:18)."<sup>42/</sup> Because the Church is founded upon this personal confession, it stands in exceptional nearness to Christ. It is His continuing body, and He is its Head.<sup>43/</sup> Again Hübmaier says:

"I confess openly, Lord Jesus, that you have

40. Littell, F. H., The Anabaptist View of the Church, (Studies in Church History Vol. VIII), American Society of Church History, 1952, pp. 74-93.

41. Ein Christennliche Leertafel, Appendix XVII, pp. 31-2.

42. Ibid., pp. 33-34.

43. Rechenschaft, Appendix XXV, p. 34.

hallowed the Church with your rose-red blood,  
that you are her head and bridegroom and will  
be with her until the end of the world."<sup>44/</sup>

Because Christ has caused the Church to be holy by the shedding of His blood, "it is absolutely beautiful, pure, without deficiency, unerring and ruled and ordered on earth by the only living word of God."<sup>45/</sup> Hübmaier sees only one major difference between the general and the particular churches. The "particular" can err, but the "general" cannot. Otherwise, they are united as mother and daughter.<sup>46/</sup>

By confessing his faith and accepting believers' baptism one enrolls in both churches.<sup>47/</sup> This is the first point at which Hübmaier disagrees with Zwingli. He is dogmatic in the assertion that one does not enter or belong to the Church unless he has made a public confession of his faith. A substituted faith is of no use, and a secret faith is not enough. Although Hübmaier constantly argues that baptism should not be given before a personal confession is made, he gives the impression nevertheless, that those who have publicly confessed Christ are members of the Church, but are not in as good a standing as those who have followed Christ's command in respect to their baptism. Hübmaier never claimed, as did some of the Anabaptists, that his church was the only legitimate one, and that the others were unchristian, full of idolaters and worse than heathen. On the contrary, Hübmaier believed that his was a sonderliche Kirche, a "special church," just as the Roman and the Reformed

44. Die Zwelf Artickel, Appendix IX, p. 11.

45. Ibid.

46. Ein Christennliche Leertafel, Appendix XVII, p. 32.

47. Ibid., p. 33.

were "special" churches. The only distinction he draws is that his church is clean while the other "special" churches are full of dross and tares which will not be rooted out until Christ's final judgment. Those who have not publicly and personally confessed Christ may think that they are members of the Church, but in fact they are not.

Since Hübmaier believes that both churches are confessional, they must both be visible. The "particular" church, therefore, is only a small segment of the vast, "general" church which enfolds all men who have confessed Christ. Hübmaier writes, "And both churches are visible fellowships, and not imaginary, conceptual or mathematical."<sup>48/</sup>

In his Auslegung und Gründe der Schlussreden, Zwingli attempted to define the general church as a "fellowship of true faith," and to explain the national and local variations by recourse to history and geography. When he realized that this was proving too unwieldy, he simplified his teaching with the assertion that the church is "the general fellowship of true believers who call themselves Christian."<sup>49/</sup> To support his national church idea, it was natural that he should emphasize the "general" church. He feared that emphasis on the other side might encourage the dangerous attitudes of independence and autonomy. This is the second point at which Hübmaier took issue with him. Hübmaier suspected that Zwingli's Einzelkirche harbored unbelievers as well as believers, and for this reason,

48. Rechenschaft, Appendix XXV, Art. 17, p. 84.

49. Zwingli, Ulrich, Auslegung und Gründe der Schlussreden, in Egli, Emil, Corpus Reformatorum, "Zwingli's Werke" Vol. LXXXIX, Bd. II, pp. 53-69.

placed his major emphasis upon the Gesamtkirche which was composed only of those who had made an open confession of Christ and accepted believers' baptism. He writes again:

" . . .and I am speaking here about the particular church. . .Visible brothers and sisters must have a visible confession or sign (baptism) in order that they may know one another; for even though faith is only in the heart, public testimony, through which one agrees to live a Christian life, must accompany it."<sup>50/</sup>

If then we are to understand Hübmaier's conception of the Church, we must separate his thoughts concerning its meaning in the "general" sense from those concerning its meaning in the "particular" sense. His thoughts concerning the former may be stated very simply. The "general" church is composed of all Christians who have confessed their faith. This is to say, that a Roman Catholic or a Lutheran, who has made this confession is a member of the "general" church. Infants, of course, are excluded. Hübmaier leaves it to God to purge this church of its impurities at the Last Judgment. He is not prepared to assume this task himself or to advocate that physical measures be taken to accomplish it. On the local and "particular" level, however, Hübmaier believes that such a separation can be made. But this is not an actual separation of people who are already in the particular church, but rather, the process of reconstituting the particular church on the basis of personal confession and believers' baptism. No one is admitted to membership in the newly constituted fellowship unless he has fulfilled the new membership requirements. It will be remembered that in

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50. Von dem Christenlichen Tauff der gläubigen, Appendix VII, p. 44.

April of 1525, Hübmaier resigned as priest and dissolved the Waidshut church. The church was then reconstituted on the above mentioned bases. Therefore, Hübmaier was an exponent of a particular church, "gathered through confession and baptism," while recognizing a "confessional" general church. Consequently, when we speak of Hübmaier's church as being "gathered," "free" and "witnessing," we are speaking about his Gesamtkirche.

In what sense was Hübmaier's Gesamtkirche "free"? It may be observed that the members of this church were free to bind themselves in stronger moral, spiritual and social obligations than were the members of the Reformed churches which are not normally considered to be "free" churches. Hübmaier never considered freedom to mean spiritual license or social noncommitment. He emphasized the obligations of the Christian ethic to a very high degree and placed the threat of expulsion as a guarantee that the conditions of church membership would be honored. The conditions were (1) the vow to better one's life and to order living according to the rule and example of Christ; (2) the obligation to live peacefully with one's fellow believers; (3) the duty to extend works of brotherly love to one's neighbor, and (4) the commission to witness for Christ to those who had not experienced a spiritual rebirth. What Hübmaier wanted was a freedom from spiritual coercion. He doubted that one could be compelled to live a Christian life by force of law. To demand conformity to a certain type of religious practice was not the first step towards Christian living, as far as he could see. He observed that Christ invited His hearers to accept His invitation and to receive the free Grace He offered. He did not propagate His Gospel with the aid

of the hangman. Similarly the Church, as the representative of Christ, should proclaim Christ's message and invite sinners to accept it. Unlike the main line of Anabaptist thought, Hübmaier never suggests that the freedom of religious self-determination carries with it an exemption from the duties and demands of society. Those who have freely chosen to gather together in the Gesamtkirche have not forsaken their civic and national allegiances. They are obliged to honor the State in all things which are not against God, and to suffer under the hardships that are the result of mankind's inherent sinfulness. Although the believer is a member of Christ's spiritual Kingdom, he is simultaneously a member of a physical society. He remains so as long as he is bound in the flesh and, therefore, he must submit to his "worldly" rulers. In this sense, Hübmaier's concept of a "free" church only means that the body of Christian believers should be free to order its faith and practice without interference from the State.

The final facet in Hübmaier's Church doctrine is his emphasis upon the idea that the Gesamtkirche must be a witnessing fellowship. He saw the Great Commission as binding upon every member of the fellowship. He interpreted Christ's statement literally, as did most of the Täufer and, therefore, was one of the earliest advocates of what we now know as the modern missionary movement. The Gospel makes a claim upon every believer. He must evangelize. But this duty to evangelize is not superimposed. The believer is not forced to witness by external pressures. He does so because of the internal quickening which occurred at his conversion. It is a natural result of his spiritual rebirth.

Prior to the emergence of this great evangelical aspiration, the ordinary Christian looked to his ecclesiastical authorities to order the policy and practice of Christian living. It was thought that this was the exclusive prerogative of the hierarchy. After the break, this area of the religious life was seen in an entirely different perspective. The believer did not need a vast educational background to share his faith. All he needed was the text book of the faith, and the conviction that the Gospel was true. He found encouragement and direction for his labor in the fellowship of other believers.

The Gesamtkirche that Hübmaier envisioned and tried to organize was "gathered" and "free," and utterly different than the other churches, but it was not static or ingrown. He saw it as an element in society which existed in order to testify to the Gospel and to exert a truly Christian influence upon the community.

"This is the sum and total of a completely Christian life. It begins in the word of God. It emerges in the acknowledgment of sin. It experiences forgiveness in faith, and it exercises itself in all good Christian works. Faith cannot go empty handed."<sup>51</sup>/

#### The Sacraments in General

As was mentioned previously, Hübmaier's sacramental ideas are inseparably bound to his concept of the Church. It is true that he had no sacramental doctrine in the Roman Catholic or the Reformed sense of the term. He always denies that Grace may be had through outward ceremonies, and that the

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<sup>51</sup>. Von der Ordnung einer Christenlichen frombmachung, Appendix VII a, p. 67.

elements of water, wine and bread are sacraments in themselves. The inward honoring of Christ's command is the true Sacrament. He carefully avoids the word "Sacrament" and usually speaks about the "ordinances." He recognizes Baptism and the Supper as legitimate because they were specifically commanded by Christ.

Hübmaier does not lessen the significance of the ordinances by disassociating Grace from them. He actually places them in the center of his thought. That Christ would not have commanded his followers to perform senseless acts is reason enough for Hübmaier to stress their importance. He sees that they are meaningful in at least two ways. The essential importance of Baptism is open confession. Rather than imparting something new, it draws out the faith which is potential in the believer through the work of the Holy Spirit. It places the seal upon the believer's experience and, therefore, directs attention into the past to the moment when the sinner came to the realization that his sins were forgiven. By accepting the ordinance of Baptism, the believer confesses what has been done for him. On the other hand, participation in the Lord's Supper completes the open confession and carries with it the second significance of commission. When the believer participates in the ceremony he acknowledges his gratitude to God and also his duty to extend brotherly love to his neighbor. Christ has commissioned him to be a witness. The ordinances mean nothing unless both aspects of a true faith, i.e. confession and commission, are operative. Hübmaier goes to considerable lengths to make this clear, but the crux of his thought may be stated in one sentence : the person who accepts Baptism makes a

promise to God that he will try to be worthy of the new life he was given at the moment his guilt was washed away, and when he participates in the Supper he makes a promise to his neighbor that in the present and in the future he will conduct himself as a Christian brother should. Therefore, faith and love, or in other words, confession and commission, are the bases upon which Hübmaier builds his sacramental ideas. Faith and love are the means by which the Church binds itself to Christ, and they are also the means by which Christ has bound Himself to the Church. For this reason, the Church must place the ordinances on the right footing. A failure to do this may sever the intimate association between the Church and her Head. Hübmaier writes:

"Oh, my Lord Jesus Christ, re-establish the two bands with which Thou hast outwardly bound Thyself to Thy Bride; namely, Baptism and the Supper. Unless these two are re-established according to Thine institution, we will have among us neither faith, love, church vow, brotherly discipline, expulsion nor excommunication without which things it will never be well in Thy Church."<sup>52/</sup>

#### BAPTISM

With this review of Hübmaier's general attitude toward the Sacraments in mind, we must now turn our attention to a summary of his thoughts concerning Baptism and the Supper individually.

Throughout Hübmaier's baptismal controversy with Zwingli there is only one major point of contention: who, according to Christ's command is qualified to receive baptism? Hübmaier comes to the conclusion that the regenerate, responsible and

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52. Die Zwelf Artickel, Appendix IX, p. 12.

intelligent believer is the only fit subject. The teaching which grows out of this conclusion is simple and consistent. His statements are always clear. The best single example of his position is found in Von dem Christenlichen Tauff der glibigen.<sup>53/</sup>

The basis upon which Hübmaier built his doctrine has been discussed in another connection and need not be fully reiterated. Let it suffice to observe that ~~he~~ found a seemingly unshakable support for his position by emphasizing the absolute authority of Scripture. The topic of eight writings is that <sup>a</sup>pedobaptism is nowhere commanded in the New Testament. But Hübmaier does not rest his case on this negative argument. He is even more anxious to point out that Christ made an intelligent appeal and expected an intelligent response. If this were the essence of the Gospel when it was in its infancy, Hübmaier could not understand why the theme should have changed sixteen centuries afterward. The Christian life should always begin in the same way with the personal and intelligent confession of Christ.

Luther and Zwingli had committed themselves to the proposition that a personal faith is the only justification, but as far as Hübmaier could see, they were not supporting the theoretical side of their doctrine with a consistent practical application. Hübmaier had done this himself by postponing his own re-baptism for three years after he had accepted the theoretical basis for it. Therefore, he is persistent in his attempt to bring the theory and the practice together. To be

sure, he could not find one New Testament report of a baptism which was not preceded by faith. It was at this point that Zwingli found his greatest difficulty. If he were to save his Einzelkirche idea, he had to retain infant baptism, and if he were to retain infant baptism, he had to find some way of supporting the practice by the authority of Scripture. He could not argue that <sup>a</sup>pedobaptism is justified even though it has no scriptural example, because to do this would be to admit that all of the Roman extra-biblical practices are similarly justified. This would have destroyed his Protestant position. On the other hand, a denial of pedobaptism's justification would place him in the camp of the Täufer. As neither of these were satisfactory alternatives, he had no choice but to rely on the most subtle of theories to protect his position. By retaining the practice he had to justify the theory, and the Bible was the only authority upon which such a justification could be made. Consequently, Zwingli interprets pedobaptism into the Scripture. He argues that whether the injunction to baptize infants is in the Bible or not, at least its practice is recorded. Support for this argument is found in the references to the "whole crowd" and the "whole house." Hübmaier turns this aside with the suggestion that Pilate, Herod and Caiaphas might have been numbered among the "whole crowd." Zwingli then suggests that there must be a forbidding law before something can be forbidden. Infant baptism is not expressly forbidden, so it must be approved. Hübmaier sees this as a nonsensical argument.<sup>54/</sup> The idea

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54. This work, p. 147. Quotation from Von dem Christlichen Tauff der gläubigen. Appendix VII, p. 54.

that circumcision is the appropriate symbol of baptism is the one that Zwingli argues the most strenuously. Again Hübmaier will have nothing to do with the idea. He suggests that Noah's ark is a much better symbol.

"I beg you, for the sake of the Last Judgment, to lay aside your Old Testament rambling about circumcision. You know very well that circumcision is not a figure of water baptism. You have no Scripture to support it. Rather, it is Noah's ark (I Peter 3: see also Cyril's remarks on John lib. 6. c. 15). Now just as no one entered the ark who did not believe, so also in the power of this figure, should no one be baptized before he orally confesses his belief."<sup>55/</sup>

Similarly, Hübmaier denies that Christ's invitation to the children (Mat. 19:14) supports <sup>a</sup>pedobaptism. He says that Christ was illustrating the virtue of humility and intimates that Jesus said, "Let the children come," and not, "Bring them in your arms."

All of Zwingli's other arguments are discarded in the same way. The child is not filled (eingegessen) with Grace at baptism nor can he share the faith of his parents. Christian parents cannot be sure that they will produce Christian children. Neither is <sup>a</sup>pedobaptism a Pflichtzeichen, because a person must understand a duty before he can assume the responsibility for it.

Hübmaier sums up his view of what baptism is in one sentence. He writes:

"Leon. -- Was ist der Wassertauff?

Hans -- Er ist ein eüsserlich und offentliche zeugnuss des inwendigen Tauffs im geyst (inwendige erleuchtung vnserer hertzen) die der

mensch gibt mit der entpfahung des  
Wassers, darmit er vor allen menschen  
sich bekennet seiner sünden."56/

*Alman alin*

Baptism is the outward seal of an internal justifi-  
cation by <sup>mit ihm</sup> faith. It is given in remissionem peccatorum, not  
because the water washes away sin nor because the Church has  
the power to forgive the sinner. Rather, the person who has  
already found forgiveness in God's mercy, petitions the Church  
to administer Christ's commands to open its doors for fellow-  
ship and to place the baptismal vow upon him. The vow is impor-  
tant because it does not suffice that the sinner is forgiven.  
He must promise to better himself. The believer can make this  
promise because he does it in the strength of God. The placing  
of the baptismal vow upon him is the exclusive prerogative of  
the local religious community (the Gesamtkirche). It also  
possesses the sole right of disciplining and excommunicating.  
This is the crux of Hübmaier's teaching on baptism.

It is not possible to attribute his disposition to  
hereditary or external influences. He was pondering the ques-  
tion long before he had intimate contact with any Anabaptist  
group and as far as is known, he was never in contact with any  
advocate of believers' baptism during his formative years.  
Consequently, we must conclude that his baptismal beliefs were  
first and foremost the results of his New Testament study and  
his re-thinking of the Church's true nature.

#### THE LORD'S SUPPER

Hübmaier's eucharistic doctrine is no less important to

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56. Ein Christennliche Leertafel, App. XVII, pp. 25-26.

his concept of the Church than is his doctrine of baptism. The reason that his ideas do not reach the same polemic sharpness in this respect is simply explained by the fact that he was in agreement with the general Reformation position. In the main, he agrees with Zwingli and Karlstadt by viewing the ordinance as a memorial Supper. It is not a sacrifice, and Christ is not literally or figuratively connected with the elements.

Hübmaier's ideas are presented very clearly in Ein Form<sup>57/</sup> des Nachtmals Christi and Ein ainfeltige underricht.<sup>58/</sup> He believes that those who partake of the bread and wine declare their faith in Christ's saving death and agree to do something for the One who has done so much for them. Just as inward faith and public confession are joined to baptism, so faith and brotherly love are joined to the Supper. Fellowship with Christ presumes fellowship with all those who believe and confess Him. The ordinance is the seal of this fellowship. Hübmaier guards against the idea that the outward ceremony creates the fellowship. The fellowship exists already in the souls of believers in the same way as faith resides in the soul of the candidate before he is baptized. The outward ceremonies in both cases testify to inward realities. Without the inner fellowship, the Supper is no more meaningful for the participant than was the original Supper for Judas. Hübmaier writes:

"But this is the right fellowship of the Saints, which exists not because the bread is broken, but the bread is broken where true fellowship exists. . . (This is so) because all those who break bread are not participants in the body and blood of Christ. . . Let me illustrate this

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57. Appendix XVIII.

58. Appendix XVI.

by pointing to the traitor, Judas. But those who are now gathered together in a spiritual fellowship may use the outward testimonies of this (the bread and wine) righteously. . . Similarly, we do not believe because we are baptized, but we are baptized because we believe."<sup>59/</sup>

The Supper then, has a two-fold significance. First, it is a grateful remembrance of what Christ has done for mankind, and second, it is a love feast through which one pledges his willingness to serve Christ in works of compassion and mercy to other men. The Supper is not celebrated properly unless both of these aspects are in force.<sup>60/</sup> Hell is prepared for the Devil and all those who break the fellowship by leaving the works of compassion and mercy unfulfilled.<sup>61/</sup> If the Christian understands the fundamental meanings of both ordinances, however, and attempts to fulfill the obligations connected thereto, he has faith, love, the law and the prophets.

"If I love God with my whole heart, soul and strength, and my neighbor as myself, I have fulfilled the law and the prophets."<sup>62/</sup>

#### DISCIPLINE AND PUNISHMENT

With a summary of Hübmaier's attitudes toward discipline and punishment we come to the last important area of his doctrine of the Church. Hübmaier believes that unless all four areas of Church life are properly ordered, the Church cannot be healthy and effective. Baptism, the Supper, discipline

59. Ein Form des Nachtmals Christi, Appendix XVIII, p. 7.

60. Ein Christennliche Leertafel, Appendix XVII, p. 39 and Von Dem Christenlichen Tauff der gläubigen, Appendix VII, p. 63.

61. Ein Christennliche Leertafel, op. cit., p. 69.

62. Ibid., p. 51.

and punishment are tied together and dependent upon one another. If one is neglected, all the rest must suffer. How then does Hübmaier relate Church discipline and punishment to the ordinances? Three of his emphases are important to this connection. These are: (1) the baptismal vow (Taufgelübde); (2) the love oath (Liebespflicht) sworn during the celebration of the Supper, and (3) the Church's power of the keys. The first two provide the basis upon which church discipline and punishment are established. By giving his vow, the believer freely agrees to better his life and to place himself under the rule of Christ. Through the love oath he swears to extend brotherly love and works of compassion to his neighbor. Trespass against either of these makes a person liable to Christian chastisement. The Church's power of the keys provides an external and complementary justification for punishment. In other words, the vow and the oath are the means, and the keys are the way.

The power of the keys was a fundamental issue for both Zwingli and Hübmaier, but it is interesting to notice what a wide difference there is between their two views. They agree at only one point. That is, they are both opposed to the papal pretention of exclusive right. Zwingli interprets the act of Christ in giving the keys to Peter as nothing more than the commission to preach the Gospel. Whoever believes will be saved, and whoever does not believe will be damned. Hübmaier, however, interprets this act in a way very much closer to the Roman Catholic position. He believes that the Gesamtkirche, as the local representative of Christ on earth, has the power to place the seal upon the forgiveness that the sinner has found

in Christ, and to open the door of fellowship to him.<sup>63/</sup> Conversely, the Gesamtkirche also has the power to exclude the persistent sinner from the fellowship if he fails to live up to the agreements made previously.<sup>64/</sup>

Whether a person is admitted or excluded is a matter for the local fellowship to decide. It must act according to Scripture and be guided by the insights of Christian virtue. It acts only as Christ's representative, and finds its authority to do so in Matthew 18:18.<sup>65/</sup>

The thought behind Hübmaier's advocacy of discipline and punishment illustrates again that he was a practical theologian. He believes that if the Gesamtkirche is to be effective, it must contain only those believers whose dedication to Christ is complete. He realizes that a person can suffer a spiritual relapse and thereby weaken the internal devotion and the external effectiveness of the fellowship.<sup>66/</sup> Therefore, the weak link has to be strengthened or cast out. Hübmaier provided a way to strengthen a weak member through church discipline, and a means for removing him through the ban if he proved irreconcilable. The ban was to be used only as a last resort; as a means of compelling the "fallen" member to repent and to seek readmission. In the writing Von dem Christenlichen Bann, Hübmaier makes considerable provision for the repentant member's readmission. Under the title, "How the repentant sinner should be readmitted," he gives this advice:

63. Von dem Christenlichen Bann, Appendix XX, p. 2.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid., p. 7.

66. Von der Briederlichen straff, Appendix XIX, p. 13.

"In conclusion, when the banned member confesses and is sorry for his sin, and when he decides to turn from it, to make ammends, to beg God to be gracious, and to better his life, then he shall be joyfully readmitted to the church in the power of Christ's key of admittance. . . This shall not happen only seven times, but seventy times seven times, that is four hundred and ninety times. . . This is to say that as often as the excluded sinner is sincere in making ammends, he should be readmitted."<sup>67/</sup>

The stress that Hübmaier placed upon the idea that there is no salvation outside the Church, added weight to the threat of the ban. The spiritual government of the Gesamt-kirche required this provision.

#### F. A Realistic Attitude toward Magistracy:

Hübmaier's departure from the mainstream of Anabaptist thought is seen most clearly in his statements regarding magistracy. Franklin Littell observes that obedience to civil government is the most difficult problem in the study of Anabaptist beliefs in general.<sup>68/</sup> This is so because there was such a wide range of opinion among the Anabaptists at this point. Our discussion has shown that there was no consistent Anabaptist attitude toward magistracy and that Hübmaier provided one of the inconsistencies.

Littell further observes that "a good deal of the (Anabaptist) restraint toward government was due to the denunciation of 'official' religion."<sup>69/</sup> It is interesting to notice

67. Von dem Christenlichen Bann, Appendix XX, p. 18.

68. Littell, op. cit., p. 88.

69. Ibid.

that while Hübmaier denounced "official religion," he did not similarly denounce official government. He would have nothing to do with the revolutionaries, and he was equally adverse to the quietistic defenselessness and the complete separation from the "worldly" powers which appealed to what we have called the "mainstream" of Anabaptism. Just as Hübmaier's doctrine of the Church is an amalgamation of Anabaptist and Reformed ideas, so is his attitude toward magistracy a combination of both points of view. He takes the middle ground between the two extremes. He sees the Church as autonomous in the realm of spiritual government, but he recognizes that the State must command obedience and be autonomous in the realm of temporal government.

Hübmaier was no less a free churchman for the stand he took. Perhaps his free churchmanship was more vital because it was placed on a realistic footing. In this consideration again the practical side of his nature triumphed over the idealistic side. He realized that it was of no use to fly in the face of "worldly" power because it is the product of mankind's own spiritual inadequacy. Men cannot discard it because they have nothing better to substitute. It is unfortunate, but magistracy fulfills a very necessary function in society.

In Von dem Schwert, Hübmaier explains just how it is that "worldly" government came into being.<sup>70/</sup> He attributes its origin to Adam's fall in Eden (Gen. 3:16).<sup>71/</sup> After the fall, God gave certain worthy individuals the right to rule. Among these Hübmaier lists Abraham, Moses, and the judges.<sup>72/</sup> The people,

70. Appendix XXIV, p. 17.

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

however, were not satisfied with these divinely appointed men. They wanted rulers who were less demanding, and, consequently, they turned from God and raised kings over themselves.<sup>73/</sup> In its origin then, all contemporary magistracy is indebted to this sinful action for its foundation. It is the result of mankind's own sinfulness. To be sure, this is not a very comforting explanation, but it is Hübmaier's way of saying, "worldly" magistracy is here to stay as long as human life exists, so the Christian must find some peaceful relationship to it and discover how it may help rather than hurt him. It is impossible to withdraw from it because man cannot withdraw from himself. No matter how much the devoted Christian yearns for life on the spiritual level, he must live his physical life on the temporal level.<sup>74/</sup> Hübmaier thinks that the wiser plan would be to exert a Christian influence upon temporal government; to try and elect a Christian magistracy or council.<sup>75/</sup> Little, of course, can be done about hereditary rulers as they hold their right to rule from God. If they are bad and oppress their subjects, it may be God's way of punishing a people who deserve no better treatment.<sup>76/</sup>

In respect to exerting influence upon temporal government, it must be said that Hübmaier never suggested that the Church should concern itself with particular governmental policies any more than he suggested that the State should exert its influence in particular matters of religion. Rather, the Church

73. Appendix XXIV, p. 17.

74. Ibid., pp. 5, 35-37.

75. Ibid., pp. 37-40.

76. Ibid., p. 39.

as a community of Christian disciples, should act as the leaven in society and exert an indirect influence by giving a testimony to what is morally, spiritually and physically wholesome. We see then that Hübmaier's position is nearly identical to the modern free church attitude. Hence, he was not only one of the first exponents of the modern missionary movement, but he was also one of the first advocates of modern free churchmanship. He believed that the Church and the State must operate on different levels. The former is concerned with spiritual matters and has the right to demand obedience to spiritual government which is based on God's Word. It alone may punish spiritual offenders. The latter has jurisdiction in "worldly" affairs; that is, in things which do not concern the faith and life of the Church.

Hübmaier's attitude is realistic, because it makes provision for life on both levels. Of course, this life is to be Christian, but it can be lived in both the "worldly" and the "heavenly" sphere.

## CONCLUSION

On the tenth day of March, 1528, a fire was lighted which consumed not only Hübmaier's body, but his type of Anabaptism as well. One of Ferdinand's ambitions was thoroughly realized. Hans Spitalmaier became Hübmaier's successor at Nicolsburg and was soon called upon to deal with the same type of factionism which had beset the fellowship early in 1527. Wiedemann continued to advocate the Swiss type of the faith and soon proposed that a Christian communism be established to help the poorer refugees who continued to arrive from the west. In spite of Hübmaier's efforts to integrate the refugees with the indigenous Anabaptists, a healthy union had never been achieved. Hübmaier's teaching, especially about the "sword," was not accepted by the Swiss, although it found ready acceptance among the native Anabaptists. Therefore, even when the Nicolsburg fellowship enjoyed its best period of life, there was a very real cleavage in its ranks. The majority gave their allegiance to Hübmaier's ideas and remained true to them after his death, but the Swiss minority continued to agitate for its own religious aspiration. Communism was one of the natural results of the Swiss ideal. It was not long before the union of the refugees and the natives was broken and the two groups were meeting separately.

The Liechtenstein brothers remembered what havoc had been caused when factions formed during Hut's activities in Nicolsburg and decided that no division would be tolerated within the Anabaptist fellowship. When Wiedemann's party refused

to acquiesce to the will of the majority, they were asked to leave the Liechtenstein territory.<sup>1/</sup> Wiedemann and two hundred of his followers were escorted to the border of the margraviate where Hans and Leonhart drank their health and wished them God's speed on their journey.<sup>2/</sup> They traveled to the estates of the barons von Kanitz near Austerlitz where they were enthusiastically received.<sup>3/</sup> This small band of predominantly Swiss Brethren became the nucleus of the great Moravian movement which managed to survive persecution and to pass on its persuasion to the people who are now known as the Mennonites.

Although Hübmaier's church at Nicolsburg remained more or less intact and true to his teaching, Spitalmaier was not capable of continuing Hübmaier's strong leadership and, consequently, Hübmaier's conservative Anabaptism soon died out. Hübmaier was the only man capable of preserving the conservative Anabaptist ideal. He formulated and organized it. When he was gone, there was no one to take his place.

Baptist historians have urged that Hübmaier was the greatest of the Anabaptist leaders. This point of view, however, is conditioned by the observation that Hübmaier was the first advocate of beliefs which are identical to those that the modern Baptists hold dear. But this does not mean that he was the greatest Anabaptist, nor that the modern Baptist persuasion was directly influenced by his ideas. Hübmaier was not the foremost advocate of any movement. He was a movement in himself.

1. Smith, Henry C., The Story of the Mennonites, Mennonite Publication Office, Newton, 1950, p. 56.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

He was an original thinker who formulated a particular type of evangelical Christianity for which the world was not ready. A century passed before the English Baptists and the American Baptists took up the ideals which Hübmaier had defended, and passed them on to succeeding generations. But these early Baptists never heard of Hübmaier, and even today the vast majority of Baptists are ignorant of the identity of their spiritual forefather.

We have seen that Hübmaier rivaled both Luther and Zwingli in popularity, and that he was a personality who commanded attention among both the masses and the leaders. We may well ask why, if he was so well known during his lifetime, is he forgotten today? Although he wrote a great deal, none of his thought survived in a way to prove direct indebtedness to him. Four reasons for this may be suggested.

First of all, the world was not prepared to accept what he had to give. His was a compromise position between two different types of reformed Christianity. There was no room for such a compromise in the sixteenth century. The two extremes had to remain separate. The lines of demarcation could not be wiped out while an infant Protestantism faced a mature Catholicism. Compromise in one area might lead to compromise in another and a successive dissipation. Luther and Zwingli achieved such a compromise between Catholicism and Protestantism. They could not carry it further.

Secondly, Hübmaier had only four years to devote to reform. Zwingli was given thirteen years in which to work for his type of reformed Christianity, and Luther enjoyed twenty-nine years as a reformer. If Zwingli had been defeated at the

second Zürich disputation in 1523, and if Luther had been crushed at Worms in 1521, we may wonder how well known they would be today and how much of their faith would have been preserved. The important meetings at Zürich and Worms occurred just four years after Zwingli and Luther began their respective reforms. It is remarkable that any record of Hübmaier's life and work remains to us when we remember what persecution attended his later life and what a suppression of his ideas followed after his death.

Thirdly, Hübmaier had neither time nor opportunity to organize his beliefs into an orderly body of doctrine. Without a specific and well thought out doctrinal position, no reformer could hope for a visible continuation of his beliefs. Hübmaier's church at Nicolsburg collapsed because the members did not have a secure foundation for their ideal. Hübmaier was snatched from their midst at just the critical stage of development. There can be no doubt that he was planning to systematize his beliefs and to instruct his followers just as soon as the internal division had been overcome. He began to do this with the publication of his four instructive pamphlets, but he was interrupted by Hut's untimely appearance. After that, he made no further progress.

And lastly, Hübmaier was never blessed with a reliable noble patronage. He was not only opposed by the Roman authorities and the State, but also by his former Swiss colleagues. The tenuous security he found at Nicolsburg was as close as he ever came to an atmosphere conducive to the unrestricted furtherance of his reform. The tragedy is that he was actually in the greatest danger at the moment he felt most secure.

What would have happened had Hübmaier survived to carry on his reform is a useless conjecture. We can hardly visualize what he might have done. He was a man of impetuous contradiction. Who would have thought that a boy who possessed such a simple background would become a friend and companion of great men on both sides of the Reformation struggle? He won the highest praise in his study and went on to be the priest of an important university church, a professor and the virtual head of the university itself. Is it reasonable to think that he would leave these important posts to preach hate and destruction against an entrenched, racial minority, and do it so effectively that success crowned his efforts where others had failed? He ignited the most consuming fervor for pilgrimage that southern Germany had ever experienced and, as a result, gained the praise and admiration of both his ecclesiastical superiors and the civic authorities. Could anything be more contradictory than a strict ceremonialist and Roman apologist turning his back on a promising and secure future to advocate a cause completely alien to his background and experience? He forsook his training and tradition to champion a movement which could not have been more foreign to what he formerly defended. Would any of his friends have imagined in 1521 that during the seven years following his departure from Regensburg he was to be persecuted from all sides, imprisoned, tortured and finally condemned to death as a traitor?

Perhaps he was pondering thoughts and questions similar to those stated above as the cart rumbled along toward the stake. Elisabeth had called encouragement to him from her cell

window.<sup>4/</sup> He could do no more than offer a prayer for her. The people were crowding around now, jesting and throwing things into the cart. There was the stake. A sympathetic voice near by said, "The Truth cannot be slain." "Pray God that that be true," he thought, as the cart came to an abrupt halt.

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4. Löserth, Johann, Doctor Balthasar Hübmaier und die Anfänge der Wiedertäufer in Mähren, p. 185.

URSACH WARUMB DER WIDERTAUFER PATRON UNND ERSTER ANFENGER  
 DOCTOR BALTHASAR HUEBMAYR ZU WIEN AUFF DEN ZEHNTEN MARTIJ  
 ANNO 1528 VERBRENNT SEY. DOCTOR BALTHASARS  
 HUEBMAYR HANDLUNG

Dem durchleuchtigen Hochgebornen Fursten und Herrn Georg Hertzogen zu Sachsen, Landgrave jn Turing und Margrave zu Meysseu u. meinem gnadigsten Herrn Wunsch ich Johan Fabri Doctor von Gott unserm Herrn und Heylandt Jesu Christo gnad und frid.

Wiewol Doctor Balthasar vil jar als ain Christenlicher Leerer und briester beim gmainer christenlichen kirchen, die ain Seul und grundueste der warheit ist, beliben, das Ewangelion zu Fryburg jm Brissgaw, nach gmainer christenlichen verstandt gelert, und auch von dannen gen Ingelstat khomen, daselb vil jar pfarrer gewesen, nachuolgens zu Regensburg predicant in dem Thumstift worden, die Juden vertriben, die schonen Marien und derselbigen walfart, auch das stainen Mariabild daselb vor der capel aufgericht, ist er doch von ertlichen bossen practic und handlungen Wegen, von Regensburg gen Waltzhut khomen, und daselb sich etliche jar priesterlich, und in sonders mit den sacramenten der kirchen nach christenlichen brauch, abermals und wie ainen christenlichen pfarrer gezimbt, wol gehalten, und in sonderhait hat er fur gotlich angesehen, das er dem hochwirdigen sacrament neve Ceremoni auffrichte, mit dem selbigen under die kirchthur, wie derselbigen Pannotbrauch zu Somer zeit, gangen. Zu osterlichen fest und in der heiligen wochen, so er die unnderthonen mit dem sacrament zu den krancken gangen, sondere unnd andechtige procession auch Ceremoni gehalten.

Als nun aber des verdampften Luthers leer furgeprochen, hat er aus seinem hoffertigen angebornen bosen geist gedacht, wie der, so den tempel Diane verbrennt, auch untodlich und reich zu werden, und also alle seine sach und vorgende leeren umbgesturtzt, und newe sachen eingefurt, wiewol er bestendig nie auf keinen beliben, sonnder statz von ainem, wie dan auch Luther, Zwingli und des gleichen schwermer geist, an daz ander gefallen, also hat er erstlich mit der Mess gethon, da er anfenngelich die Epistel und das Euangelium teutsch gemacht, und also teutsch in der mess gelesen hat, darnach hat er den Canonen verendert, nachuolgens hat er das Sacrament fur leib und blut Christi under baiden gestalten geben und aufgetailt, und als bald die Mess gar teutsch aufgericht, zu letst von disem allem gevallen, und ain newes nachtmal furgenomen, und von dem sacrament des altars, gantz nichtz, dann das es allein brot und wein sey, gelert. Wiewol er auch zway jar an ain ander, die junckfraw Maria, und die heiligen gelobt, als furpitter geert und geprediget, und alles nach christenlicher ordnung geprediget und gehalten, hat er doch zu letst heimlich versammlung zu haben angefangen, zwischen Rat und gmainer zertailung gemacht, Sy also von furbit der muter gottes gefurt, das Salve regina abgethon, freytag, sambstag und alle tag fleisch essen erlaubt. Er hat auch wider furgenomen, daz Kaiserlich Edict zu werffen, dan es nun ausgegangen, das geistlich und weltlich irschmerbeuch und seckel aus der armen blut und seiner arbeit

fullen mogent, und hat also K.M. zu Hungern und Behaim ausgegeben, jr. Ma. sey ein kindlicher herre, verfare jr volck, mit trutzlichen worten, du vippernaterzungl magst mir nichts schaden!

Unnd so er fur sein Ordinari Bischoue zu Constantz beruefft, hat er gesagt, es sey jm nit gelegen vor den heuchler zu erscheinen.

Und als K.M. in den Doctor, als ainen aufrurigen nit hat wellen lenger zu Waltzhut gedulden, hat er an gericht, daz sein parthey zusammen geschworn, jn nit ze lassen und die, so jn hinaus belaiten, zu erwurgen, hat auch die weiber aufgepracht, deren etlich jere wor gehabt, das er beleiben solt, sind sy zu allen glocken gelossen und freud geleutet, nachuolgende als etlich von den Waldstetten komen, und mit denen von Waltzhut, darmit gehorsam werend, gehandelt, hat er bey achtzig man alweg zwen und zwen an sich geheckt. und den gesanten zu tratz ist er mit ainen bucklein jnen fur die herberg zogen. So nun wider erraten man so in faren lassen und von der stat verweisen, das er wider practiciert, das er beliben. Nachuolgende hat er aber ain sonder practic angericht, das man ainen nach dem andern eingethon, gefragt u. als er ubermeret, man solle K.M. gehorsamen, habent sy sich die von Waltzhut umb jarlich viertzig gulden gegen dem Doctor Balthasar muessen verschreiben, laut seines Revers, so vorhanden ist! Und als er etlich zeit zu Schafhausen gewesen, hat er etlichen von Waltzhut vil mal geschriben, und angericht, daz auf ain zeit als der durchleuchtig hochgeborn Furst, herr Ernst Margraue zu Baden u., mein genediger Herr, gen Rynfelden ain tag diser sach halb gehalten, und wellen handeln, darmit etlich aidgenossen aus der stat und zusatz kament, habent sein anhang die pild zerrissen, und gleich desselbigen tag hat man in der nacht das thoer etlichen aufthun muessen, die haent den Doctor von Hallow herab belait, und wider des Rats willen eingefurt, daz darumb beschehen, darmit durch Marggraf Ernst, die von Waltzhut nit wurdent beredt, das sy K.M. als jenen Landfursten gehorsam warent, und hat also vor den aidgenossen in der kirchen und sonst wider zu aller aufrur ansahen predigen, und seine versamlungen zum schnabel und andern Orten von newen Dingen gehabt, Babst, Kayser, kunig u. auf daz hochst geschmacht, und in sonder wer sy Fursten habe haissen sein; und ansahen leern, wie das gmain volck ain oberkait zu setzen, und zu enntsetzen hab, sy sind nit schuldig zehenden, zins, fael, glaes zu geben, und welcher so lang zinsset hab, das er daz haubt gut bezahlt, sey nit mer schuldig zu geben. Item das wasser, visch, holtz, feld, bun, waid, wildpret, auch vogel sollient frey sey, wo es geschriben stand, das visch, vogel, weld, holtzer, und das wildbret der herrn sey.

Darnach anfahen predigen, dieweil, sy die vogel aufgestossen, wie lang sy die nester, das ist das fliegenheuselein, altar und tauffstain dulden wellen, darauff den kindertauf abgethan, sich selbs und andre tauffen lassen, den tauf aufgeschut und altar zerrissen.

Er hat auch ain Hackenpuchssen in seinen Haus gehabt,

und zu seinem harcasch ain fewrpuchss, etwan ain Schlacht-  
schwert, darmit an die thor gesessen, hat die bolwerck helf-  
fen beratschlagen, und zu dem arbeitenden volck gsagt, es  
sey ain schickung von gott, das sy an der arbeit so gutwillig  
seindt.

Darzu wieder die so messesporren furent, die grossen Hannsen vil schmachte red getriben, sonnder wider K.M. Rat sein ungenamet und lied von jnen gemacht.

Und als ain mal die pauren zu Waltzhut eingezogen hat, er zu der predig mit der Tumen lassen schlahen, den pauern geprediget wildpret, visch, vogel, wun, waid, holtzer, und dergleichen sind frey, und nit schuldig fael, glaes u. hat also mit den paurn in die vasnacht, und sonst vil gmainschafft und practic gehabt, hat auch vermogt, das etlich hinaus von Waltzhut gezogen, wider den wolgebornen grauen Rudoff von Sultz, deren ainer erstochen, und zwayen die finger abgehawen.

Item er hat angericht, daz die kelch, messgwandt und anderes von der kirchen verkaufft, von den jm ain schwartzer schamlote leviten rock worden, daraus hat er ain leibroek gemacht.

Item auf K.M. beuelch an die Rigierung zu Inssbrugk doctor Balthasar ausgangen, befindet sich, das hinder doctor Balthasarn, als die stat Waltzhut erobret, in libellweiss gefunden seind die anschleg und furnemen der paurn, derselbigen artickel acht bletter hand, so doctor Balthasar mit aigner hand geschriben, die ubrigen sind durch andere geschriben, doch durch in gebessert.

Und leret darin, wie daz volck ainer jeden Landschaft su samen khomen, und ainen bundt machen sollent. Es sey auch die zeit schon khomen, das Got der weltlichen heren schinden, schaben, stoehen, blocken, zwingen, tringen und andere Tyraney, nit mer leiden wol, sy thuend mit den armen leuten, wie Herodes mit den unschuldigen kinder, also habe der morderisch, lotheringisch hertzog zu Ellsass, Zabern, und anderstwo seiner furstlichen durchleuchtigkeit erste prob gethon. Damit sollichs abstelt, muess man zesamen komen und ordnung machen nach dem wort gottes, darauf so die gmaind der obrigkeit zum ersten, zum andern und drittmal schraiben, das sy in die bruderschaft und verainigung khomet, unnd so sy nit khomet, alss dan sey ainer landschafft zugelassen, der obrigkeit das schwert zu nemen unnd ainem anderen laster, und leret also wie man kunig fursten, hertzogen und Landsherrn setzen solle. Namlich, so das volck bey ainandern sey, das sy zesamen gelobent, das wort gottes zu halten, unnd unnder zwelffen, so man von den pauren furschlecht, solle ainer erwelt werden, und sol daran der Adel nit angesehen werden, und so derselbig nachuolgens auch ungeschicht wurde, und von ainer lanndschaft zum dritten mal gestraffet, derselbig auch abgesetzt werden, und sollent die landschafft hin zu ainandern verbinden, jr leib, eer, gut und plut zesamen zu streckhen und vergiessen.

Wo aber die abgesetzten herrn sich rechen woltent, leret

er im fierten Capitl, sol sy erkennen der new herr in weltlichen bann, und wo der bann nit helffen wurde, alss dann sol der new Lannssherr seinen Lannd auf bieten, oder kriegssleut auf der Landschaft costen annemen, und den widerspennigen haimsuchen, darmit die pludurstigen Tyrannen abgetilget wurdent.

Darnach volget durch doctor Baithasars hanndgeschriff wie man Stet, Marckht, und Dorifer gewinnen sol und ain ausschreiben jn die Lannd zu aller aufrur, mit jngelegten artigkl, und ist das Datum zu Waltzhut.

Damit aber jederman wisse, was der weitlich bannsei, so hat er ain sonnders capitl desshalb gesetzt, namblich, welcher in dieser ainigung nit sey oder sein welle, mit den sol man nit gemeinschaft haben, in essen, trinckhen, baden, maien, bachten, ackern, meigen, speiss, korn, trauckh, holz, flaisch und mit weib unnd kind den widerspennigen zugeschickht werden. Darauf sollent von stund alle Schlosser, kloster und Pfaffen hewser in bann verkhunt werden und das die auss den Schlosser unnd Kloster, sollent im gemaine hewser ziehen. War auch die widerspennigen enthalt, soll auch in bann sein, dartzu sol man bey eer, ayden, unnd hochsten phlichten, mit vil betrewungen, die andern so bey den vertribnen Fursten seind, abmanen.

Es habent auch dieselbigen artigkl, seull unchristlichen absetz und mutryen, das ich kains wegs dieselbigen ausschreiben darff noch wil, damit nit ergernuss darauss eruolge.

Er hat auch uber solich instruction, die er gen Hall und andere ort aussgeschickht, sendere pawern artigkl, die jn dem truckh aussgangen, gemacht, darauss eruolget, das die Stulinger pawern und in dem Krileckow die ersten gewesen seynd, die sich wieder die Obrigkayt erhobt, daraus die jamerlich und erschrocken auffrur und plutuergriessen entstanden ist, daher auch billichen er nach dem luther die schuldt hat, das laider ob hundert tausend pawren erschlagen und vil hundert tausend Witwen und waysen gemachet worden seynd.

Als nun Waltzhut wider erobret, ist er fluchtig von Waltzhut hinweghomen und wiewol er alle bilder aus der kirchen gesturmt, die zerhawwn verbrent und wider die als ain abgotterey gar streng geprediget, so haben doch die herrn Commissaryen und ich, dan ich der selbigen zeit auch gen Waltzhut khomen, in seinem Hauss ainen costlichen und schonen Joachim funden, darzu ain vesper bild und ainen Sebastian, an einen Coralli gebunden, der wol zwentzig vier end gehabt, unnd vast costlich gewesen, daraus diser sacrament und bildsturmer maynung wol mag abgenomen werden, das sy das creutz unnd die bildnuss des creutzigen herren verbrennet unnd mit fussen in der kirchen, auch auff der strass tretten, aber in jren kisten und haimlichen behaltluss seind jnen die Silber unnd andere bilder die rechte gotter. In diser flucht ist er gen Zurich khomen, daselb hat jn der Zwingly lassen von wegen des widerauffss, fenglich annemen und lange zeit auch mit jm peinlicher

frag handeln lassen, so land, biss das er sich des widerruffs begeben, und als er zugesagt, er wolle öffentlich an der Cantzel widerrufen, nichts dester minder in beysein vil tausent menschen, hatt er das wider spill furgenomen, und het wenig gefalt, er hetter ainen auflauff in Zurich zugericht, auf das ist er wider eingelegt und hart gefangen gewesen, so lang biss das er den widertauff als ketzerey verschworn hat.

Wiewoll nun billich, das wer des gethanen aid, jngedenckh gewesen ware, jedoch so hatt er sich den aller nachsten getzogen gen Nicolsspurg, daselb der widertauff wider geprediget, gebraucht und desshalb vil buechlein jn den truckh ausgeen lassen, in denselbigen buechlein seind souil gotloser und erschrockenliche sachen, daz ich die selbigen nit ertzellen kan oder darff.

Er hat auch wider das sacrament und andere gotliche, christenliche haltung und wahrhait alles furgenomen, das er zu Waltzhut und anderen orten in seyner ketzerey geprediget, und demnach er ain auffrueiger, auch offner feind Ku. Maj. unnd des hauss Oesterreich gewesen, Darzu aus diesem widertauff, mytereyen, verrattreyen, und new auffrueren, sich an vil orten aus seiner anstiftung erougt, hat Ku. Ma jn fenglich annemen und gen Wienn fuhren lassen.

Daselb ist er etlich tag gelegen, und aus allerley ursach nachuolgends auf ain Schloss Gritzenstain gefuert worden. So er nun gesehen, das sein bosshait und bose auffrurige handlung an tag khomen, hat er begert, das Ku. Ma. in so gnedig sein wolt, unnd mich vor seinem tod zu jm verfertigen, damit ob er von mir bessers underricht wurde, wolt er seine jrrtung widerrueffen.

Und wie wol Ku. Maj. solchs zethun nit schuldig gewesen, so hat doch aus angeborner guete unnd miltigkait jr May. seiner und vil anderer seel hail zegut, auf den 24. tag Decembris nachst verschinen jar mich von Gran aus Ungern abgefertiget und bin also bei im an dem dritten tag gewesen, und in beysein Hern Rectors zu Wienn Doctor Ambrosy Saltzer und herrn doctor Marx Bock von Leopoltzdorff, Vitzthumb in Osterreich, von allerlay artigkl wegen, mit jene gesprech, in alier tugentlichen mainung gehalten, darauff er sich bedacht, und uber vier und zwanzig artigkl, sein mainung, K. M. überschickt, darjn der merertayl er wider die Lutheraner schreibt, und on zweifl solte er dise vierundzwaintzig artikkel, so er mit aigner Hannd aussgefueert, zu Wittenberg oder an andern orten, da die verdampft sect furgebrochen, geprediget oder geschryben sein, es het jn der Luther selbs verstainiget,

Aber der zweyen artikkel des kindertauffs und sacrament hat er sich wol begeben, er wolle mit den selbigen biss auff ain kunstig concilium stillston, dartzue ob Ku. Maj. sollicher zeit nit erwarten, wolle er seyn maynung in geschriff seellen, unnd was Ku. Ma. sambt jren Raten darjnn erkhenne, darbey wolle er das beleiben lassen, alles wie dan sein aigne handgeschriff beweysset und einhalt.

Und demnach sein handlung so boss, verfuerrisch und auffrurig, also das Ku. Maj. wie ain gerechter Kunig nit hat mugen der wollen umbgenn, dann das er umb des grossen ubel, so er mit seiner zugerichten, pawrischen auffrur, gemacht gestrafft werden solle, hat jr May. auf sein handlung bekanntnuss, urgicht, und aigne handschrift zu Wienn jn fur Richter und Rat stellen lassen, und ist offentlich sein urgicht in beysein vil tausent menschen verlesen worden, wie hernach volgt, und mir von dem Richter der Stadt Wien zuegeschickht.

Urgicht so offentlich verlesen.

Erstlich hat Doctor Balthasar Hubmayer bekennt, wie er zu Waltzhut geprediget wider die Obrigkeit auffrurig ding, die nit zu frid gediennt, sonder ist gewesen wider Got, Recht, und sein gwissen, darauss vil widerwerdigkait und emporung wider die obrigkeit, auch gross plutuergiessen entsprungen.

Item, mer hat er bekent, sowie er den von Waltzhut hab helfen raten und brief machen, an Ku. Maj. derselben zeit Furstlicher Durchleuchtigait, die da mer diendt haben zu abwerffung dann zu gehorsame.

Item mer hat er bekent, wie er zu den gedachten von Waltzhut jnen in ire heuser gangen unnd mit jnen geredt, sy haben der sachen recht unnd fueg, sy sollen darauf sterben und genesen, hab jnen auch geraten und geholffen, dass dy szwy mal ainen aid zusammen geschworen haben, sy sollen sy aller der erwern, die sy bei der leer die er gepredigt, nit beleiben wollen lassen, das er auch bekentlich, das er wider Got und sein gwissen, auch wider die Obrigkeit sie gewesen.

Item, mer hat er bekhennt, wie er der pawn artikkel, so jm von jnen aus dem heer zukhommen sein, dyselbigen jnen erweytert und aussgelegt, und denselbigen solches eingebildet, die antzunemen als christlich unnd pillich. Er bekhennt auch das er darin geirrt unnd unrecht gethon.

Item mer hat er bekhennt, wie es sich hab zutragen, das etlich vill von der obrigkeit aus der Statt Waltzhut gen Lauffenberg gangen. In dem hab unnd der Hanns Mulner Pawmaister an stat des Schulthais die gemeynd beruffen lassen in daz Rat hawss, da entgegen antzaigt, aus beuelich aines Ratsgericht unnd ainer gemaynd, den Bericht mit dem Reichspundt, die an statt Ku. May, (der selbigen zeit Furstlicher Durchleuchtigait) des willens gewesen, die Stat zu uberuallen und die burgergchafft zu straffen, also antzunemen, welcher under allen solchs nit thun woll, der mag sich aus der Stat ziehen, biss die sach besser werdt. Auff das hat er dactor Balthasar offenntlich, von jederman urlaub genomen, darauf haim gangen und gesagt, Er wol in den bericht nit sein. Darnach zu morgens nach dem frue mal aus der Stat gangen, nach dem selbigen sey er khomen gen Zurch, und daselb von wegen der zwayer tauff also gefangen worden, wan die selb wider den Zwinglin gewesen, dem die von Zurch anhangend, Er ist auch zu Zurch der widertauff halben, daselb gereckt worden, und hab an müssen zaigen, wer jm zy

sickger tayff geysacgt gab, und was er in jrer gepiedt fur person getaufft hab. Derhalb er von wegen der kindertauff offentlich ain widerruf gethon.

Item, mer hat er bekhennt, das er solch predig gethon, unnd darzu Rat und that geben, damit er dabey ain gut leben haben unnd kain herr sein mochte! In solchem allem bekhennt er sich unrecht gethon. Auch jr Grund und furnemen gewesen khain obrigkeit zu haben, sonnder allein under jn selbs ainen zu schopffen und zuerwellen.

Item, bekhennt gemelter Doctor Balthasar, er halt gar nichtz von dem Sacrament des altars noch von dem kindertauff.

Also ist er Doctor Balthasar umb dise miessetot unnd verdampft ketzerayen zu dem Fewr erkhennt. Und wiewol er in seinen geschrifften, so vorhanden, unnd er selbs kurtzlich begriffen, die Briesterbeycht zugelassen, haochgelobt, darzue aus dem Evangelio gleicherweiss, wie Lutherus probirt, so hat er doch nit wollen beichten und ist in den balden ketzereyen, des khindertauuffs, auch Sacrament halb also ketzerisch bestanden und gestorben.

Dise Ding hab ich nit angezaigt, das mich sein Tod erfrewet, dann ich jn in der gefengnuss treulich gewarnet, auch auff alle christenliche bescheidenheit mit im gehandelt, des er dan mit seiner aigen handgeschriff bewysen und hinder jme gelassen hat. Aber in anegung, das vil verstoppter unnd verderter maulchristen feind, so an vil orten geredt, man hab im unrecht gethan, er sey ain martirer vor got, Er sey wie Johannes Huss unschuldenclich verbrennt, darumb der warheit unnd gerechtigkeit zue Furdernuss hab ich summariweiss anzaigen und sein handlung eroffnen wollen, unnd welcher der ist, so einen zweyfl tragt, der mag und wurdet es finden, jn kum. Maj. zu Ungarn und Behaim Cantzleyen, da dan sein bekantnuss durch aigen des Doctor Balthasars hannd geschriben seynd.

Dato, Wien, 11, März, 1528.

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## NOTE B

EIN WAHRHARTIG ENTSCHULDIGUNG UND KLAG GEMEINER STADT WALDSHUT  
 VON SCHULTHEISS UND RATH ALLDA AN ALLE CHRISTGLAUBIGEN MENSCHEN,  
 AUSGEGANGEN ANNO 1525

Erstlich, dass man uns verschreit wegen neuer Lehren; daran geschieht uns ungutlich. Wir horen keine neue Lehre, wissen von keiner; sonder horen allein die Lehre Christi, so er selbst geprediget und seinen Aposteln zu predigen befohlen. Doch ist uns nicht verborgen, dass eben die Lehre Christi diesen Backenstreich leiden muss, als sei sie eine neue Lehre; wie auch die Juden unter sich von der Lehre Christi sagten; was ist das fur eine neue Lehre Mk.1:27? Auch Paulus wurde seiner Lehre wegen von etlichen Gottlosen ein Klappermann, Verkunder neuer Lehren geheissen; auch von denen welche ihn gefangen, gefragt: mogen wir wissen, was das fur einen neue Lehre ist, die von dir ausgeht; neue Dinge trafst du in unsre Ohren. Ist dises Christus und Paulus geschehen, so sollen wir uns nicht verwundern, wenn es uns auch geschieht, sondern frohlich mit disem Spruche Christi uns trosten: der Knecht ist nicht mehr, denn der Herr. Wollte aber Gott, dass man unsre Verantwortung mit so gutigen Ohren horte, als die Unglaubigen Paulum ( Apostelgesch. XVII: 18 f.).

Zum Andren, dassman uns zu Waldshut der lutherischen Lehre beschuldigt, daran geschieht uns ganz Unrecht. Wir wissen nicht, wer Luther ist, kennen auch seine Lehre nicht, er ist ohne Zweifel auch ein Mensch wie wir; redet er aber, oder schreibt er die Wahrheit, so thut er es nicht aus sich, sondern aus Christus. Christus kennen wir, und lernen ihn taglich mehr aus seinem heiligen Worte kennen; nicht Luther im Namen Christi. Nicht Luthers oder eines andern Menschen sind wir getouft, sondern Christi; in seinem Namen beugen wir unsre Knie und nicht in Luthers Namen, in seinem Namen müssen wir selig werden.

Zum Dritten, bezuchtet man uns, dass unsre Lehre verfuhrerisch sei. Ach Gott, man thut uns Unrecht. Wir wissen gar wohl aus St. Peters Lehre, dass jeder Christ einem Jeden Rechnung geben soll seiner Hoffnung aus seines Glaubens, komme nun wer da wolle; und begehren Rechnung zu geben unsrer Lehre und unseres Glaubens, so wir mehr dann in zwei Jahren predigen gehort. Wir haben dieses auch bezeugt in Demuth und Sanftmuth, in allen unsern Antworten, schriftlich und mundlich, an furstliche Durchlaucht und die Regimenten und an Andere, uns auch darauf zu Gericht und Recht erboten; hat aber alles bisher noch nichts helfen mogen, sondern hat man uns auf das rauheste, ja ohne von alle Verhorung und Verantwortung, die doch einem Diebe und Morder zugelassen, mit dem Kopf hindurch fahren, und mit uns Kragen ab machen wollen. Gutiger Gott, du weisst, dass es nicht genug ist zu schreien: tolle, tolle, crucifige, crucifige! Wie man uber deinen allerliebsten Sohn und sein lebendig Wort geschrieben hat; sondern man muss auch anzeigen; quid male fecit, was er Uebels gethan habe. Furwahr wir wollten einen Ochsen oder Esel unsers Nachsten ungerne verfuhren, wir wollten ihn vielmehr, so er irrte, wieder auf die rechte Strasse weisen wie uns Gott befohlen; warum wollten wir doch einen Menschen berufahren, der viel mehr ist?

Zum Vierten werden wir kezerisch und hussisch gescholten; als denn unsre Herren und Nachbarn der zwei Stadte Freiburg und Breisach in Breisgau, ins jungst zugeschriben: wir sollen der kezerischen und hussischen Lehre abstehen, oder sie konnten uns weder rathen noch helfen. Hier bitten wir Euch, liebe Herren und guten Freunde von unserm christlichen-Glauben verschwarzen; dass ihr uns zum hochsten That dieses durch eure Hochschulen und Gelehrten, oder fur euch selbst; doch mit Grund der Schriften. Dann straft uns freundlich und bruderlich, wie euch Christus (Mat.XVIII:15f) gelerht hat. Zeigt uns einmal an, wo wir im Glauben irren. Lasst eure Hochschulen, Pfarrer und eure Gelehrten, uns doch einen einzigen Artikel unsers Glaubens mit dem Worte Gottes umstossen. Glaubt, als biedern Leuten wohl zu glauben ist; wir wollen dieses tugendlich und mit grosser Danksagung von Euch und euern Gelehrten annehmen. Irren wir, so heift den Irrenden, die ohne Unterlass um Gottes willen zu Jedermann um Unterricht rufen; wollt ihr aber dieses nicht thun, so horet auf, zu kezern und zu hussen: oder man muss denken, ihr wisset bei allem eurem Glauben nicht, was kezerisch oder hussisch sei, oder wie sich Christenleute mit irrenden Menschen halten sollen, ehe sie dieselben als Kezer ausrufen. Liebe Herren und Freunde! Irren machnicht Kezer, sonst ware Petrus einer, da ihn Paulus straft Gal.2:11; auch waren alle Apostel Kezer gewesen, denn Christus hat ihnen allen ihren Unglauben verwiesen Mat.16:18. Im Irrsal und Unglauben verharren, und sich nicht wollen weisen lassen; das macht Kezer. Ja, das Weisen mit dem Worte Gottes begehren wir, und nicht mit euren Nothschlangen erboten haben, auch viel lieber hundert Gulden an Solche 'Kezer' verbriefen, als funfzig wider die Turken. Auch Breisach wolle die Stadt daran wagen, Ensisheim und Andere all ihr Vermogen; Alles in Gegenwart furstlicher Durchlaucht selbst, so damals zu Breisach gewesen. Nicht also liebe, fromme Freiburger, Beisacher und Ensisheimer; ihr wisst, dass solches nicht christlich ware, wir haben es auch weder um Euch noch um das lobliche Haus Oesterreich verdient. Schickt uns dafur Einen oder Zwei von eurer Hochschule, die in der Bibel gelehrt sind und des gottlichen Wortes gewaltig; das ist nachbarlich und christlich, die wollen wir mit Freude annehmen. Mit euern hundert Gulden Nothschlangen, werdet ihr uns nicht zu einem Glauben bringen, wo wir nicht vordem waren. Denn der Glaube ist im Herzen; das moget ihr weder mit Nothschlangen noch mit Ketten bezwingen. Denn Denken und Glauben ist zollfrei. Wir mogen aber wohl einsehen, dass solche ungeschickte Rede von Euch, als unsern bisher sonders gunstigen Herren und Nachbarn, dem Meister Ulrich Wirtner nicht ist befohlen worden; doch ist sie geschehen, er kann sie nicht widersprechen; obwohl die Rede so unverstandig ist, dass, so sie uns einfaltigen schlichten Waldshutern entfallen, es dann noch zu viel gewesen.

Doch danken wir Euch, ersame und weise Herren von Freiburg und Breisach, dass ihr uns in Eurem Schreiben so freundlich gebeten und ermant, dass wir unsre lutherischen und hussischen Pfaffen abthun; in welchem wir Euch von Herzen gern folgen wollten. Aber unsre Pfaffen sind nicht lutherisch; sie sind zu Konstanz Pfaffen worden. Auch hat man ihnen nicht lutherische oder hussische Lehre befohlen, sondern das Evangelium

zu predigen; klar, lauter, ohne alle Vermischung. Dessen erbielten sie sich zu Recht am offener Kanzel, gegen Euch und alle eure hohen Schulen.

Dass ihr uns ferner bittet, wir mochten es furan nicht mehr sagen, wie uns aller Aufsatz und Unwille nur wegen des gottlichen Wortes geschehe; gunstige Herren, wir wollten Euch gern folgen, wissen aber keine andere Ursache. So muss es also diese sein; oder wollt uns eine andere anzeigen. Wir versichern Euch auch, dass wir unsern Pfaffen gar nichts glauben; sie bitten uns sogar selbst darum. Unser Glaube ist nicht aus den Pfaffen oder Monchen, sondern aus dem Worte Gottes; wie Paulus schreibt, an die Romer am zehnten Kapitel. Glaubt aber ihr von Freiburg und Breisach euern Pfaffen und Monschen; so habt ihr wahrlich einen schlechten baufalligen Glauben.

Dass ihr uns aber zuletzt auf das allerernstlichste zuschreibt, bei den alten Satzungen der christlichen Kirche, wie unsre Voreltern zu bleiben: bis von denen, so es zusteht, ein anderes geordnet ware, dieses werde uns gegen Gott und der Welt wohl erschiessen: auf dieses sagen wir Euch in Wahrheit zu, dass wir mit der Hilfe Gottes bei den alten Satzungen der rechten christlichen Kirche ausharren wollen. Wir wissen aber nicht altere oder andere Satzungen als diejenigen, so begriffen sind in der Bibel; wisst ihr etwas Besseres, so wollt uns dasselbe freundlich anzeigen.

Obschon ferner unsre Voreltern fromme Christen gewesen, so mogen wir dennoch in ihrem Glauben nicht selig werden; wir müssen fur uns selbst glauben, eigener Glaube macht selig nicht fremder. Denn wie wir zu Waldshut uns fur unsre Vorvordern nicht mogen taufen lassen, also mogen sie auch fur uns nicht Glauben haben. Wir wissen auch nichts in unserm Glauben, das man anders ordnen sollte; es ist schon alles geordnet, bedarf auch keiner Andern mehr, sondern allein der Prediger. Die Erndte ist vorhanden, es fehlen nur Schnitter.

Dass ihr aber zuletzt uns vertroestet, solches werde uns gegen Gott und der Welt wohl erschiessen; konnen wir nicht klarlich verstehen. Wir sind einfaltig, konnen Gott und die Welt in unserm Evangelium nirgens zusammenreimen; sondern finden, dass sich Gott und Welt vereinbaren, wie Christus und Belial, Tag und Nacht, Licht und Finsterniss. Ja wie zwei widerwartige Herren, denen man nicht zugleich dienen kann und wohlgefallen; denn die Welt kennt Gott nicht. Joh. 1. 10. So schreibt Paulus, wo er den Menschen wohl gefiele, so ware er nicht ein Diener Christi. Gal. 1. 10. Doch Dank Euch Gott euer Warnung!

Original in the Basel Staatarchiv. Reprinted by Strickler, Actensammlung, 1, No. 932.

## NOTE C

BERICHT DES BISCHOFS VON KONSTANZ UBER HUBMAIER. GESANDT AN  
STATTHALTER UND REGENTEN VON OBERELSASS, VON DIESEN AN DEN  
ERZHERZOG. 20 Feb., 1524

Vnnsere fruntlicher diesnt vnnd gruss voran, wolgeborenen,  
Edlen, strenngen, hochgelerten, verten, lieb hern vnnd frundt,  
wyr haben Ewer schryben sampt biligender der von waltzhut  
Suplication empfangen vnnd schicken vch hiemit des pfarers  
vssgespreyt artickel zu, doch taglichs mer artickel wartig.  
Vnnd so bald vnns die selben zukomen, weilen wyr vch die ouch  
furderlich vberschicken, fruntlich bytennd, jr wellent mit  
getruwen ernst hanndlen, vnnd daran syn, darmit des mutwyllig,  
verfurig, Luterisch handlung vnnd seckt vssgeloscht vnnd der  
gemeyn man wyderumb jnn Christenliche weg gefurt, daran thut  
jr ein gutlich gut werck, wollen ouch sollichs fruntlich vmb  
vch verdyenen.

Datum Costantz vff Samstag vor Reminiscere Anno et.

XXIIII.

An Statthalter, Regennten  
vnnd Rat jnn ober Elsass.

Hugo von gotsgnaden Bischoue  
zu Costantz.

Doctor Balthasars jnn der  
obern Kilchen zu waltzhut art.

War ist, das doctor Balthasar n. Lutpriester zu waltzhut  
vff den Sonntag das Euangelium "Ero sum pastor bonus" (19 Apr.  
1523) sindt die wort gewest, wellicher hinin stigt jnn den stal  
der schafflin vnnd nit hin jnn got zu der rechten thur, der ist  
eyn dieb vnd eyn morder, das synd die pfaffen, die Merlin pre-  
digen vnnd die vnworheyt vnd predigen die trom der munchen,  
Gregory, Augustini etc. vnnd verhalten das Euangelium, sy synd  
selen morder, gotz vernichtig pfaffer, Satanes pfaffen, Selen-  
fresser. Vnd hatt also die priesterschaft gemeinlich geschol-  
ten vnnd an jren Eren geschmecht, keynen vssgenommen.

Wyther hatt der selb pfarrer, so bald er anheymisch ist  
worden, schryfftlich zu jm berufft XII oder XIII oder mer gon  
waltzhut jnn syn huss, all gemeinlich vss dem schwitzerland,  
itel verlumpt luterisch vnd keynem uss synen freuelichen worten,  
wie worstatt, jst wol zugedencken, was sy gehandelt haben, wann  
ander der selben hant ouch der mossen jnn jren kirchen pro-  
cediert.

Vnnd damit man den selben pfarrer wyther erkenn, so hatt  
er juriert vnd gesvoren die stattuten syns Capittels, presertim  
den hern vnnd Capittelbrudern ain mol zu geben, wie andere  
bissher gethon haben, vnnd wie wol der buchstab wysst, wann  
eyner von Decano vnd Camerario requiriert werde, das er sollichs  
thun soll sine omniexcusatione, so hatt doch Decanus, Camerarius  
zum erster, andern vnd drytten den pfarrer darumb erfordert vnd  
die vier jurament requiriert vnnd zum vierden die gemeynen  
Capittel hern, das hatt er alles vber sehen vnnd noch nit thun,

das sich die hern des Capittels svarlich beclagent vnnd nit vnbillich, hoffent ouch, Er sol darzu gehalten werden, syn jurament zehalten.

Item zu Zurich vff dem tag, der zu hinwerffung vnd abthugung der heyligen messen, der Bildnuss gotz vnnd der heyligen angesehen worden ist (Oktober disputation) do nun die meynung, die selbigen hintzuwerffen besloseen (sic!), do hatt er anheben reden vnnd vff die meynung gesagt, die meynung solle billichen allen Cristen menschen geuallen, vnnd es werde da by nit blyben, sonnder so solle vnnd werde jetz hernoch volgen, die Alter uss der kilchen zeprechen, die glocken vnnd amptlen hin zethun vnd die messgewander, kelch vnd sollich geschmetten.

Itemvff nechst gehaltenen tag zu Zurrich ist er neben dem Zwinglin gesessen vnd hatt alles das apropiert vnd gericht geurteylt, das der Zwinglin geredt vnd fur cristenlich gehalten hatt.

Item vnd hatt sich zu Zurich vff den selben tag als fur den, der von wegen vnnd jnnamen der vier stetten am Ryn gon Zurich vssgeschickt vnnd gesant syg, nennen vnd schelten lossen. etc.

Item so hatt er bisshar der moss gelert vnnd geprediget, das etlich haimlich die bilder haben vss der Kirchen brochen vnd geworffen zu waltzhut, vnnd namlich das Crucifix vff dem predigstul.

Item so hatt er wyther gesagt vnnd gepredigt, das nyemands weder zinss, zehenden, rendt noch gult further zegeben, noch synem obern gehorsam oder vnderthanig schuldig syn solle.

Item vnnd noch vil artickel, die sich zu vffruren vnnd vngheorsamkeyt, ouch vnwissenlich vnnd zu aller wyderwertigkeyt dyenent, noch wellich en wyr oft geschryben habent, aber die bisshar nye bekommen mogen.

Original in the Statthaltereiarhiv at Innsbruck.  
Pestarchiv XVIII, 55.

## NOTE D

## BULGENBACH'S INTRODUCTION TO THE TWELVE ARTICLES OF THE PEASANTS

Weil bisher grosse Beschwerden wider Gott und alle Gerechtigkeit dem gemeinen Manne in Stadten und auf dem Lande, von geistlichen und Weltlichen Herren und Obrigkeiten, welche sie doch selbst mit keinem Finger berührt haben, aufgelegt worden; so folgt, dass man solche Burden und Beschwerden nicht langer mehr tragen oder dulden mag, es wollte denn der gemeine arme Mann sich und seine Kindskinder ganz und gar an den Bettelstab bringen. Demnach ist es jetzt das Vornehmen einer allgemeinen christlichen Vereinigung, sich mit der Hilfe Gottes davon ledig zu machen, und dieses so viel moeglich, ohne Schwertschlag und Blutvergiessen; was aber nicht sein mag ohne bruderliche Uebereinstimmung in allen gebuhrlichen Sachen, welche den gemeinen christlichen Nuzen betreffen und im Artikelbriefe enthalten sind. Daher geht unsre Bitte, unser Ansinnen und Ersuchen an Euch dahin, Ihr wollt Euch mit uns in diese Vereinigung gutwillig einlassen; damit gemeiner christlicher Nuzen und bruderliche Liebe wieder aufgerichtet, erbaut und gemehrt werde. Wo Ihr dieses thut, so geschieht damit der Wille Gottes, in Erfullung seines Gebotes von bruderlicher Liebe. Wo Ihr es aber abschlagt, dessen wir uns doch keineswegs versehen, thun wir Euch in den weltlichen Bann; und erkennen Euch darin, kraft dieses Briefes so lange, bis Ihr von Euerm Vornehmen abstehet, und Euch gunstigen Willens ergebet.

Der weltliche Bann hat aber diese Meinung: dass Alle, so in dieser christlicher Vereinigung sind, bei ihren Ehren und höchsten Pflichten, mit denen, so sich sperren und weigern, ganz und gar keine Gemeinschaft haben, weder mit Essen, Trinken, Baden, Mahlen, Backen, Ackern, Mahen, noch mit Zufuhren von Speise, Korn, Trank, Holz Fleisch, Salz oder Andern; dass sie von denselben nichts kaufen und ihnen nichts verkaufen, sondern man sie bleiben lasse als abgeschnittene und abgestorbene Glieder. Denselben sollen auch alle Markte, Holz, Wunne, Waid und Wasser, so nicht in ihren Zwingen und Bannen liegen, abgeschlagen sein. . . Wer von denjenigen, so zu dieser Vereinigung gehoren, solches ubersieht, der soll fernerhin auch ausgeschlossen, mit gleichem Banne belegt und mit Weib und Kindern den Widerwartigen zugeschickt werden.

Nachdem aber aller Verrath, Zwang und alles Verderben aus Schlossern, Klostern und Pfaffenstiftern erwachsen; sollen diese von Stund an in den Bann verkindet sein. Wo aber Adel, Monche oder Pfaffen, solcher Schlosser, Kloster oder Stifter willig abstehen, sich in gewoehnliche Hauser wie andere Leute begeben und in diese christliche Vereinigung eintreten; sollen sie mit Hab und Gut freundlich und tugendlich angenommen werden. Es soll ihnen auch alles, was ihnen von gottlichen Rechten geburt, treulich und ehr barlich, ohne allen Eintrag verapfolgt werden.

## NOTE E

AUS DEM VERHÖRE BALTHASAR HUBMAIER'S ZÜRICH 1526, MARZ 5

Doctor balthasar von Waldtshut git sin antwort also: Er sig mit wüssenn und willen von waldtshut gscheidenn und sig eben jnn allem ubersal und truppel tod kranck gsin, und das das war sig, so habe jm Hartmann Appentegger für xliii batzen artzny geschickt, die heig jnn wider uff die füß bracht, und sigind die waldshüter jnn siner kranckheit zum graffenn ouch dem von Rischach gwandlett und jm selbenn allerley gehandelt, das jm nit zewüssenn sig, und an einem mitwuchenn da beruffte man ein gantze gmeind uff das rathuss, und erscheinete jnen wie das man jnn den bericht gan, und wölcher den nit annähmen wülte, der möchte jm namenn gottes faren wohin er wett, daruff redte er, lieben frund jr wussend, wie ich bisshar uwer fürer gsin bin jm wort gottes. Sidmal und man aber jnn die berichtung gan wil, so wurd man widerumb mess habenn, auch die bilder jnn di kilchenn thun, das mag ich nun nit mer ansehenn noch lidenn. Und darumb jm namen gottes wil ich von vch und und mich gott dem allmechtigenn beuolchenn, dan ich ein tod kranck man bin, ouch weiss ich nit wohin ich uss sol, und pitt och also umb gottes willen, wo ich vch jnn dhein weg erzurnt hette, mir das umb gottes willenn zeuergebenn, gienge damit jn sin huss, da kemind vil zü jm, die vast vbel ghäbind, das es also stünde, jm selben müste er schnell uss sinem huss, dann jm souil warnungen kemind, das er kumberlich entrinnen möcht; keme jnn eins anderen burgers huss, mit dem füre er sampt einem schiffman uber rin oss, gienge also den nechsten, off Villingen zü, dann er wüste nit wo er sülte, er hette wol nahin jm sinn gen basel und Strassburg zegand, entsesse doch den von Hapsperg, das er sich nit hinab wagen dörfte. Gienge also den nechsten Har und kemi jnn aberlins Huss, des willens das er ein tag oder zwen gerüwenn wülte, dan jm sine füß gross geschwullenn warind, ouch sich anders bekleiden, dan er jnn den altenn kleideren gar vertzeiget und verratenn were, sig uss aberlins Huss zü der widerkerinen kommen und keiner anderen meinung dann wann er gerüwete, das er witer züchenn wülte.

Dess Kindertouffs halb seit er; sin gwüssne heig jnn nit anders gwissdt, So wüssind mine Herren wol, wie er M. Ulrichenn geschribenn habe und allweg begert, mit daruon zefe-denn, und wenn er eins anderen möchte bericht werden, wült er sich göttlich lassen wüssenn.

Es sig ouch Cünrat grebel und Jacob Hottinger su jm kommenn und sich von dem touff mit einanderen überrett.

Es sigind ouch der kursiner und Hottinger by jn gsin, als man das letscht gsprech han wült, und begertind, das er mit jnen hinuff gienge, off die disputation.

Als jm ouch fürgehalten, wie er doch hinder den Kindertouff kommen sig, antwort er: Es sige der prior von Sion, mit namen Ruggensperger zu jm kommenn und jnn gepettenn, das er mit jm gen S. Gallen öff ein erste mess ritte, da antwurte er dem

selben prior, ja, wenn er mit jm gen Zürich ritten wette zü M. Ulrichenn, dann er begere jnn zübesechenn, da spreche der prior ja; off das rittendsy mit einanderen gen S. Gallenn, blibind by iij tagen da, und wie sy hinweg wölind, da geb jm Doctor Joachim von Watt ein brieff an Zwangli; und als sy har kemind und zur linden jnkarind, da schickte der prior zum Schwamberger zü erkommen, wo M. Ulrich weri, da wurde er jnen jnn M. Löwen Huss verzoigett, da giengeind sy dar, sundind jnn da, also lüdi jnn M. Ulrichen öff morp zum jnbiss, jnn dem sy jm züwillenn wurdint; und wie er nach dem jnbiss hinweg wülte, da redte M. Ulrich, er wette jnn nienderch hin lassenn, da giengind sy mit eineanderen öff den graben, da hette er etwa mengen artickel jn ein tefeli öffzeichnot, und jnsonnders einen vom kindertouff, von dess wegen er sich mit M. Ulrichen underreden wülte, also geb jm M. Ulrich guten bescheid, das er off das selb mal zefriden weri.

Demselben nach heig er dick und sil zü cecolampadio, löwen, Doctor bastian gen Schaffhussen und anderen geschribenn vom touff, und sige allweg jr meinung gsin, das man dhein heitere gschrift vom kindertouff hette, und habe jm Doctor bastian jnn Sonnderheit gschribenn, wie das er zu Schaffhussenn öffentlich vor rat gestanden, und da gsagt hette, das M. Ulrich jm kindertouff jrte, und hette genanter Doctor sin kind ouch nit wüllen lassen touffen, das habe jn ouch jn den touff bracht das er so serr darjn kommen sig,

Als jm ouch fürgehaltenn, ob er kein anschlag ghept mit miner Herren lütenn, die gen Waldshut glouffenn, ald ob er sy berüfft habe, git er sin antwort, er wüsse gar von keinem anschlag, noch von jrem wessen, dann er do zermal ze Schaffhussen gsin sig. Es were ouch ze schaffhussen ein gemeine sag, wie das miner Herrenn fendli ze waldtshüt off dem merckt steckote.

Der Zollikummeren halb so etwan gen waldtshut kommen, Seit er habe nie nüdts ungschickts von jnen gsehenn, heig ouch mit jnen nie anders ghandlett, dann wann sy jnn gfraget vom touff habe er jnen sin meinung ouch gleit.

Von wegen deren jm klecköw, antwort, er habe für sin person, jnen nie nüdts zügseit, ald gesterckt, dann er habe allweg das gotswort für sich brediget; was aber die von waldtshüt mit denselben gehandelt, moge er nit wüssenn, dann sy jn nie darzü berüfft habind. Es sig aber wol war, er habe etwan gseit, das es nit böss were, wo man einanderen hilff und bistan thete, damit und man zü friden, rüw und einem christlichen wessen keme.

Witer git er sin antwort des widerruffs halb, das er dheiner anderen meynung jn die kilchen ouch uff die kanzel gangenn sige, dann das er das heig wüllenn thün, das er zügseit, und ouch miner herren meinung und urtel vollstrecken, und züge die grund vom touff darumb vor jn hin, das man seche und horte, das ers nit uss sinen eignen kopff erdacht hette, und were dem selben nach dess sins und gmüts, sin widerruff zu

lessenn, da wüss er nit als jm gott also helff, wie jm geschehenn oder wie er darhinder kommen sig, das er anders grett, dann er vor jm sinn ghept hette. Sonnder so achtet er, das jnn gott uffs aller höchst heige wöllien versuchen, jn siner bekumbernuss, dero er gantz voll sig, Er sige aber dess willens, und erpiettens, nochmals sülich miner Herren urtel zeuolstrecken, wo und wenn, ouch wie dick man wüll, pitt mine Herren jm sülich sin ungschicklicheit umb gotts willien zuergeben, wülle er sin widerruff thün und alles widerbringen, was er verhönt heig und wo ers nit thüg, sülle man jnn von stund an, one alle gnad, jnn wasser oder fur werffenn.

Er seit ouch, jn heig gar niemandts gesterckt, noch ouch jemandts nüdts geschribenn. So hab er ouch gar nudts mit jm har bracht dann Hossen und wamsel.

Es heig sich ouch uff ein Zit begebenn, das man ein keppeli vor waldtshüt abbreche, gienge er ouch usshin und wie er by jnen stünde, da redte aberlin, wie das gott jnn dheinem tempell wonete, der von menschlichenn Henden gepuwen were, und wie er das horte, fragte er wer der wer, der also gerett hette, seite man jm, das es der aberlin von Zürich were, da grüste er jn und bütte jm die Hand, dann er jn vor nie kent hette, und wie sy mit dem keppeli grech werind, giengind sy mit einanderen jnhin gen Waldtshüt, da fürte er den aberlin für das wirtshuss, und gienge er mit den anderen gen znacht essen. Darnach keme aberlin zü jm und redte mit jm som touff; da geb er jm antwort, das ers nit anders jnn der gschrift funde, dann das man züm ersten predigen und leren, demnach touffenn sütte, sunst wüsse er von dheiner verpuntnuss gar nüdts. Es sig ouch uff die selb zit ein Hottinger mit dem aberlin da gsin.

So sig sin Hussfraw zu jm off das rathuss kommen und jm gseit, wieses zu waldtshut gienge, und wie man mit dem sinen handlotte, ouch sine kleider verkouffte und vergantete, sy hab im ouch ein grüss vom aberlin gseit, sunst heig sy jm nüdts anders gseit, noch von jemandts gsterckt.

Als er ouch von waldtshut müste, geb jm sin fraw by vij gld wert batzen jnn ein Halsseckeli, und nemi sy ouch by drig gld wert.

Der fleschenn halb, die voll geits sülte gsin sin, rett er, sin Hussfraw heig jm die voll rappiss gfult, und wie er zum Herren von Mandach kommenn, habe er die fleschen uff den tisch gstellt, und jnen daruss zutrinckenn gebenn; Es sig aber dhein gelt darjnn gsinn.

Und als er ouch von sinem silbergschir gfraget, seit er, Meister Augustin der bildhüwer zu Schaffhussenn, der habe iij silberin becher und zwen gülden ring, die sigind sy, dann er habs jm vor jar und tag züghalten gen.

Und als man jnn widerumb von Schaffhussenn beschickt, sigind jm ettlich gsellen engegen kommen jnn zübeleiten.

Er ist ouch bekanntlich, das jnn M. Steffan Zeller und

Hans Hager früntlich gepetten und gewarnet habind, damit und er gschickt were, sig jm leid, das ers nit gethan und jnen geuolget heige.

Witer so ist er ouch bekanntlich und anred, das er das Zedeli, by jm uff der kantzlen jm buch ghept habe.

Printed in Egli, Actensammlung, # 911 ff.  
p. 429 ff.

## NOTE F.

HUBMAIER'S RECANTATION OBTAINED AFTER TORTURE AND PRESENTED  
ON APRIL 11th, 1526 AT ZURICH

Als Her Doctors Hannel ghört und verliessen, han sich mine Herrn erkennt, das er uff jetzt fritag den ersten wider-ruff, als er sich dann vormals erpottenn hatt zum fröwen münster thun sülle. Darnach am Sontag an morgen zum grossen munster, und darnach zu Sant petter und So das geschicht, Sol er ein urfecht und uss miner Herren gricht und piett schwerenn, und mine Herren mit sim touffen rüwig lassenn, dann wo er widerumb keme und ergriffen, wurde man jm thun nach sinen verdienenn und erpiettenn, und sol man ouch dem bildhüwer gegen schaffhussenn schriben damit und die becher und ring zu miner Herren Handen kommind, und wann die becher und ring kommend, sond mine Herren jren costen davuon nemmenn und eas dann übrig ist, soll man jm usshin gebenn und sin strass faren lassenn. Act. mitwuch nach Quasimodo (April 11) presentibus Her walder ret und burger Anno u.xxvj.

"Ich, Balthaser Hubmejer von Fridberg bekenn offentlich mit diser meiner Handschrift, dass ich nit anders gwüsst, noch verstanden all schriften, so von dem Wassertauff lautend, dann dass mann zum ersten predigen solle, darnach glauben, zum 3. taufft werden. Worauff hab ich mich endlich gründet. Nun aber ist mir angezeigt, durch M. Huldreich Zwingli, der bund Gottes mit Abraham und seinem saamen gemacht, auch die Beschneydung als ein bundtzeichen, und wie der Tauff an der bschneydung statt fande, welches ich nit hab mögen auflösen, auch so ist mir von anderen, als M. Leon, Doctor Bastian und Miconien für gehalten worden, wie die liebe ein richterin und urtheilerin in allen schriften seyn solle, welches mir vast zeherzen gangen ist, und also der liebe vil noch gedacht habe, und entlich bewegt worden, dass ich von meinem fürnemmen, von dem, dass mann die Kinder nit tauffen solle, gefallen, und dass ich mit dem Wassertauff geirrt habe; für das ander, so kompt mir für, dass ich verdacht seig, als verwerff ich die Obrigkeit, und sage, es mög ein Christ in der Obrigkeit nit sitzen, darinn mir gwait und unrecht bschicht. Ich hab ie und allwegen gesagt, es mög woll ein Christ in der Obrigkeit sitzen, und ie christlicher er syge, ie ehrbarlicher er regiere, dass hab ich mit vil schriften bewisen, der ich ietz nit eingedenk bin. Item, so wird ich verdacht, als hab ich alle Ding wollen gemein machen, das ich aber nit gethan; sonder das hab ich ein christliche gmeinschaft der güteren geheissen, wann einer hab, und sehe seinen nechsten noth leyden, dass er ihm solle sein Allmosen mittheilen, damit den hungrigen, durstigen, nackenden und gefangenen gehulffen werde, und ie mehr der mensch sölche Werk der bamhertzigkeit übe, ie nehener er seige dem Christenlichen Wesen. So hab ich auch dem Tauff nicht zugeben, hab mich keines empfindens darinn berühmt, ich bin auch nit der erst gsein, der sich hat lassen tauffen, sonder vil vor mir, auch woll ein fürteil Jares. Es hand sich auch zu Waldshut etlich tauffen vor mir, So hab ich sonderlich in einer meiner Herren gebietten und

Landtschafften niemand getaufft, wie mann dem hatt mit Unwahrheit von mir ausgeben.

Item, so hab ich nie gesagt, dass ich ohn sünd syge, oder nimmer sünden möge, sonder ie und allweg mich bekennt, dass ich ein armer sündler seige, in sünden empfangen und geboren, und werde ein sündler biss in den tod bleiben. Gott wöll mir solch mein sünd nit zu ewiger verdammnuss zurechnen; derhalb sich niemand an solchen articlen, an denen ich übel bin, meines nammens berühren sülle, oder mich für ein Deckmantel fürwerfen. Zum dritten, die weil nun Augustinus, und vil andere noch ihm auch zu unseren Zeiten geirrt habend, derhalb bitten ich E.W. umb Gottes willen, wo ich auch ie einen hierinn erzürnt hab oder beleidiget, dass er mirs verzeihe, wie wir begehrend, dass uns Gott unser sünd verzeihe, wöllend auch E.W. eingedenk seyn meiner grossen Krankheit, Widerwertigkeit, Verjagung und Armut, dann ich kein eigen rok anzulegen hab, also bloss bin ich darvon kommen, auch wöllend betrachten den grossen Zorn und grimmen, den meine Widerwertigen gegen mir gefasset habend, und wöllend mich hierauf mit gnaden ansehen, umb Gottes willen, damit als vil an E.W. glügen, ich nit in die Händ meiner feinden komme, oder gegeben werde, dann ich ie auch ein blöder mensch bin, und kan in disem blöden leib leiblicher sorgfeltigkeit nit absagen, das wil ich gegen Gott gebitten für E.W. und umb Christenliche regierung mein läben lang nit vergässen, solle auch E.W. oder anderen kein arges weder mit worten, noch mit werken von mir erzeugt werden, dass sollend mir E. W. wahrlich vertrowen."

Printed in Egli, Actensammlung, #940, pp. 449-450

## NOTE G.

## THE FOURTEEN ARTICLES OF FAITH OF THE AUGSBURG ANABAPTISTS AS REPORTED IN AN AUGSBURG CHRONICLE FOR THE YEARS 1518---1533

1. Evangelium non esse praedicandum, etiam in Ecclesis, nisi in aures, & in domibus priuatis.
2. Christum conceptum esse in peccato originali.
3. B.V. Mariam non esse matrem Dei, sed Christi tantum.
4. Christum non esse Deum, sed tantum prophetam, cui eloquia Dei sunt credita.
5. Christum non satisfacisse pro peccatis totius mundi.
6. Nullam potestatem & magistratum debere esse circa Christianos.
7. Extremus dies iudicii post duos annos venturus est.
8. Quod Angeli cum Christo incarnati sunt, & carnem cum Christo susceperunt.
9. Qui Deo confidere & credere non possunt, baptizari non debent.
10. Quicumque aliquid proprium habet ex coena Domini nullam participatonem habere debet.
11. Daemones & mali homines finaliter salvabuntur.
12. Sacra Scriptura fidelibus non est concessa, sed peccatoribus.
13. Omnes homines qui docti sunt, praedicantes Evangelium, perversores sacrarum Scripturarum sunt.
14. In coena Domini nihil aliud est, nisi panis & vinum, non corpus Domini.

Historica relation de ortu & progressu haeresum in Germania, praesertim vero Augustae Vindelicorum. Ex antiquis Annalibus MSS. cuiusdam contemporanei fideliter descripta, & nunc publici juris facta. "1527", p.25ff.

Reprinted in Schelhorn, Acta Historica Ecclesiastica, p. 286ff.

## NOTE H.

A MANDATE OF FERDINAND AGAINST THE ANABAPTISTS FROM JANUARY  
1st, 1528

Wir Karll der funfft von gots gnaden Erwelter Romischer keyser zu allen zeyten Merer des Reichs x. In Germania zu Hispanien baiden Sicilien Hierusalem Hungern Dalmatien Croatien x. Kunig Ertzherzog zu Osterreich Hertzog zu Burgundix. Graue zu Habspurg Flandern und Tyrolix. Empieten allen vnd yegklichen vnsern vnd des hailigen Reichs Churfursten/ Fursten/ gaistlichen vnd weltlichen/ Prelaten/ Grauen/ Feyen/ Herrn/ Rittersn/ Knechten/ Hauptleuten/ Landtuogten/ Vitzthumben/ Vogten/ Pilagern/ Verwesern/ Amptleuten/ Schulthaissen/ Burgermaistern/ Richtern/ Rathen/ Burgers vnd Gemeinden/ und sunst allen andern vnsern vnd des Reichs vnderthanen vnd getrewen In was wurden standts oder wesens die sein/ unser freuntschafft gnad vnd alles gut. Hoch vnd Erwürdigen/ Hochgebornen lieben Fruendt/ Neuen/ Chaimen/ Churfursten/ Fursten/ Wolgebornen/ Edlen/ Ersamen/ Adechtigen vnd lieben getrewen. Wiewol in baiden gaistlichen vnd weltlichen Rechten der Widertauff bei schweren penen verbotten/ vnd sunderlich die Kaiserlichen Recht bey hochster straff des todts/ gesetzt vnd geordnet/ das kainer/ so ein mal nach Christlicher ordnung getaufft ist/ sich widerumb oder zum andern mal tauffen lassen/ noch einen andern tauffen solie. So vernemen wir doch mit beschwerlichen gemuet/ das solchs vnangesehen auch vn Betracht der lang herbrachten Christenlichen ordnungen vnd geprauchs sich yetzundt vil im hailigen Reich teutscher Nation/ Frawen vnd mans person/ vberdas sie vormals in yrer Jugent den Christenlichen Tauff empfangen/ in kurtzen anzal sey/ so zu solchem widertauff alles fleiss furpredigen/ rathen/ raitzen vnd helffen/ vnd also auss yrer selbst freuelm mutwillen/ erdichten erfundung/ vnd irrigen verfuerung/ ausserhalb alles frundts Gottlicher schrift/ ain aygen verdampfte Sect/ etlich bese auch ander vil unchristlich grausame vnd vnerhort artickel vnd ordnung/ erdacht vnd auffbracht. Vnd das auch in solchem nit die geringst beschwerdt ist/ das viler solcher widertaufer auffsatz vnd gemuet gantzlich dahin das Sy in schein solcher yrer irrigen sekt des widertauffs/ all Ober vnd Erberkait/ auch gemain ruwig wesen/ ordnungen vnd pollicey/ abzuthun vnderzutrucken vnd zu uerwursten: Auss dem allem zu letst nichts gewissers/ dan Christenlichs pluts vergiessung eruolgen wurde. Diweill dann solcher verpottner widertauff auss irrigen boser vermessenheit/ zu dem waren Christenlichen glauben/ vnd der rechten lieb des nechsten/ nit allein nit furderlich nutz noch dienlich ist/ sonder zu verfurischer ergernuss, verdammuss der seelen/ zerruttung erbars wesens vnd pollicey/ vnd vil anderer unschicklichkait/ ain merckliche anraytzung vnd vnleidlicher pflantzung gepiert. So hetten wir vns der pillichait nach versehen/ yr die Oberkaiten solten gegen solcher ingewachssener beschwerdt des widertauffs/ vnd zu abwendung desselben/ vleissiger vnd ernstlicher einsehen gehapt haben. Vnd werden also darumb als Romischer kayser der notturfft nach/ hochlich verursacht/ euch ewer als der oberkaiten vnd Magistraten Ampts vnd gepur in solchem zuerindern.

Hiemit von vnser kayserlichen macht/ Euch sampt vnd besonder ernstlich gepiettentd/ vnd wollendt das yr Ewer vnderthan verwandten vnd angehorigen von solcher verpottnen Irrigen vnd beschwerlichen Sect des widertauffs vnd obberurtem yren anhang/ durch Ewer gepott vnd sunst auff den Cantzeln durch Christliche vnd gelerte prediger/ getrewlich vnd ernstlich/ auch der peen des Rechten in solchem fall vnd zum furdersten der grossen straff Gottes/ die sie zugewarten haben/ warnen/ abweysen vnd erindern. Vnd gegen den/ so also in solchem laster vnd irrung des widerthauffs erkundiget erfunden vnd bet etten wurden/ mit obgedachten vnd anderen gepurlichen penen des Rechten wir yr dann solchs Ampts halber schuldig seyt/ vleissig/ vnd wie sich solchs gegen ainem yeden seinem verdienst nach/ gepuret/ vnd yr zuthun wol wisset/ volnfaret/ vnd desshalb nit sewmig seyet/ damit solch vbel wie gemelt gestrafft. Vnd ander obberurter vnraht vnd weyterung/ so sunst darauss wachsen mag/ verhuet vnd furkommen werde/ Als lieb Euch sampt vnd besonder sey unser vnd des Reichs hochstevngnad vnd straff zuermeyden. Geben in vnser vnd des Reichs Statt Speyer am vierdten tag des Monats Januarij Nach Christi gepurdt Funfzehnhundert vnd im Achtundzwaingtzigsten. Vnserer Reiche des Romischen im Neundten und der andern aller im Zwolften Jaren.

Philippus, Markgraf zu Baden,  
Kais. Statthalter, manu propria.

Ad mandatum domini  
Imperatoris proprium

Reprinted by Nestler, Die Wiedertäuferbewegung  
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| "Vi." | ..... | Vienna (Öesterreichische Staatsarchiv)          |
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HÜBMAIER, Balthasar, Achtzehe Schlussrede so betreffende eyn gantz Christlich liebe/ war an es gelege ist. Disputiert zu Waldtshut/ vo Doctor Balthasser Fridberger, MDXXIIII. "Z", Appendix #I.

\_\_\_\_\_, Ein ernstliche Christenliche erbietung an einen Ersamen Rate ze Schaffhusen/ durch doctor Baldazar Hübmaier von Fridberg/ Pfarrern ze Waldshut beschehen. DIE WARHEIT IST UNTÖDLICH, 1524. "Z", Appendix #II.

\_\_\_\_\_, Von ketzern und irren verbrennern vergleichung der gschrifften/ zesamenzogen/ durch doctor Balthazerem Fridbergern pfarrern zu Waldszhut zu gefallen bruder Anthonin vicarin zu Costantz dem ausserlesne thorwächter on ain Pusaune. Die warhait ist untödtlich. Anno M. D. 24, Jar. "B", Appendix #III

\_\_\_\_\_, Schlussreden die Baldazar Fridberger/ Pfarrer zu Waltzhut/ ein Bruder Huldrychs Zwinglis'/ dem Joanni Eckio zu Ingoldstatt/ die meysterlich zu examinieren fürbotten hat. (In dem span des gloubens/ wo zwen strytig sind; wer doch solle sin der recht Richter). Die warheyt ist undtödtlich. German edition of Axiomata - 1524. "B", Appendix #IV.

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- \_\_\_\_\_, Ettlich beschlussreden von Doctor Paltus Fridberger zu Waltzhut allen christen von und'richt d'mess. M.D.XXV. Jar., 1525. "R", Appendix #VI.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Von dem Christenlichen Tauff der gläubigen. Durch Balthasarn Huebmör von Fridberg: yetz zu waldshut ausgangen. Die warheit ist untödtlich. M.D.XXV. Die lieb freüwet sich der warheit. i. Corin. xiii. cap. Geendet am. xi. tag des Heümonats Anno/ im. M. D. xxv. Waldshut. Die warheit ist untödtlich. 1525. "Z", Appendix #VII.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Ain Sum ains ganzen christenlichen Lebens durch Baldasaren Frydberger, Predicant yetz zu Waldsshutt verzeichnet an die drey Kirchen zu Regenspurg, Ingolstadt vnd Fridberg, seynen lieben herren, briedern vnnnd schwestern in gott dem herren. Sonderlich ain bericht den kinder Tauff vnd das Nachtmal belangent. 1525. Anschluss. geben zu waldshut Sambstat nach Petri vnd Pauli. July 1, 1525. "Z", Appendix #VII a.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Balthazars Friedbergers zu Waldshut öffentliche erbietung an all christglaubig menschen am anderen tag des Hornungs beschehen. 1525. "Z", Appendix #VII b.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Ein Gespräch Balthasar Hubmör von Fridberg. Doctors/ auf Mayster Ulrichs Zwingliens zu Zurich Tauff'büchlen/ von dem Kindertauff. Die Warhayt ist untödtlich. Erd, erd, erd, höre das Wort des Herren/ Hiere. 22. Cap. Nicolspurg. 1526, Getruckt durch Simprecht Sorg genant Froschauer. Nicolspurg. "Be.", Appendix #VIII.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Die Zwelf Artickel Christenlichs glaubens zu Zurich im Wasserthurn in Bertweis gestellt. D. Balthasar Huebmör, (1526) Nicolspurg, 1527. "V", Appendix #IX.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Ein Kurtzes vater unser, D. Balthasar Huebmör von Fridberg. Bittent so werdent ir entfahen Joan. am. 16. Nicolspurg. 1526. "V", Appendix #X.

- HUBMAIER, Balthasar, Der Uralten un gar neyn Leerern Urtail/ Das man die jungen kindlen nit tauffen solle; biss sy jm glauben underricht sind. D. Balthasar Hübör/ von Fridberg. (Es müssen spaltung under euch sein/ auf dz die so bewert sind/ ofenbar und euch werdet. I Cor. II. Ca. Nicolspurg. Getruckt durch Simprecht Sorg/ genant Froschauer. Nicolspurg. 1526. "A", Appendix #XI.
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- \_\_\_\_\_, Von dem Khindertauff: Ecolampadius Thomas Augustinia ner Leesmaister M. Jacob Immelen M. Wuolffg; weissen. burger Balthasar Hübör von Frieberg Nicolspurg. 1527. "V", Appendix #XIV.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Ein kurtze entschuldigung D. Balt'asar Huebmors. von Fridberg an alle Christglaubige menschen das sy sich an den erdichtenn vnnwarhayten so im sein missgonner zu legen. nit ergern. 1526 Die warhayt ist untodtlich. Nicolspurg. Unser gsatz urteilt kainen meschen. es hab in den vor gehort und erfahren was er thu. Joan. am. 7. ca. Getruckt durch Simprecht Sorg genant Froschauer. 1526. "V", Appendix #XV.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Ein ainfeltige undernicht/ Auff die wort. Das ist der Leib mein; in dem Nachtmal CHRISTI. D. Balthasar Hübör/ von Fridberg. Nicolspurg. 1526. Die Warhait ist untodtlich. Getruckt durch Simprecht Sorg genant Froschauer. "S", Appendix #XVI.
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- \_\_\_\_\_, Ein Form des Nachtmals Christi, D. Balthasar Hübör von Fridberg. Die warhayt ist untodtlich. 1527. "V", Appendix #XVIII.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Von der Briederlichen straff. Wo die nit ist. da ist gewisslich auch khain Kirch/ ob schon der Wassertauff vn das Nachtmal Christj daselbs gehalten werdent. D. Balthasar Huebmor von Fridberg. Die warhait ist untodtlich. Nicolspurg. 1527. "Br.", Appendix #XIX.

- HUBMAIER, Balthasar, Vo dem Christenlichen Bann. Wo derseib nit auffgericht vn gebraucht wirdt nach dem ordenlichen vnd ernstlichen beuelh Christj. da selbs regiert nichts/ den sünd/ schand vn lasster. D. Balthasar Hübmör von Fridberg. Die warhait ist untödlich. Nicolspurg MD xxvii. "Br.", Appendix #XX.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Ein Form ze Tauffen im wasser die vnderrichten im glauben. D. Balthasar Hübmör von Fridberg, Nicolspurg Die Wahrhayt ist vntödlich. 1527. "V", Appendix #XXI.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Von der Freyhait des Willens/ Die Gott durch sein gesendet wort anbeüt allen menschen. und jnen dar jn gwalt gibt seine Khinder ze werden. auch die waal guttes ze/ wöllien und zethon. Oder sy aber Khinder des Zorns wie sy denn von vatur seind ze bleiben lassen. D. Balthasar Hübmör von Fridberg. Nicolspurg. Getruckt durch Simprecht Sorg genant Froschauer. Nicolspurg. 1527. "Br.", Appendix #XXII.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Das Ander Biechlen von der Freywilligkeit des menschen. In welchem Schrifftlich bezeugt wirdt, das Gott durch sein gesenddt wort allen menschen gwalt gebe, seine Kinder zu werden, und jnen die waal guttes zu weilien, und zu thon. frey haym setze, Auch darbey die Gegen schrifften des Widertayls auff gelöset. Balthasar Hübmör von Fridberg, Nicolspurg. 1527. "Br.", Appendix #XXIII.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Von dem Schwert. Ein Christennliche erklerug der Schrifften/ so wider die Oberkait (das ist. Das die Christen nit sollent jm Gwalt sitze/ noch das schwert fiern) von etlichen Bruedern gar ernstlich angezogen. werdendt. D. Balthasar Hübmör von Fridberg 1527. "Br.", Appendix #XXIV.
- \_\_\_\_\_, An den Durchleuchtigistenn, vnd Grossmechtigistenn Herrn, Herrn Ferdinand, Chunigen zu Vnngern vn Behaimb, Ertzhertzogen in Osterreich etc., Seinen Allergenedigisten Herrn, Ein Rechenschafft des Glaubens, von Balthasarn Hübmör von Frydtberg in den Banden, auf XXVII Artigkhel, gegeben An dem dritten tag des monats january Anno etc. Im XXVIII den. (Manuscript) 1528. "Vi.", Appendix #XXV.

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Bermen attinentes, partim vero ex scriptis pacem  
Ecclesiae perturbantium extractos; coram divo  
Caesare Corolo V. Rom. Imp. semper Aug. etc. etc.  
ac proceribus Imperii Joanni Eckius minimus Ecclesiae  
minister, offert de disputaturum ut in scheda latius  
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hoc uolumine, Paraphrasin in Euangelium Matthaei  
nunc primum natam & editam per D. Erasmus Roterod-  
amum: Apud Inclytam Basileam per Ioannem Frobenium  
Mense Martio, Anno MDXII, Caput. XXVIII.
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WORMS

MANNHEIM  
HEIDELBERG

NÜRNBERG

STRASSBURG

STUTTGART

INGOLSTADT

REGENSBURG

TÜBINGEN

SULZ

ULM

FRIEDBERG  
AUGSBURG

LANDSHUT

FREIBURG

ROTTWEIL

DONAUESCHINGEN

MÜNCHEN

RHEINFELDEN  
BASEL

WALDSHUT

SCHAFFHAUSEN  
TIENGEN  
KONSTANZ

ST. GALLEN

OBERAMMERGAU

SÄCKINGEN

ZÜRICH

INNSBRUCK